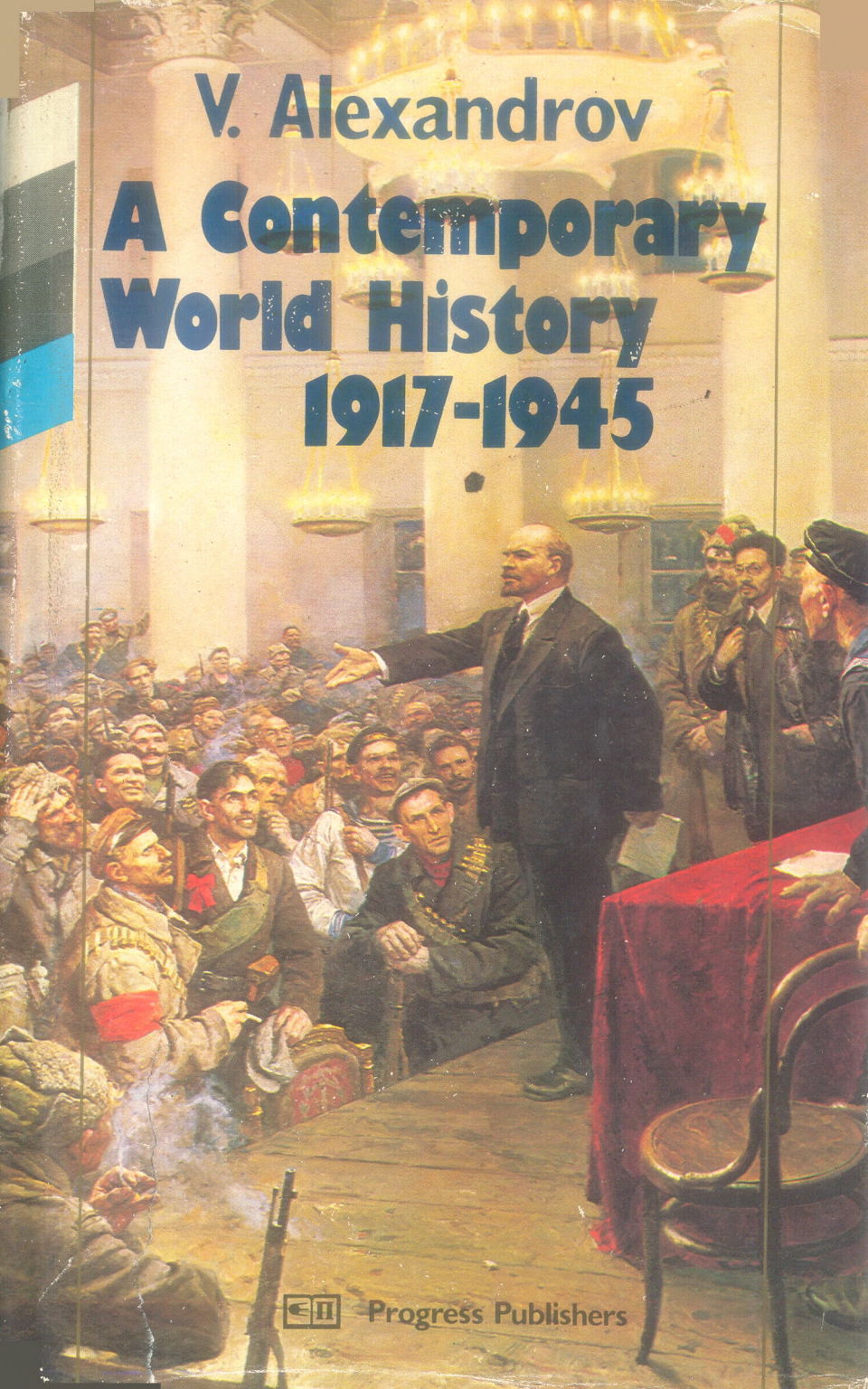
V. Alexandrov

A Contemporary World History 1917-1945



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V. Alexandrov

A Contemporary World History 1917-1945

Progress Publishers Moscow

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Introduction

Marxist-Leninist theory puts history on a genuinely scientific basis. History as a whole, especially the contemporary history, can be studied from a scientific point of view by applying the dialectical and materialistic method in analysing historical processes; this in turn allows the laws governing mankind's development in the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialim to be discerned.

Of exceptional importance in studying contemporary history are the works of the founders of Marxism-Leninism, particularly the works of Lenin, the documents and materials of the CPSU, of the Communist International, of the fraternal communist parties, and the international meetings of the communist and workers' parties which contain a scientific analysis of the regularities inherent in the development of the present age.

In Soviet historical science contemporary history has been divided up into periods according to scientific criteria based on the development of the general crisis of capitalism and emergence of the world socialist system. Contemporary history begins with the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917 in Russia. This revolution provided the impetus for a radical change in the fate of mankind, its transition from the domination of the exploiter classes to the elimination of exploitation, to the establishment of social justice, to the creation of conditions for the all-round progress of the broadest popular masses. Since

that time, contemporary history has been typified by major stages in the development of human society.

The first stage in contemporary history (1917-1945) is characterised by the rapidly gathering crisis of capitalism (which ensued from the First World War and was particularly aggravated as a result of the October Revolution), by the emergence and consolidation of the first socialist state in world history, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), by the crisis of imperialism's colonial system, by the fierce struggle of the imperialist states against the Land of Soviets, by the acute exacerbation of the inter-imperialist contradictions, which sparked off the Second World War. Four periods can clearly be distinguished in the first stage of contemporary history.

During the first period (1917-1923) there was a mighty upsurge in the revolutionary movement throughout the world. Owing to the victory of the October Revolution in a largest capitalist country, Russia, a socialist system was established. In other capitalist countries acute economic and political crises were manifest, democratic and workers' revolutions occurred (Germany, Austria-Hungary, Finland) or the working class and other workers' strata staged large-scale demonstrations (USA, Great Britain, France, Germany, and Japan). Imperialist dominion was rocked in the colonial and dependent countries, a powerful national liberation movement got under way, and anti-imperialist revolutions were sparked off (China, Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, and others). A historical event of paramount importance was the emergence of the communist parties and the founding of the Communist International. International relations developed amid the bitter armed struggle of the imperialist states against the young Soviet Republic. The biggest imperialist powers secured the redivision of the world effected during the First World War, according to the system of the Versailles and Washington treaties.

The second period (1924-1928) was characterised by the temporary, partial, and fluctuating stabilisation of capitalism, on the one hand, and the consolidation of positions, the development of socialist construction in the USSR, on the other. In the capitalist countries the concentration and centralisation of capital was accelerated, and the political situation became somewhat more stable. Activity lapsed to a certain extent in the working-class movement,

capital increasingly trampled on the rights of the workers, and the activity of the reformist organisations became more vigorous. In spite of this, the workers in a number of countries organised big mass demonstrations in defence of their social and economic gains. The ideological and organisational unity of the international communist movement grew stronger, as it purged its ranks of the Trotskyist and other opportunist elements. The colonial and semi-colonial world was drawn more and more deeply into the national liberation movement. In China, the national liberation revolution evolved. The peoples of Indonesia, Morocco, Syria, Lebanon and other countries waged an armed struggle against the colonisers. All this undermined the stabilisation of the capitalist system.

The third period (1929-1939) began with the destructiveworld economic crisis of 1929-1933, which demonstrated with particular force the doomed nature of the capitalist system. The crisis was extremely detrimental to the productive forces and caused impoverishment of broad sections of the population in the capitalist world. The brief depression, which followed in the wake of the crisis, gave way to a fresh crisis in 1937 which was interrupted by the Second World War. In many capitalist countries the fiercest class battles took place in this period. A national revolutionary war broke out in Spain. Fascist regimes came to power in a number of countries (Germany, Italy, Japan). The revolutionary movement gained a new lease of life in the dependent and colonial countries (China, India, Indonesia, Egypt, Latin America). In the Soviet state the foundations of socialism had been built. The USSR acted as a buttress of the international revolutionary movement, as a bastion of peace and democracy. The international communist movement was in the vanguard of the struggle of peoples to stay the onslaught of capital, fascism, and war. In the thirties two opposing imperialist blocs were formed: the Anglo-Franco-American and the German-Japanese-Italian blocs, which were preparing to redivide up the world anew and calculated on destroying the first socialist state. Germany, Italy, and Japan had already started aggressive wars in this period.

The fourth period (1939-1945) covers the Second World War, which does, as it were, complete the development of the first stage in contemporary history with the main trends

inherent in it. The two imperialist blocs began the war, but from the middle of 1941 onwards its core became the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet people against Nazi Germany and its allies. During the war an anti-fascist coalition was formed (USSR, USA, Great Britain, China, and others), which was of paramount importance in defeating the fascist states. As a result of the Second World War and the decisive part played in it by the USSR, fascism was smashed, the positions of world imperialism were seriously undermined, and those of socialism and democracy were greatly fortified. Conditions were created for the victory of a number of popular democratic, national liberation, and socialist revolutions.

The end of the Second World War marked the beginning of the second stage in contemporary history (1945-end of the 1950s). At this stage, socialist revolutions were victorious in a number of countries in Europe and Asia, a world socialist system emerged, the second stage in the general crisis of capitalism evolved, and the colonial system of imperialism began to disintegrate. In the sphere of international relations the cold war had started, and the confrontation between the capitalist and socialist systems was exacerbated.

The third, modem stage in contemporary history dates from the late fifties and early sixties. Its most prominent features are the following: the increasing tendency for the world socialist system to become a decisive factor in the development of mankind, the further deepening of the general crisis of capitalism (its third stage), the collapse of the colonial system and the change-over of a number of newly free states to the path of socialist orientation, the growing development of the international communist movement into the most influential political force of modern times. In international relations there was a conflict underway between two trends, one spearheaded at aggravation of the international situation and the other at the relaxation of international tension.

The study of the contemporary history provides convincing evidence of the correctness of Lenin's conclusions on the nature of the present epoch as an age of transition from capitalism to socialism. The October Revolution, the defeat of fascism—the task force of the most reactionary forces of imperialism—during the Second World War, the

emergence and development of the world socialist system, the disintegration and collapse of the shameful colonial system, the decline of imperialism, the recurring class battles of the working class in the capitalist countries, the upsurge of the mass democratic and anti-war movements, the development of the world communist movement into an influential political force, the growing efforts of peoples to avert a third world war, these and other historical phenomena of the present age convincingly testify to the fact that in its development mankind is heading for the triumph of peace and communism on our planet.

As noted in the Statement of the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties (1960), "our time, whose main content is the transition from capitalism to socialism, initiated by the Great October Socialist Revolution, is a time of the struggle between the two opposing social systems, a time of socialist revolutions and national-liberation revolutions, a time of the breakdown of imperialism, of the abolition of the colonial system, a time of transition of more peoples to the socialist path, of the triumph of socialism and communism on a world-wide scale... The central factors of our day are the international working class and its chief creation, the world socialist system."[1]

The study of contemporary history of states helps us to understand the grandiose changes that are taking place throughout the world in our time, and convinces us that the system based on exploitation and oppression will inevitably be replaced by a society where there is genuine freedom and social progress.

This work is a manual on a contemporary world history. It examines the events that have occurred in the period since 1917, since the Great October Socialist Revolution, until 1945, when the USSR and the other countries of the anti-fascist coalition were victorious in the Second World War. The book deals comprehensively with contemporary history of countries in Europe, America, Asia, Africa, Australia and Oceania.

In view of the exceptional breadth of the subject dealt with in this book, the material is given in extremely condensed form, and only the main events in world history are

[1] *The Struggle for Peace, Democracy and Socialism*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1963, pp. 38, 44.

outlined. For the same reason, it has not been possible to treat all countries and all territories in this historical review.

But the author has attempted as far as possible to give the reader an idea of the paths historical development has taken on all continents in the period under consideration. In the book much attention is paid to the development of the revolutionary working-class and national liberation movements.

Chapterl

The Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia—the Beginning of a New Era in the History of Mankind. The USSR—the First Socialist State in World History

1. The Victory of the October Revolution and Its Significance for World History

On November 7 (October 25 according to the calendar observed in Russia at that time), 1917, as a result of an armed uprising by the workers and soldiers under the leadership of the Communist (Bolshevik) Party in Russia's capital, Petrograd, the government of the bourgeoisie and landowners was overthrown. Power passed into the hands of the working people. The victorious flag of the Great October Revolution was raised over Russia, the largest country in the world.

The victory of the October Revolution heralded a new page in world history, a new age in the development of human society, an epoch of the downfall of capitalism and the triumph of socialism and communism on a world-wide scale. Mankind is continuing to develop under the auspices of the triumph of the ideas of the October Revolution, of extremely deep-going revolutionary transformations, which radically changed the world. In the article "Fourth Anniversary of the October Revolution" Lenin wrote: "The farther that great day recedes from us, the more clearly we see the significance of the proletarian revolution in Russia..."[1] The October Revolution was the main event of the twentieth century which drastically altered the course of development of the whole of mankind.

[1] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1973, p. 51.

Both in the past and at the present time bourgeois ideologists, reformists, and right- and left-wing opportunists have attempted and are still trying to disclaim, distort, and slander the world-wide historic significance of the October Revolution. Thus, Karl Kautsky, Otto Bauer, Friedrich Adler, and other leaders of the social-democracy of that time belittled the importance of the socialist revolution in Russia in every possible way. Even today, the opponents of the October Revolution are striving to prove that this revolution was an accidental phenomenon in history, that it did not have any impact on the historical process, that at best it changed the fate of Russia alone, and so forth. What was the actual effect of the October Revolution on the future of mankind, on world history? Lenin noted two aspects of the international significance of the Russian revolution, comprehending it in a broad and in a narrow sense. Firstly, he wrote, "...All the primary features of our revolution, and many of its secondary features, are of international significance in the meaning of its effect on all countries." Secondly, by the international significance of the October Revolution he understood "the international validity or the historical inevitability of a repetition, on an international scale, of what has taken place in our country". Lenin stressed: "It must be admitted that certain fundamental features of our revolution do possess that significance."[1]

The beginning of a new epoch in world history. For the first time ever, the Great October Socialist Revolution satisfied the pressing need of mankind for a transition from the old capitalist system to a new social system—socialism and communism.

The historical inevitability of capitalism being replaced by socialism was proved by Marx and Engels. Lenin upheld their teaching and further developed it. Social practice confirmed the conclusions of the founders of Marxism-Leninism on the inevitable replacement of capitalism by socialism. By the beginning of the twentieth century capitalism had attained its highest and last stage, the stage of imperialism. The growth of the productive forces, the tremendous socialisation of production, and the aggravation of all the cap-

[1] V. I. Lenin, " 'Left-Wing' Communism—an Infantile Disorder", *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, 1982, p. 21.

italist contradictions created the objective prerequisites for society's transition from capitalism to socialism. This transition was achieved for the first time in Russia owing to the victory of the October Revolution, which showed workers throughout the world the way to eliminate the old exploiter system and replace it by a socialist society free of exploitation and oppression.

The victory of the October Revolution did thereby usher in a new epoch in mankind's history, an age when society was being liberated from capitalist oppression and exploitation. "A new era in world history has begun," wrote Lenin.

"Mankind is throwing off the last form of slavery: capitalist, or wage, slavery.

"By emancipating himself from slavery, man is for the first time advancing to real freedom."[1]

The emergence of socialism. The world historic significance of the October Revolution is that it laid the foundations for world socialism. The Second Congress of Soviets held on November 7-8 (October 25-26), 1917, announced to the world the birth of the first proletarian state, formed the Soviet Government headed by Lenin, and adopted the Decree on Land and the Decree on Peace. By the spring of 1918 Soviet power had been established almost everywhere in Russia. In a short period the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet Government effected a number of radical democratic and socialist reforms. The bourgeoisie and the landowners were dispossessed of the means of production which were made public property. In the struggle for land, against the exploiters, the Communists rallied the poorest peasantry around the proletariat and attracted the middle peasantry to its side. The foundations of the new, Soviet economy were laid, and conditions were created for socialist construction. Soviet power proclaimed and guaranteed extensive democratic rights and freedoms, the equality and sovereignty of all the country's nations and nationalities. The chains of national oppression were broken up, and the oppressed peoples of tsarist Russia gained the right to independent national development. Soviet power extricated the country from the sanguinary imperialist war,

[1] V. I. Lenin, "The Third International and Its Place in History", *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, 1977, p. 307.

saved it from national catastrophe, averted the threat of the peoples of Russia being enslaved by foreign capital, and opened up the way to building a new, truly just society—socialism. The October Revolution thereby led to a radical turning point in the history of Russia and in the fate of its peoples.

The upsurge of the international working-class movement. The October Revolution served as a powerful spur to the world revolutionary movement. The proletarian, bourgeois-democratic and national liberation revolutions began in a number of countries under its direct impact. There was a mighty upsurge of the working-class and liberation movements everywhere.

Even in the early days of the existence of Soviet Russia the world proletariat had already grasped the tremendous significance of the October Revolution. On November 16(3), 1917, the newspaper *Pravda* (Truth) printed the article "The International Proletariat and the October Revolution", which announced that telegrams of greetings on the occasion of the Russian revolution had been sent by left-wing Socialists in France, Holland, Sweden, and other countries. The message of greetings from the British Socialist Party read: "The British Socialist Party sends fraternal greetings to Russian Social Democracy and from the bottom of its heart congratulates it on proletarian revolution effected in the early days of November which opened up a new epoch. It received with a feeling of deep respect and profound joy the news that the dictatorship of the proletariat had been established in Russia, as the first step along the path towards eliminating the landowners and capitalists and to creating conditions, which would rapidly bring about the victory of international socialism."

Under the influence of the October Revolution the working masses in many countries rose to struggle against the capitalist system and destroy it in their own countries as well. A workers' revolution occurred in Finland in 1918. Soviets emerged in the Baltic states in the course of fierce class battles. Unrest among the Polish proletariat also ended in fighting. The bourgeois-democratic revolutions in Austria-Hungary and Germany began in 1918. Soviet republics were formed in Hungary and Bavaria in 1919. "Rice mutinies" flared up in Japan in 1918. The mass revolutionary movement involved France and Italy. In Britain, the USA,

and other countries large-scale strike campaigns were waged and a mighty movement for the defence of Soviet Russia was launched. The workers staged strikes in solidarity with Soviet Russia, collected money to help the working people of that country, joined in the struggle against the foreign interventionists, and refused to load and transport materiel and troops for the interventionists. Great unrest swept through the troops of foreign powers deployed in Russia. Everywhere, the working class embarked on mass independent political revolutionary struggle. The revolutionary struggle and the movement of solidarity with Soviet Russia which had evolved in the capitalist countries, greatly assisted the Soviet workers in defeating the armies of the interventionists. The storm ensuing from the October Revolution came to a head in 1923 with the major class battles in Germany, Bulgaria, and Poland.

All these revolutionary actions shattered the domination of the imperialist bourgeoisie, helped to consolidate the positions of socialism in the USSR, and promoted the development of the communist movement. In the course of the revolutionary struggle, although they did not manage to overthrow the power of the bourgeoisie, the popular masses wrang some concessions from the ruling circles, and extended their socio-economic and political rights. The October Revolution and the revolutionary[7] upsurge prompted by it demonstrated the part played by the working class in world history as the standard-bearer of and main fighter for socialism. The world proletariat showed itself to be the most progressive and militant class force of modern times. The October Revolution, which provided a powerful stimulus to the revolutionary movement of the international working class made the latter the torch-bearer of the present epoch. Thus, the October Revolution not only put an end to the bourgeois system in Russia forever, but it laid a firm foundation for the victory of socialism in other countries.

The crisis of the colonial system. The October Revolution put an end to the national oppression of all the non-Russian peoples inhabiting Russia, and proclaimed their right to self-determination, even to secede and become independent states. In its pronouncements and in practice Soviet Russia revealed its preparedness to respect the sov-

ereignty and independence of all peoples, its desire to forge its own relations with other countries and nations on the principles of friendship and equal rights, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, and so forth. The example of how the national question had been solved in Russia had a tremendous effect on the peoples in the colonial and dependent countries. The national revival of the formally oppressed nationalities of Russia, and their involvement in social progress pointed the way to the peoples of the East to throw off the yoke of foreign imperialism and the local feudal lords and towards genuine national and social emancipation.

The crisis started in imperialism's colonial system under the impact of the October Revolution. In 1919, an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal movement got going in China. In March and April 1919, a popular uprising against Japanese rule took place in Korea. The national liberation struggle of the peoples of Afghanistan forced Britain to recognise that country's independence in 1919. In the course of armed revolutionary struggle the national forces in Turkey drove out the foreign interventionists and maintained the independence and sovereignty of the Turkish state. Anti-British uprisings flared up twice (in 1919 and 1921) in Egypt. The ruling circles in Britain were forced to formally recognise Egypt's independence. The struggle against imperialism also affected Syria and Morocco. There was an upsurge of the massive liberation movement against the oppression of the British colonisers in India in 1919-1922. The peoples of Indochina, Indonesia, and other countries of South-East Asia also rose in the struggle. The national liberation movement was activated in the countries of Latin America. A major success in the liberation movement was the victory of the people's revolution in Mongolia in 1921, as a result of which the first people's democratic state was founded.

The active participation in it of the young working class was a characteristic feature of the national liberation movement. The peasantry, however, formed the principal, mass base of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle. The alliance of the working class and the peasantry that had taken shape created conditions for the emergence of a broad national anti-imperialist front, the involvement in it of the national bourgeoisie, which also joined actively in the anti-

imperialist movement. As far as it could, Soviet Russia rendered aid and support to the oppressed peoples in their struggle against foreign enslavers, and this contributed to the success of the anti-imperialist movement. Thus, the October Revolution had a tremendous influence on the upsurge of the national liberation movement of the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries.

The crisis of the colonial system continued to deepen in subsequent years. The imperialist powers made great efforts to suppress the national liberation movement. The outcome of the Second World War, however, the defeat of the fascist bloc, the formation of the world socialist system, and the vigorous post-war upsurge of the liberation movement of the peoples in the colonies started off the disintegration of imperialism's colonial system, followed by its complete collapse. In the 1970s the colonial empires were in fact abolished. This is one of the vital results of the world historic effect of the October Revolution on the fate of mankind.

The transformation of the communist movement into a world political force. The October Revolution was an outstanding triumph for Marxist-Leninist ideology. Not only did it confirm in practice the most important, fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, but it also promoted their further development, enriching the theory of scientific communism with unparalleled revolutionary experience. The October Revolution revealed the regularities of the revolutionary struggle and the general principles of the strategy and tactics of the Communist Party.

It fully confirmed the basic conclusion of Marxism-Leninism that capitalism would inevitably be replaced by socialism. The Marxist-Leninist teaching on the socialist revolution, through which alone it is possible to build a new, classless society, was tested during the October Revolution. The revolutionary struggle in Russia brilliantly confirmed Lenin's teaching on imperialism as the eve of socialist revolution. It showed how correct Lenin's theory was that a bourgeois-democratic revolution would grow over into a socialist one. History has provided proof of the greatness of Lenin's conclusion that a socialist revolution might initially triumph in one country. The question of peaceful and non-peaceful forms of revolutionary struggle, of a com-

bination of the two, of the significance of armed uprising and other aspects of the theory of proletarian revolution substantiated in the works of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, have stood the test of time.

The October Revolution revealed with unprecedented force the decisive part played by the popular masses in the historical process. The socialist revolution in Russia was carried out by the working class in alliance with the working peasantry. The proletariat acted as the leader of the broad, non-proletarian, exploited masses of the population. The Marxist-Leninist teaching on the world historic mission of the proletariat was fully confirmed. The revolution in Russia was prepared and carried out under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party of the working class. It clearly showed the correctness of Lenin's teaching on the Communist Party as the guiding force in the struggle against capitalism and for the victory of socialism.

The teaching of the theory of scientific communism on the need for the correct combination of the socialist and general democratic movements has also stood the test of time. The agrarian question, worked out by Lenin, the tactics with regard to imperialist wars, the substantiation by him of the right of nations to self-determination have allowed the Bolshevik Party to combine the struggle for democracy with that for socialism. The experience of the socialist revolution in Russia has illustrated that the dictatorship of the proletariat is inevitable and necessary during the transition of society from capitalism to socialism. In Russia the dictatorship of the proletariat emerged in the form of Soviets (which in Russian means "councils"— *Tr.).* It embodied the power of the working class and the toiling peasantry under the leadership of the proletariat to suppress the exploiter classes, to build socialism, and to defend the socialist state from enemies at home and abroad. In the course of the October Revolution certain other general laws governing the socialist transformation of society were manifest.

Having demonstrated the great vital force and the rightness of Marxism-Leninism, the October Revolution dealt a crushing blow at reformism and all other forms of opportunism. The force of attraction of communist ideas grew tremendously. The workers were disappointed in the opportunist parties and their leaders and went over to the side of

the revolutionary Marxists. Everywhere proletarian parties of a new type began to be formed. Communist parties were founded in Germany, Hungary, Finland, and then in Italy, France, the USA, China, Japan, and other countries. The setting up and consolidation of the Communist parties went ahead actively not only in the developed capitalist states, but also in the colonial and dependent countries. In 1919, an international communist organisation, the Third International, came into being. The international communist movement became the vanguard force in the struggle of the working masses against imperialism, reaction, and war. Today, the world communist movement has become the most influential political force of modern times. It has attained historic successes in the struggle for peace, democracy, national freedom, and socialism.

Reorganisation of the system of international relations begins. The October Revolution sparked off a radical change in the entire system of international relations. Capitalism ceased to be a single, all-embracing system. The world split into two systems, a socialist one and a capitalist one. For the first time in history a state appeared which proclaimed the main principles of its foreign policy to be a policy of peace and friendship among peoples, and the international solidarity of workers throughout the world. The principles of the Soviet state's foreign policy were worked out by Lenin on the basis of the theory of socialist revolution. Proceeding from the fact that the socialist revolution had initially been victorious in one country, which was to develop parallel to the capitalist world during a certain period in history and determine its relations with it, he put forward the principle of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

The Party of the Bolsheviks under Lenin's leadership categorically condemned the adventurous theory of a "revolutionary war" preached by the Left Communists. This theory was completely opposed to the principle of the peaceful coexistence of states, for it could in practice lead to constant military conflicts between the socialist and capitalist countries. It was contradictory to Marxist-Leninist theory which resolutely condemned the "export of revolution". For the young Soviet state the policy of the Left Communists represented a mortal threat, while the policy

of the peaceful coexistence of states corresponded to the interests of the workers in all countries and allowed the Soviet Union to build a socialist society and become a mighty bulwark for the world socialist revolution.

Right from the early days of its existence the Soviet state waged an active struggle to reorganise the system of international relations, to rid it of the principles of imperialism's foreign policy, and introduce into it the principles of socialism's foreign policy, above all the principle of the peaceful coexistence of states and the principle of proletarian internationalism. The USSR's struggle for peace and collective security, for universal disarmament and the protection of the interests of the small countries and peoples of the colonial world, to rally the peace-loving forces to rebuff imperialism, militarism, and the policy of aggression—all these were a new phenomenon in international relations and corresponded to the interests of the overwhelming majority of peoples in the world. All the peace-loving forces gave tremendous support to the foreign policy of the Soviet state. This policy contributed to the growth of the organised anti-war movement in the capitalist countries, forcing the members of the bourgeois governments in many countries to propose the widely advertised "peace programmes" and to disguise their policy with peace-loving rhetoric.

The aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism. The October Revolution caused the increasingly accelerated disintegration of the world capitalist system, speeded up the development of the general crisis of capitalism, the all-round crisis of the world capitalist system, affecting the economy, politics and ideology of capitalist society. The crisis was the natural outcome of the development of contradictions in the capitalist mode of production at its imperialist stage, as a manifestation of mankind's inevitable transition from capitalism to communism on a world-wide scale.

The following are typical features of the general crisis of capitalism: the splitting of the world into two opposing social systems, the coexistence and struggle between them; the emergence and evolution of the world socialist system; the disintegration of imperialism's colonial system; the tendency for more and more countries to reject capitalism

owing to the aggravation of all the imperialist contradictions; the growing instability and stagnation of the capitalist economy; the crisis of bourgeois politics; the decay of bourgeois ideology and culture; the increasing class battles in the capitalist countries. The transition from capitalism to socialism is the main feature of the period of the general crisis of world capitalism, and this determines its historical outline.

The deepening of the general crisis of capitalism is passing through a number of stages, the first of which continued until the Second World War. At this stage, Russia and Mongolia dropped out of the world capitalist system. It was at that time that the crisis of imperialism's colonial system began. The crisis of the bourgeois economy, politics, and ideology became increasingly worse as evidenced by such events as the world economic crisis of 1929-1933, the upsurge of fascism and the unleashing by it of the Second World War. The time was ripe for another round in the democratic and socialist revolutions in the capitalist countries.

The Second World War and especially the people's democratic and socialist revolutions sparked off in a number of countries of Europe and Asia during the war and in the early post-war years marked the beginning of the second stage in the general crisis of capitalism. Another eleven states dropped out from the capitalist system. The emergence of the world socialist system was the most vivid indication of the deepening general crisis of capitalism at its second stage. Another important manifestation of this process was the incipient disintegration of imperialism's colonial system. Economic and political instability in the capitalist countries became even more pronounced.

The third stage in the development of the general crisis of capitalism started in the mid-1950s. At this stage, Cuba, Laos, South Vietnam, and Kampuchea were no longer part of the capitalist system; the world socialist system began to become the decisive factor in world development. Imperialism's colonial system collapsed, and a number of newly free countries started out on the path of socialist orientation. The economic and political instability in the capitalist countries acquired a chronic nature. The general crisis of capitalism continued to worsen, and the sphere of imperialist domination in the world narrowed. Thus, the blow dealt

by the October Revolution at imperialism doomed it to increasing decline.

The October Socialist Revolution had a tremendous impact on all aspects of the historical process: on the economy, politics, culture, science, and so forth. It served to accelerate the entire development of society. Marx's description of revolution as "the locomotive of history" is evident here to the fullest extent. The age in the history of mankind after the October Revolution is not only marked by the shattering of the old socio-economic orders, but also by the rapid development of science and technology, by bringing civilisation within the reach of millions upon millions of people who had vegetated in a barbaric and semi-savage state, hardly touched by civilisation, thousands of years.

The October Revolution and the other socialist revolutions inspired by its example served as a powerful spur to the rapid development of the working-class movement in many capitalist countries, which forced the ruling circles in these countries to make certain economic and social concessions to the working people.

2. The USSR — the First Socialist Country in World History

The October Revolution resulted in the emergence of the world's first socialist state, which was initially called Soviet Russia. After the victorious armed uprising in Petrograd on October 25 (November 7), 1917, Soviet power gained one triumph after another throughout the country. An armed uprising was victorious in Moscow. Then the workers established Soviet power in Minsk, Ivanovo-Voznesensk, Lugansk, Kazan, Rostov-on-Don, Yekaterinburg, Samara, Saratov, Tashkent, Baku, and Vladivostok. On December 11 (24), Soviet power was proclaimed in the Ukraine. By February 1918, Soviet power had been established practically everywhere in Russia, including the Baltic provinces, the North Caucasus, Central Asia, Siberia, and other places.

The building of a Soviet socialist state began immediately after the victory of the revolution. The Soviets constituted the state form of the new system, a form of dictatorship of the proletariat. The Red Army began to be organised as well as the state security bodies, the whole of

the old state apparatus being abolished and a new one built to replace it. The Congress of Soviets held in January 1918 proclaimed the formation of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (RSFSR). In July 1918, at the All-Russia Congress of Soviets, the first Soviet Constitution, the Constitution of the RSFSR, was adopted. The Soviet government promoted socialist transformations in the economy and social relations. The land was nationalised, and workers' control was introduced over production and distribution; nationalisation of the banks and capitalist industrial enterprises and foreign trade was started, and foreign and home loans were annulled. The Supreme Economic Council set up in December 1917 was responsible for the management of the economy. A cultural revolution also began in the country. Schools, universities, libraries, and theatres became accessible to people at large. The press, literature, arts, and the achievements of science and culture were put at the service of the working people. A national campaign against illiteracy was launched. All these measures undermined the dominion of the exploiter classes and demonstrated the genuinely popular nature of Soviet power.

The creation of favourable international conditions for building socialism was of paramount importance for the young Soviet state. With great difficulty the Soviet Government managed to conclude the Brest Peace Treaty with Germany. The short respite was used to get socialist construction going. The struggle against the kulaks (rich peasants) became particularly fierce. Committees of poor peasants were set up in the countryside to help the workers' detachments wage the struggle against the kulaks, confiscating their lands and grain surpluses. This furthered the revolution in the villages and consolidated the alliance of the workers with the poor and the middle peasants.

Soviet power immediately came up against the bitter resistance of the united forces of foreign imperialism and internal counter-revolution. The armed intervention of the USA, Great Britain, France, Germany, Japan, and some other countries ("the intervention of 14 powers") began against the young Soviet Republic. Under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, headed by Lenin, the armed struggle against the Soviet state's enemies at home and abroad got underway. The period of foreign armed intervention and

Civil War continued mainly from 1918 through 1920. A huge area, three quarters of the entire country, where white-guard counter-revolutionary governments were set up, were temporarily in the hands of the enemies of Soviet power in the summer of 1918. In November 1918, the white-guard Admiral Kolchak was proclaimed the "supreme ruler" of Russia. On July 5 to 7, 1918, the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries staged a counter-revolutionary revolt in Moscow, which was quashed. Similar revolts flared up in other places in the country.

All the revolutionary forces of the Soviet Republic were mobilised to rebuff the interventionists and counter-revolutionaries. The party motto "Everything for the Front! " inspired the working masses to struggle. The republic turned into one big army camp. In 1918-1919, the Soviet Government was compelled to take emergency economic and political measures, including the surplus-appropriation system (peasants were obliged to hand over to the state all their grain surpluses). At the Eighth Party Congress in March 1919, a new Party programme, worked out by Lenin, was adopted which outlined the prospects for the struggle of the Soviet people to build socialism.

In 1919-1920, three campaigns against the Soviet Republic were undertaken by the Entente. In the spring of 1919, Kolchak's forces reinforced by the foreign interventionists and the armies of General Denikin and General Yudenich launched the first campaign. In July, the Entente began its second campaign with an offensive on Moscow by the white-guard troops, mainly Denikin's army. The Entente's third campaign was organised in the spring of 1920 with the forces mainly of the landowner Poland and the whiteguard army of Baron Wrangel. All three of the Entente campaigns were repulsed by the forces of the Red Army. By the end of 1920, the interventionist and whiteguard troops had been crushed. The Red Army helped the peoples of Central Asia, Kazakhstan, and the Caucasus to subdue the resistance of the counter-revolutionaries and interventionists. In the Far East, the war against the interventionists continued until 1922. In April 1920, the Far Eastern Republic was founded there which acted as a buffer state in the struggle against the anti-Soviet forces in that area. In November 1922, the Far Eastern Republic joined the RSFSR.

After the foreign interventionists and internal counter-

revolution had been defeated, the Soviet state set about restoring the national economy, which had been greatly damaged by the imperialist and civil wars lasting seven years. The state of the economy in the Land of Soviets was extremely grave. In 1920, the volume of industrial output was 13.8 per cent of the pre-war level (1913). The output of the agriculture had halved in that time. The dislocation in industry and transport was further worsened by famine. In these circumstances, part of the population began to express their discontent. Anti-Soviet revolts flared up in a number of places in the latter half of 1920 and in 1921.

It was in this situation that the Communist Party and the Soviet Government made vigorous efforts to go over to peaceful construction. In December 1920, the plan for the electrification of the republic (the GOELRO Plan) was adopted. It was precisely at that time that Lenin put forward the historic slogan for the building of the new society: *"Communism is Soviet power plus the electrification of the whole country,"*[1]

At the same time, Soviet power replaced its policy of War Communism by the New Economic Policy (NEP). At the Tenth Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks), RCP(B), in March 1921, on Lenin's suggestion, a decision was taken to go over from the surplus-appropriation system to tax in kind. The NEP was calculated to use the market, trade and monetary circulation to revive the country's economic life. In the beginning, it led to the activation of capitalist elements in the towns and countryside, to the aggravation of the class struggle. But it simultaneously consolidated the alliance of the working class and the peasantry and created conditions for the transition to active socialist construction. The dictatorship of the proletariat allowed the working class to ensure victory of the socialist elements over the capitalist ones. The NEP accelerated the restoration of the national economy and this made it possible to begin building a socialist economy.

At the same time, the Soviet republics rallied together. In 1922, on the territory of former tsarist Russia, besides the RSFSR, there were the Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Azer-

*V, I. Lenin, "The Eighth All-Russia Congress of Soviets", *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 516.

baijan, Armenian and Georgian Soviet Socialist Republics, the Turkmen Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, the Khorezm People's Soviet Republic, and the Bukhara People's Soviet Republic. In March 1922, the three Caucasian republics formed the Transcaucasian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (TSFSR). On the initiative of the Communist Party, a campaign evolved in the republics in favour of forming a single union state, the principles of which were elaborated by Lenin. On December 30, 1922, the First Congress of Soviets of the USSR began in Moscow which adopted the Declaration on the Formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). The creation of a single union state was a triumph for Lenin's nationalities policy and was of world-historic significance. At the Second Congress of Soviets of the USSR on January 31, 1924, the Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was adopted. In accordance with this Constitution, the working people of the USSR were guaranteed broad democratic rights and freedoms. Only the class elements hostile to socialism were temporarily deprived of suffrage.

Lenin, the head of the Bolshevik Party, the Chairman of the Soviet Government, the founder of the world's first socialist state, died on January 21, 1924. But the Party consistently continued the struggle to put his ideas into effect. It made every effort to build the foundations of socialism in the USSR. In 1925, the volume of industrial output in the USSR had reached 75 per cent of the pre-war level, and of agricultural produce 87 per cent. The share of the socialist sector in industry and trade had grown. The first collective and state farms were set up. The material situation of the broad strata of the working masses had improved. Their cultural standards had been raised to a higher level. The social and state system had been consolidated. The pre-war level of economic development had in the main been reached by 1926.

But this level did not correspond to the needs of the new social system. Guided by Lenin's teachings, the Communist Party pursued a course of industrialising the country, of turning it into a developed and powerful socialist state. The Trotskyites and other opportunist elements opposed the Party's policy. But the Party resolutely held its ground. In December 1925, the 14th Congress of the Communist Party substantiated and put forward the task of effecting the

socialist industrialisation of the USSR, of creating the material and technical basis of socialism and of turning the country into a socialist power which would be economically independent of the capitalist states. By the tenth anniversary of its foundation, in 1927, the Soviet state had made tremendous headway: the total volume of industrial output was already 11 per cent more than the 1913 level.

At the 15th Congress of the Communist Party, which took place in December 1927, the results of pursuing a policy of socialist industrialisation were reported, and the directives for drawing up the first five-year plan were formulated. A policy of collectivising peasant holdings was also approved at the congress. By that time, there were as many as 25 million small peasant holdings in the country, which could not satisfy the country's needs in foodstuffs and raw materials. What is more, the small peasant holding constantly generated capitalist elements. The kulaks increasingly represented a threat to Soviet power. An offensive was launched on them.

The first five-year plan was put into effect in the Soviet state from 1929 to 1932. Its main task was to set up a mighty industry in the country capable of restructuring all branches of the economy on a socialist basis. The capital investments in the economy in the first five-year period amounted to 61,600 million roubles (in 1955 prices). The bulk of them was intended for the development of heavy industry. Mass socialist emulation, which mainly took the form of the movement of shock-workers in production, evolved in the country during the first five-year-plan period. In 1929, mass cooperation among the small peasant holdings got underway, and the collective farms, kolkhozes, were set up. Large state farms, sovkhozes, were also founded in the countryside, and the first machine and tractor stations appeared. The collectivisation of agriculture was a new and difficult matter to be tackled by the Party and the people. Errors were made and there were inevitably shortcomings: the rates of collectivisation were accelerated unduly, the principle of voluntariness was violated, sometimes peasants of average means (middle peasants) were mistakenly dispossessed as kulaks, and there were cases of agricultural communes being formed instead of production artels. The Party took measures to rectify the mistakes

made. During collectivisation a policy of eliminating the kulaks as a class was pursued. This further aggravated the class struggle, the kulaks strove in every possible way to prevent cooperation in agriculture.

The 16th Party Congress in the summer of 1930 went down in history as the congress at which the offensive of socialism on all fronts was launched, and the task was set of abolishing the kulaks as a class, and of enforcing collectivisation throughout the country. The state sector was already predominant in the economy. The congress supported the workers' initiative to fulfil the five-year plan in four years; it noted the need to speed up industrialisation of the country and to complete the. collectivisation of agriculture by the end of the five-year period. After the congress, the Party and the government took a series of measures aimed at completing collectivisation and repelled the assaults of the kulaks and other capitalist elements on the Soviet socialist system. The policy pursued by the Party and the government to modernise all branches of the economy, using the latest technology, was of vital importance.

By the beginning of 1933, the first five-year plan had been fulfilled ahead of schedule (in four years and three months). Its most important outcome was that the USSR had been transformed from an agrarian into an industrial-collective farm socialist country. In 1932, the share of industry in the economy was 70.7 per cent, and the volume of its output was 267 per cent as against 1913. Soviet people built and put into operation 1,500 industrial enterprises furnished with the latest technology of that time. Such new branches of industry appeared in the country as tractor, motor car, aircraft, and machine-tool building, heavy and agricultural engineering, and the chemical industry. The GOELRO Plan was overfulfilled, and the country's second coal mining and metallurgical centre was set up in the Kuzbas (Kuznetsk coal basin). The Turkestan-Siberian Railway, the Stalingrad Tractor Works, the Rostov Farm Machine Works, the motor works in Moscow and Gorky, the Dnieper Hydroelectric Power Station, the Urals heavy engineering plant, the Magnitogorsk metallurgical combine, and other large enterprises, which became symbols of the USSR's industrialisation were commissioned. A powerful defence industry was also created. The national republics and outlying regions of the USSR made

particularly great progress in industrial development. The foundation of a socialist economy was thus laid in the country.

The five-year-plan period was marked by important achievements in collectivising agriculture. In 1932, 61.5 per cent of the peasant holdings, to which 77.7 per cent of the sown area belonged, were amalgamated into cooperatives. One hundred and twenty-one thousand tractors as well as other agricultural machinery were delivered to the countryside. As a result, new socialist production relations took root in the countryside. The last, but most numerous exploiter class, that of the kulaks, was eliminated. The alliance of the working class and the peasantry had grown stronger.

Other changes of a socialist nature in the country were the abolition of unemployment and the exploitation of man by man and the improvement of the material well-being and cultural level of Soviet people. By the end of the five-year period the national income had increased by 217 per cent against 1913. The change-over to universal compulsory schooling contributed greatly to promoting the cultural revolution, and achievements in science, art and literature were great. In 1934, the First All-Union Congress of Soviet Writers was held.

The second five-year plan (1933-1937), approved by the 17th Party Congress at the beginning of 1934, began to be implemented in 1933. The congress set the task of fully eradicating the capitalist elements in the country once and for all, completing the modernisation of the economy, and the collectivisation of agriculture, raising the material and cultural level of the people, and so forth. The second five-year plan envisaged capital investments amounting to a total of 141,400 million roubles (in 1955 prices).

Guided by the Party, the Soviet people put every effort into fulfilling the new five-year plan. At that time, the most important element was the training of personnel to master the latest technology. In this connection, the Communist Party put forward the motto, “Personnel decide everything”. Socialist emulation was raised to a higher level, and new ways of doing the job were initiated by both men and women workers. In 1935, this movement of innovators in socialist production was called the Stakhanov movement after one of these workers, Alexei Stakhanov. Thanks to the

workers' enthusiasm, the second five-year plan was also fulfilled ahead of schedule, in four years and three months.

The volume of industrial output increased 2.2 times against 1932, 4.5 times against 1928, and almost six times against 1913. Some 4,500 new industrial projects went into operation during the second five-year plan, among them the White Sea-Baltic Canal (227 km), the Moscow Canal (128 km), and the Moscow underground railway. Heavy industry particularly grew apace (8.1 times against 1913). As a result, the USSR became a mighty industrial power, independent of the capitalist countries economically.

Collectivisation was largely completed in agriculture, 243,500 collective farms being set up in the country, amalgamating 93 per cent of the peasant farmsteads. The collective farm fields covered more than 99 per cent of the sown area. The collective farm system was consolidated considerably. At the Second Congress of Shock Collective Farmers in February 1935 Model Rules of the agricultural artel were adopted. The mechanisation of agriculture continued, and in 1937 there were 456,000 tractors, 128,800 combine harvesters, and 146,000 lorries.

During the second five-year-plan period the Soviet country progressed even further in improving the well-being of its people, developing its culture, and solving the national question. In December 1936, the USSR united eleven constituent Soviet socialist republics: the RSFSR, the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Kazakhstan, Turkmenia, Uzbekistan, Kirghizia, Tajikistan, Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Armenia, all of them republics with a highly developed industry and a large-scale mechanised agriculture. Some areas of the country went over to socialism, by-passing the capitalist stage of development. National personnel were being trained, and some nationalities gained their own written language for the first time. New socialist nations emerged and developed.

The laying of the foundations of a socialist economy, the victory of socialist production relations in the towns and countryside, and the elimination of all the exploiter classes meant that the basis of socialism had been built in the USSR, that socialism had come out victorious. This was a world-historic achievement of the Soviet people, its great feat, and a huge contribution to furthering the world revolutionary process. The gains of socialism in the USSR were recorded in the new Constitution of the USSR, which

was approved on December 5, 1936, at the All-Union Congress of Soviets. The Constitution introduced universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot. On December 12, 1937, elections were held to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, on the basis of this Constitution. The majority of the electorate voted for the candidates from the bloc of Communists and non-Party members.

At the end of the thirties, a new period began in the USSR's development. An important economic task was advanced at the 18th Congress of the Communist Party (1939), namely that of catching up with and overtaking the major capitalist countries in per capita industrial output. The congress approved'the third five-year plan (1938-1942), which envisaged a 92 per cent increase in industrial output by 1942.

In the three years preceding the Great Patriotic War (1941-1945) some 3,000 new industrial enterprises were commissioned in the USSR. Owing to the growing war danger and then the unleashing of the Second World War, the USSR paid particular attention to building up its defence capacity and developing its defence industry. In 1940, heavy industry in the USSR was producing almost 12 times more output than that of Russia in 1913. In the volume of its industrial output the USSR was first in Europe and second in the world. Industrialisation and collectivisation, the development of the cultural revolution and other transformations effected in the USSR in a short historical period put it among the ranks of the major countries and created the necessary prerequisites to come out victorious in the struggle with the cruel, strong enemy—nazi Germany—which had placed the economic and military resources of many of the countries occupied by it in Europe at its disposal for its aggressive purposes.

So, the USSR was the first socialist state in world history, a state in which socialism had become a reality. The Soviet people shouldered the burden of building socialism in a comparatively backward country, surrounded by hostile capitalist states. Its selfless struggle to build socialist society proved an example that inspired the peoples of other countries. Having built the basis of socialism and ensured its defence capacity, the Soviet people thereby performed a historic feat. Later, during the Great Patriotic War, having made a decisive contribution to the liberation

of many peoples in the world from enslavement or the threat of it by fascism, the Soviet people helped these nations in their struggle to go over to socialism, a change-over which was sparked off by the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Chapter 2

International Relations and the USSR's Foreign Policy in 1917-1939

1. International Relations and the Foreign Policy of the Soviet State at the End of the First World War and in the Early Post-War Years

The Soviet government's first acts of foreign policy. The Brest Peace Treaty. At the moment of birth of the Soviet state the first imperialist war was still raging. In these circumstances, the young Soviet state appealed to all countries to make peace. The first act of foreign policy performed by the Land of Soviets was the Decree on Peace, signed by Lenin and approved by the Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets on October 26 (November 8), 1917. It contained an appeal to all the peoples at war and their governments to start negotiations immediately on ending the war and concluding a peace treaty without annexations and indemnities. The Decree proclaimed the principles and norms of socialist foreign policy, such as internationalism, the peaceful coexistence of states, the right of nations to self-detemination, the equality of big and small nations, condemnation of colonialism, refusal to employ aggression in any form, renunciation of secret diplomacy, and an appeal to peoples themselves to resolve the fundamental questions in international politics. As a first step towards putting an end to the war, the Decree on Peace suggested that the parties at war should conclude a truce.

Soon the Soviet Government officially submitted a proposal for negotiations on an armistice to begin immediately. The bourgeois governments of the USA, Great Britain, France and the other countries rejected the Soviet peaceful initiative, because they did not wish to end the war before

they had managed to carry out their aggressive plans. Germany and her allies agreed to the Soviet proposal to begin peace talks, in the hope of gaining time to consolidate their military positions on the Western Front. The armistice agreement lasting 28 days was signed by Soviet Russia and the countries of the German-Austrian bloc on December 2(15), 1917.

The Soviet Government attributed great importance to establishing new relations, based on equal rights, with the oppressed countries and peoples. Soviet Russia annulled and published the secret treaties concluded by the tsarist and Provisional governments (among them the treaties on the partitioning by the imperialists of Persia, Turkey, and China). More than one hundred secret diplomatic documents of the imperialist states were published. The Declaration of Rights of the Peoples of Russia of November 2 (15), 1917, became a vital document in Soviet foreign policy. This document proclaimed the principles of friendship, equal rights, and mutual respect among all nations, the right of the peoples of Russia to free self-determination, up to and including secession and the formation of an independent state. Soon after that, Soviet Russia recognised the state independence of Poland and Finland. The attitude of the Soviet Government to the oppressed peoples of the East was a particularly solicitous one. In the document "To All Working Moslems of Russia and the East" of November 20 (December 3), 1917, the Soviet Government outlined the fundamentals of its policy and assured the working Moslems of Russia of its respect for their beliefs and customs, for their national and cultural institutions and their right to arrange their own national way of life. All these acts by the Soviet Government testify to the beginning of a new age in relations among states and to the emergence in the international arena of a force which for the first time in history countered the policy of plunder and violence with a policy of peace and equal rights among peoples.

Peace negotiations began between Soviet Russia and Germany in Brest-Litovsk (now the town of Brest) on December 9 (22), 1917. At the talks the Soviet delegation submitted a proposal for a democratic and fair peace. It demanded the withdrawal of foreign troops from the territories occupied by them, in particular, from Poland, Lithuania, Kurland and other areas of Russia and that the population

of these territories should be allowed to decide their future for themselves. The leaders of the German delegation, however, announced that Germany had no intention of withdrawing its troops from the occupied territories. Germany's aggressive territorial claims covered an area of more than 150,000 sq km, including Polish, Lithuanian, Latvian, Estonian, Ukrainian, and Byelorussian lands. Such inflexibility on the part of Germany seriously complicated the situation at the talks.

Moreover, there were differences of opinion among the Soviet leaders as to whether the negotiations should be continued or whether peace should be made on these exacting terms. Lenin considered that Soviet Russia should make peace immediately. In spite of Germany's extortionate demands regarding Soviet Russia, the immediate conclusion of peace was, in Lenin's opinion, the young Soviet state's only salvation. Meanwhile, Trotsky, as well as Bukharin and the other so-called "left-wing Communists" opposed Lenin's view. Bukharin and his followers submitted the proposal that a "revolutionary war" should be started against Germany, which the young Soviet state could not wage. Trotsky, however, contrary to Lenin's policy, proposed that the state of war should be proclaimed ended, the army should be demobilised along the whole front, but a peace treaty should not be signed. It was Trotsky's fault that the negotiations had been wrecked.

On February 18, 1918, the German army resumed military operations and launched offensives along the whole front. The Soviet state was in mortal danger. The invaders were only halted at the cost of supreme efforts on the part of the newly formed Red Army. Only then did Germany and its allies agree to continue the talks. But now they made even more exacting territorial and economic claims on the Soviet state than earlier. The Land of Soviets was forced to agree to Germany's peace terms and on March 3, 1918, the Brest Peace Treaty was signed. According to this treaty, Germany annexed Poland, Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia, and turned the Ukraine into its vassal. Turkey received Batumi, Kars, and Ardagan. The Soviet Government agreed to pay Germany a huge indemnity (6,000 million gold marks) and conclude with it an unequal trade agreement. According to the Brest Treaty Soviet Russia's army was to be demobilised and the navy was to be disarmed. The

positive significance of the Brest Peace for Soviet Russia consisted in the fact that the latter withdrew from the imperialist war, obtained the respite it needed and consolidated its position at home.

The policy of peace pursued by the Soviet state made a tremendous impression on peoples throughout the world. In view of it, the imperialist governments came out with a number of demagogic statements and declarations. Thus, on January 8, 1918, in his address to the US Congress, President Woodrow Wilson of the United States put forward The Fourteen Points of the Post-War Peace Settlement, in which the following was proclaimed: renunciation of secret diplomacy, freedom of international trade, reduction of armaments, the setting up of the League of Nations as "an instrument of peace", the solution of colonial questions taking into account the interests of the oppressed peoples, the just settlement of the territorial issues in Russia, France, Italy, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and so forth. However, the actual goal of the Wilson's "fourteen points" was to disguise the real aggressive intentions of the USA and its allies. In respect of Russia, these points envisaged the partitioning of Russia, its elimination as a great power, and the defeat of Soviet power within the country.

In actual fact, soon after the October Revolution, the imperialist powers set about organising intervention against Soviet Russia. In January 1918, with the support of the Entente countries, Romania occupied Bessarabia, which was part of Soviet Russia. On March 9, 1918, interventionist forces landed at Murmansk. In April, Japanese and British troops invaded the Soviet Far East. On June 29, 1918, American troops landed there too. In violation of the Brest Treaty, German forces occupied the Ukraine and the Donbas, and, advancing along the Don, invaded the Kursk, Orel, and Voronezh provinces and seized the Crimea. Together with the white Finns, German units entered the territory of Soviet Russia on the Karelian isthmus. A number of areas in the Caucasus were occupied by Turkish troops. On May 26, 1918, an anti-Soviet mutiny began in the Czechoslovak Corps (a corps formed of Czech and Slovak prisoners of war in Russia). This mutiny led to the temporary overthrow of Soviet power in several cities from Penza to Siberia. In the summer of 1918 the British captured Ar-

changel, invaded Turkestan and Transcaucasia and occupied Baku.

Foreign intervention was accompanied by the renewed activity of the counter-revolutionary underground movement (the Lockhart plot in Moscow and the Cromie plot in Petrograd). In August 1918, the counter-revolutionaries committed a number of terrorist acts (the assassination of the eminent Soviet statesmen, Uritsky and Volodarsky, the attempt on Lenin's life in which he was gravely wounded). The imperialists set up an economic blockade and pursued a policy of diplomatic isolation of Soviet Russia. The Land of Soviets was in mortal danger. The respite for the Soviet state proved to be a short one.

The enemies of Soviet power tried to do away with the Brest Peace Treaty and frustrate the normalisation of relations between Soviet Russia and Germany. On July 6, 1918, the Socialist-Revolutionary Blyumkin assassinated the German Ambassador to Soviet Russia, Count Mirbach. At the same time, the Socialist-Revolutionaries staged revolts in protest against Soviet power in Moscow, Rybinsk, Yaroslavl, and other towns. The rebels demanded that war should immediately be declared on Germany. A situation was created that was hazardous for Soviet Russia, for it could again be drawn into a destructive war with Germany. It did, however, manage to avoid this war thanks to the firm and flexible policy pursued by the Soviet Government.

The Paris Peace Conference (1919). The First World War ended at the very height of the Civil War and foreign intervention. Germany and its allies suffered defeat. On November 11, 1918, Germany signed an armistice agreement with the countries of the Entente in the forest of Compiègne. On November 13, 1918, the Soviet Government annulled the Brest Treaty and all the agreements ensuing from it. So, just as Lenin had foreseen, the humiliating Brest Treaty did not last for long. After the world war ended the Anglo-Franco-American grouping was able to concentrate its forces against Soviet Russia. In the second half of November 1918, Anglo-French troops landed in Novbrossiisk, Sevastopol, and Odessa. Besides, the victorious powers suggested that Germany should keep its troops in the Ukraine and the Baltic countries and join

the struggle against Soviet Russia.

At the same time, the countries of the Entente set about dividing up their spoils. On January 18, 1919, the Paris Conference of the victor states started, attended by more than one thousand delegates from 27 countries. The sponsors of the conference refused to allow representatives of Soviet Russia to attend, but invited Russian whiteguards. Although the Paris Peace Conference was to work out a peace treaty with Germany and its allies, one of the main issues was, however, "the Russian question". Those heading the conference strove to elaborate an agreed stand for the purpose of destroying Soviet Russia and partitioning it.

The conference was the 'scene of extremely heated wrangling among the USA, Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan to divide up the world. The United States, which had grown considerably stronger economically, financially, militarily and politically during the war years and was doing its utmost to become the leader of the capitalist world, was very active at the conference. Although the USA was not a member of the League of Nations, it participated, along with the other imperialist states of the Entente which had been victorious in the First World War, in partitioning Germany's former colonies (and also some of Turkey's possessions), which had been placed under the control of the victor countries on the basis of the Mandate of the League of Nations. The American proposals on "freedom of the seas", "free trade", "free settlement of colonial questions" were aimed at preventing Britain, France and Japan from gaining in strength and at getting access to their colonial possessions. Besides this, the USA tried to preserve Germany's forces for the struggle against Soviet Russia and also as "a political counterbalance" to Britain and France in Western Europe.

At the conference France attempted to bring about the partitioning of Germany into a number of small states, in the hope of extending its own frontiers in Europe as well as seizing a considerable part of the Turkish and German colonies. The French diplomats did, moreover, strive to receive more than 50 per cent of the total sum of the reparations paid by Germany. France's plans also included establishing its own hegemony in Europe.

Britain's main aim at the conference was to wind up the actual status quo in agreements. The British armed forces

had seized a considerable part of the German colonies in Africa and the former Turkish possessions. The German fleet stood at anchor in the Scottish harbour of Scapa Flow. Well aware that Germany was no match for it, Britain was interested in preserving the German state for the "balance of forces on the mainland of Europe", as well as for the struggle against Soviet Russia.

At the conference, the Italian diplomats strove to obtain for their country a number of territories in the Balkans which were part of the Austria-Hungary before the war.

Japan demanded that the Chinese province of Shandong and the German colonies in the Pacific should be handed over to it. It was supported in its demands by Great Britain, which was trying to draw support from Japanese imperialism in its rivalry with the USA.

The six months that the Paris Peace Conference was in progress led to agreement among the victor states on the main clauses of the peace treaties. The peace treaty with Germany was signed on June 28, 1919, in Versailles. Germany and its allies were proclaimed guilty of starting the war, and they were obliged to pay reparations. The sum of the reparations was established later at the London Conference in 1921 and amounted to 132,000 million gold marks. The Treaty of Versailles prohibited universal military service in Germany, and did not permit Germany to have submarines and military and naval aircraft. The army formed of volunteers was to number no more than 100,000. France recovered its provinces of Alsace and Lorraine seized by Germany in 1871, and the mines in the Saar region were also put under its control. The German part of the left bank of the Rhine and a strip of the right bank 50 kilometres wide were subject to complete demilitarisation. Belgium was allotted the Eupen and Malmédy districts. The northern part of the lands in Schleswig were turned to Denmark. Poznan, the regions of Pomerania, western and eastern Prussia, and also part of Upper Silesia were handed over to Poland. Danzig (Gdansk) became a free city administered by the League of Nations.

The German colonies of Togo and the Cameroons became the possessions of Great Britain and France. Britain also. received Tanganyika (former German East Africa), Belgium got Ruanda and Urundi, and the South African Union, German South-West Africa. Japan was assigned the

Marshall, Mariana and Caroline islands in the Pacific, as well as the Chinese territory of Jiaozhou and the concession in the province of Shandong.

Separate peace treaties were signed with Germany's allies. The Treaty of St. Germain with Austria of September 10, 1919, stated that the former Austria-Hungarian monarchy had ceased to exist. Part of the southern Tirol was handed over to Italy. Czechia and Moravia became part' of the new state of Czechoslovakia. Bukovina was handed over to Romania, inspite of the decision of the people's assembly (veche) of November 3, 1918, on its reunification with the Soviet Ukraine. Austria was permitted to have a 30,000-strong army. Its fleet was handed over to the allies. The treaty prohibited the unification of Austria and Germany.

According to the peace treaty with Bulgaria signed in Neuilly-sur-Seine on November 27, 1919, part of its territory was turned over to Yugoslavia and Romania. The Bulgarian army was restricted to 20,000 men.

The peace treaty with Hungary was signed on June 4, 1920, in the Grand Trianon palace in Versailles. According to this treaty, Croatia, Backa and the western part of Banat went to Yugoslavia, Transylvania and the eastern part of Banat went to Romania, and Slovakia and the Transcarpathian Ukraine to Czechoslovakia. Hungary was allowed to have an army of no more than 35,000 effectives, and, like all Germany's other allies, paid reparations to the victors.

On August 10, 1920, the victor states concluded the Peace Treaty of Sèvres with Turkey which legalised the partitioning of the Ottoman Empire. Turkey lost approximately 80 per cent of its possessions (Palestine, Transjordan, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, and other territories). International control was enforced over the Black Sea Straits by the countries of the Entente (mainly Great Britain). The straits became a demilitarised zone, and any non-Black Sea state was conceded the unimpeded right of passage through them for its naval vessels. Turkey, a limited part of the peninsula of Asia Minor, and the strip of European territory on which Istanbul stands, was essentially placed in colonial dependence. The imperialist powers regarded it as an important anti-Soviet bridgehead.

At the Paris Conference the League of Nations was founded the Charter of which was included in the texts of the

peace treaties and signed by 44 countries. Article 16 of the Charter envisaged the possibility of the League of Nations applying collective economic and military sanctions against an aggressor. But the founders of the League of Nations did not strive to use it in the interests of peace and the security of nations. It was their purpose, under the guise of peace-loving phrases, to preserve the existing international order that they had created after the war and which allowed them to pursue their aggressive policy unhindered. The United States failed to make the League of Nations an instrument for achieving its domination of the world, for Britain and France had asserted their influence in it. The US imperialists considered that they had been done out of their fair share at the Paris Peace Conference. Therefore, they refused to approve the Versailles Treaty and did not join the League of Nations. Later, the USA signed a separate treaty with Germany, which was the same in its content as the Versailles Treaty with the exception of the articles on the League of Nations.

This is how the Versailles system of treaties came about which recorded the arrangement of the international forces in Europe after the First World War and consolidated the Anglo-Franco-American supremacy in the capitalist world. This system was fraught with serious contradictions. The extortionate terms dictated by the treaties placed a heavy burden upon the shoulders of the working people and led to the spread of revanchist and chauvinist moods, especially in Germany. The anti-Soviet trend of the Versailles system was also quite obvious. According to the designs of its founders, the defeated Germany was to turn into a counter-revolutionary force which they intended to use against Soviet Russia. All this tended to make the international order ensuing from the Versailles system unstable.

The failure of the anti-Soviet intervention. After the Paris Peace Conference had ended, the leaders of the imperialist powers continued to intervene in Soviet Russia. The governments of the Entente countries made great efforts to encourage Soviet Russia's neighbouring states to join in the intervention. In these circumstances, the Soviet Government tried as hard as it could to split the united anti-Soviet front and to frustrate the intervention. At the end of August and the beginning of September 1919, the Soviet Government

submitted proposals to the bourgeois governments of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Finland that peace talks should be started. The defeat of Yudenich's and Denikin's troops by the Red Army seriously affected the positions of these countries. On February 2, 1920, a peace treaty was signed between Estonia and the RSFSR, according to which the independence of the Estonian state was recognised. Similar treaties were signed with Lithuania (June 12, 1920) and Latvia (August 11, 1920). A peace treaty with Finland was signed in Yurev (Tartu) on October 14, 1920. The problem of evacuating the Czechoslovak Corps from Russia was also settled. To avoid a military conflict with Japan, a Far Eastern Republic was founded on April 6, 1920, which at that time acted as a buffer state between Soviet Russia and Japan. These actions on the part of Soviet diplomacy were of no small importance in restoring normal relations between Soviet Russia and the neighbouring states and in undermining the interventionist policy pursued by international imperialism.

The Soviet Government repeatedly called upon the reactionary Polish Government, too, to begin peace talks. But spurred on by international imperialism, bourgeois and landowner Poland also became a party to the anti-Soviet intervention. On April 25, 1920, the Polish forces equipped with materiel supplied by France, the USA, and Britain, attacked Soviet Russia. Simultaneously, the Baron Wrangel's whiteguard army, which was deployed in the Crimea, also launched an offensive on Russia. The Entente began another campaign. But by that time the Red Army had already grown considerably stronger and could offer a swift and decisive rebuff to the interventionists and whiteguards. On July 22, 1920, the Polish Government submitted a proposal to Soviet Russia on peace negotiations. On October 12, 1920, an agreement on an armistice and preliminary peace terms was signed with Poland in Riga, and on March 18, 1921, a peace treaty was signed in Riga. In these circumstances, the Soviet Government was forced to agree to the western areas of the Ukraine and Byelorussia being incorporated into Poland. Nevertheless, the end of the war with Poland did essentially signify the cessation of the foreign intervention against Soviet Russia in Europe. So, the Soviet Republic defended its independence and ensured itself the peace needed for socialist construction.

During the years of foreign intervention the Soviet Government began to establish new relations, based on genuine equality of rights, with the countries of the East. The Soviet-Iranian Treaty was signed in Moscow on February 26, 1921. According to this treaty, all agreements concluded by the tsarist government with Iran or other states encroaching upon the independence and sovereignty of Iran were annulled. Normal diplomatic, consular and trade relations were established between the two countries, and frontier conflicts were settled. The Soviet Government handed over to Iran gratuitously the money from the discount bank of Iran, and also all the movable and immovable property belonging to Russia but located on the territory of Iran, worth some 600 million gold roubles. Soviet Russia also relinquished all the concessions wrung from Iran by the tsarist government. Both sides stated that they would refrain from interference in each other's internal affairs and would not allow the formation or presence on their territories of forces hostile to Iran and Soviet Russia and states allied to them. Article 6 of the treaty stipulated that in the case of the armed invasion of the territory of Iran on the part of any other state, Soviet Russia had the right to bring its troops into the territory of Iran to take the necessary measures against the aggressor. The agreement of 1921 laid the foundation for new relations between Iran and Russia and assisted Iran in consolidating its independence and sovereignty.

One of the first states with which Soviet Russia established diplomatic relations was Afghanistan. On February 28, 1921, the Soviet-Afghan Treaty was signed in Moscow according to which both sides reciprocally recognised their independence and undertook not to enter into military or political agreements hostile to one another with a third power. The Soviet Government undertook to render Afghanistan financial and other aid, including measures to strengthen its defence capacity, and supply it with technical and other specialists. The Soviet-Afghan Treaty played an important part in stabilising the independence and sovereignty of Afghanistan and paved the way for friendly relations, based on equality between the two countries.

The Soviet Government invariably spoke out in favour of the establishment of normal and friendly relations with Turkey as well. A wide-scale national liberation movement had

started in Turkey under the influence of the October Revolution. The new revolutionary government in Turkey headed by Kemal Atatürk proposed that diplomatic relations should be established with Soviet Russia, that a military alliance should be concluded and asked for aid for Turkey in its struggle against foreign interventionists. On March 16, 1921, the Treaty of Friendship and Fraternity was signed in Moscow between Soviet Russia and Turkey. According to the treaty, Turkey recovered the Ardagan and Kars districts, the Batumi district was handed over to Georgia, and the Nakhichevan province became part of Soviet Azerbaijan as an autonomous territory. All the old agreements were annulled. Soviet Russia released Turkey from its financial and other obligations concluded with tsarist Russia. The regime of capitulation was condemned. The question of the Straits was to be discussed at a future conference of the Black Sea littoral states. Soviet Russia provided Turkey with financial aid to the tune of 100 million gold roubles. It also rendered the military aid needed to combat foreign intervention. The Soviet-Turkish Treaty greatly facilitated the consolidation of Turkey's independence and international status and laid the foundations for friendly relations between the two countries.

Friendly relations developed between Soviet Russia and Mongolia where a popular revolution was underway. In February 1918 and August 1919, the Soviet Government informed the Mongolian Government that it had abrogated the fettering tsarist agreements, cancelled Mongolia's debts, recognised its right to independence, and suggested that relations should be established on the basis of equality. In the autumn of 1920 the Mongolian revolutionaries sent their delegation to Moscow and an agreement was reached on the joint struggle against the whiteguard bands in Mongolia. On November 5, 1921, during the visit of the Mongolian delegation headed by Sukhe Bator to Moscow, an agreement was signed on the establishment of friendly relations between the RSFSR and Mongolia. The agreement led to the elaboration of fraternal economic and political cooperation between the two countries. Soviet-Mongolian friendship became a pledge of Mongolia's independence, its development along the path to socialism, bypassing capitalism.

The establishment of new relations based on equality

between Soviet Russia and the countries of the East facilitated the consolidation of their independence, safeguarded the security of the Soviet state's southern frontiers and heightened the role of socialism and the countries of the East in international relations.

The Washington Conference. Soon after the First World War had ended, the problem of reconsidering the spheres of influence in the Pacific and the Far East became a particularly acute one. Bearing in mind that the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeois-landowner system in Russia had put an end to the claims made by Russian tsarism's foreign policy, the imperialist powers, first and foremost the USA and Japan, calculated on strengthening and expanding the spheres of their dominion there. Taking advantage of the fall of the Russian Empire, the defeat of Germany and also the existence of contradictions between Britain and the USA, Japan reckoned on establishing its own monopoly on expansion in the Pacific, especially in China. These strivings on the part of Japan were not to the liking of the American imperialists. And they also began to demand for themselves an "open door" and "equal opportunities" in the Pacific and in Asia. However, the USA lagged behind Japan and Britain in naval armaments. Therefore, the United States began to combine its striving for further expansion in the Pacific with the idea of limiting armaments.

A conference was convened in Washington from November 12, 1921, through February 6, 1922 on the initiative of the USA. The conference was attended by the representatives of nine countries—the USA, Great Britain and its dominions, Japan, France, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, Portugal, and China. Representatives of Soviet Russia and the Far Eastern Republic were not invited to the conference, although the questions considered at it touched upon the fundamental interests of the Soviet people.

The conference discussed the Far East problem and the question of limiting naval armaments. The outcome of it was the signing of several agreements. Thus, the Four-Power Treaty (the USA, Britain, France, and Japan) envisaged the reciprocal guarantees of its participants with regard to the security of their possessions in the Pacific. As a result of this, the Anglo-Japanese Alliance Treaty of 1911

was cancelled. The American imperialists were thereby able to put pressure on Britain, to break up its alliance with Japan and the recognition for itself of "equal rights and opportunities" in exploiting the countries of Asia. Essentially, the Four-Power Treaty meant combining the efforts of its participants in enslaving the countries of Asia and suppressing the national liberation movement there.

The USA also gained great advantages from the Nine-Power Treaty "providing" territorial integrity and independence of China. Naturally, the treaty was not concerned with the sovereign rights of the Chinese people; on the contrary, it envisaged measures to enslave it even further. The American representatives managed to get the "open door" and "equal opportunities" principles in China included in this agreement. The aim of the American imperialists was to gradually oust their rivals from China and turn that country into its own colony.

The Five-Power Treaty (Britain, the USA, Japan, France, and Italy) Limiting Naval Armaments was also signed at the conference; according to this treaty the building of battleships with a displacement of more than 35 thousand tons was prohibited. This was advantageous for the USA which lagged behind in the building of such ships, and, what is more, these vessels could not go through the Panama Canal. To the USA's satisfaction, the Washington Conference established the following (respectively) proportions regarding the overall tonnage of battleships for Britain, the USA, Japan, France, and Italy: 5:5:3:1.75:1.75 The Americans thereby managed to compel Britain to renounce the old rule that its fleet should not be weaker than the combined fleets of the two other strongest sea powers.

The Washington Conference was a great victory for the USA in its rivalry with Japan and Britain for dominion in the Pacific. The decisions taken there were a kind of addition to the Versailles system of post-war treaties. At the same time, like the decisions taken at the Paris Peace Conference, they had an anti-Soviet trend.

The strengthening of Soviet Russia's international position. The international conferences in Genoa and the Hague. After the defeat of the foreign interventionists and the white-guards, the imperialists were forced to give up armed intervention in the affairs of Soviet Russia. But they had cal-

culated that they would be able to achieve the elimination of Bolshevism "by peaceful means", i.e. by means of starvation and economic blockade, and also by economic cooperation terms which could lead to the enslavement of Russia and to the abolition of Soviet power. Meanwhile, the capitalist countries, especially in Europe, needed to restore and promote economic relations with Russia; they required raw materials, oil in particular, and the delivery of machines and other traditional items of export. The capitalist countries started to revise the policy pursued by them regarding Soviet Russia. Estonia was the first European state with which the Soviet country concluded a trade agreement (March 31, 1920).

Of the large countries that had been victorious in the world war of 1914-1918 the first to establish economic relations with Soviet Russia was Britain. On March 16, 1921, the Anglo-Soviet Trade Agreement was signed, in which Britain recognised the Soviet state de facto. The political clauses of the agreement envisaged the reciprocal renunciation by the sides of hostilities and propaganda against one another. The corresponding article referred to the renunciation of the blockade policy and the resumption of trade. On May 6, 1921, a Trade Agreement was signed between the RSFSR and Germany which included articles on the recognition by Germany of the Soviet representation as the only lawful representation of Russia. The Soviet representation was granted diplomatic rights and privileges. Similar agreements were concluded between the Soviet state and Norway, Austria, Italy, Denmark, and Czechoslovakia. The government of the USA continued to take a negative stand regarding trade with Soviet Russia just as before.

The ruling circles in many capitalist states continued to insist on the payment by the Soviet Government of all the pre-war and wartime debts which amounted to more than 18,000 million gold roubles and on the return to foreign ign capitalists of the property nationalised in Russia or the payment of compensation for it. The Soviet Government declared its readiness to recognise Russia's pre-war foreign debts on certain conditions and suggested that an international economic conference be convened. In this connection, the Entente powers decided to convene a conference of all the European states, including

Soviet Russia, in Genoa.

The Genoa Conference, which was held in April and May 1922, was attended by the representatives of 29 states. The Soviet delegation was headed by Georgi Chicherin. However, all the work of the Soviet delegation was supervised from Moscow by Lenin. On the instructions of the Soviet Government, Georgi Chicherin put forward a proposal at the first session of the conference on April 10, 1922, on the universal reduction of arms and armies of all countries, the complete prohibition of war, above all its most barbaric forms. The Soviet delegation also demanded that the countries involved in the anti-Soviet intervention, compensate for the losses suffered by Soviet Russia. The Soviet claims amounted to the sum of 39,000 million gold roubles. While refusing to pay war debts, the Soviet delegation declared its readiness to pay pre-war debts on definite terms and, when granting concessions, give preference to former owners of enterprises. It was made clear that the payment of pre-war debts would be possible if sufficient financial aid were rendered and would not start for ten to fifteen years. These were realistic proposals and, to a certain extent, compromises.

The representatives of the Western powers rejected the Soviet proposals, they put forward their claims on Soviet Russia with regard to the debts and nationalised property. Moreover, the Western powers demanded that foreigners should be granted extensive rights in the sphere of economic and commercial activities in Soviet Russia similar to those they had had in the colonial countries. Essentially, these were far-reaching designs to fetter Russia economically and restore capitalism there. The Soviet Government could not agree to such demands by the imperialist states.

During the Genoa Conference the Soviet delegation achieved great diplomatic success, having signed a treaty between Soviet Russia and Germany on April 16, 1922, in Rapallo, in the suburbs of Genoa. In accordance with the treaty, diplomatic relations were established between the RSFSR and Germany. Both sides reciprocally renounced reimbursement for war expenditures and losses and also for the cost of keeping prisoners of war. Germany gave up its claims to the payment of old debts and compensation for the nationalised foreign property in Russia. The Rapallo Treaty served as a positive example of the settlement of

relations between states with different social systems. The Soviet delegation could not achieve any kind of agreement with the other powers.

On May 19, 1922, the Genoa Conference was announced suspended. The conference was continued in the Hague from June 26 through July 20, 1922. Just as before, the foreign diplomats insisted upon the satisfaction of their demands. The Soviet delegation agreed to make certain concessions, in particular, regarding the payment of part of the pre-war debts (without interest), if Soviet Russia were to obtain the respective credits. The imperialists did not accept this proposal, and the work of the conference again came to a halt.

Soon after the conference, the Soviet Government submitted to the governments of Poland, Finland, Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia a proposal on the joint discussion of arms reduction. In December 1922, a conference was held in Moscow attended by the USSR and the above-mentioned countries. The bourgeois states represented at the Moscow Conference refused to reduce their own armed forces, but the very formulation of the question on disarmament received a lively response among the population at large.

The stabilisation of the internal and international position of Soviet Russia, the rout of the interventionists, the establishment of the Soviet socialist system throughout almost the entire territory of former tsarist Russia, the increasingly strong unity of the Soviet and people's republics created conditions for their unification into a single socialist state. On December 30, 1922, the All-Union Congress of Soviets took place which, at the suggestion of Lenin, approved the Treaty on the Formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The formation of the USSR was an event of tremendous historic and international importance. This act fortified the unity and strength of the Soviet peoples even further in the face of hostile capitalist encirclement.

The Lausanne Conference. In the autumn of 1922 the national forces of Turkey drove the British and Greek interventionists out of the country, thereby putting an end to the Sèvres Treaty. The foreign imperialists tried to involve Turkey in a fresh unequal treaty and put forward a proposal to hold a conference to conclude a peace treaty. The Conference started in Lausanne, Switzerland, on November 20,

1922. The conference was attended by the Soviet delegation which energetically defended the interests of the Black Sea powers, including Turkey. The Soviet programme at the conference envisaged the protection of Turkey's national interests, the closing of the Straits to warships of all countries (except Turkey) in peacetime and in wartime and the complete freedom of commercial navigation.

Supported by France and Italy, the British delegation spoke in favour of the free passage of warships through the Straits both in peacetime and in wartime and also the demilitarisation of coastal areas and putting them under the control of an international commission in which not only the Black Sea powers would be represented. These proposals were aimed at violating the sovereign rights of Turkey, created a danger for the frontiers of the Soviet Union and other littoral states and placed the Straits' zone under the control of foreign imperialism, above all Great Britain. The Soviet delegation spoke out categorically against the British project. However, Turkey made concessions contrary to its own interests and the interests of the other Black Sea powers and did, in the main, agree to the British proposal.

The Lausanne Conference completed its work on July 24, 1923. Turkey managed to get back some of its territories and abolish the capitulation regime and financial control by foreign capital. The convention on the Straits envisaged their disarmament and opening (with certain restrictions placed on the non-Black Sea powers) for the passage of the warships of all countries. International control was retained over the Straits. The Lausanne Conference clashed with the interests of the security of the Black Sea countries and therefore the USSR refused to ratify it.

The activities of Soviet diplomacy at the Lausanne Conference heightened the international authority of the Soviet state, and this caused the hatred and malice of international imperialism. Foreign reaction was nurturing new anti-Soviet designs. Evidence of this, in particular, was the ultimatum by the British Minister of Foreign Affairs, Lord Curzon, to the Soviet Government on May 8, 1923. Curzon demanded that the Soviet Government pay compensation for repressing British spies. He defended the counter-revolutionary clergymen who had been sentenced by the Soviet court. Moreover, the minister accused the Soviet Govem-

ment of anti-British propaganda in India, Iran, and Afghanistan and demanded that the Soviet representatives be recalled from the two latter countries. Were the Soviet Government to refuse to satisfy these demands, Curzon threatened to break off the existing de facto Anglo-Soviet relations. The Curzon ultimatum served as a signal for expanding the anti-Soviet campaign in other capitalist countries. Jhe Government of the USSR gave a decisive rebuff to the impudent claims of the imperialist circles in Britain. The Curzon ultimatum was categorically rejected by the Soviet Government. The ruling circles of Britain did not dare to carry out the threat contained in this ultimatum.

2. International Relations and the USSR's Foreign Policy in the Period of Partial Stabilisation of Capitalism

The beginning of a period of partial, relative stabilisation for capitalism, on the one hand, and the start of socialist construction in the USSR, on the other, made a telling impact on international relations.

Recognition of the USSR by the capitalist countries (1924-1925). The successful socialist construction strengthened the USSR's international position and heightened the interest of the capitalist countries in the development of foreign economic ties with the Soviet state. In this connection, a period started when diplomatic relations were established with the Soviet Union. The normalisation of diplomatic relations between the USSR and Great Britain, whose position influenced the other capitalist countries, was of paramount importance. On February 2, 1924, the Soviet Union received a note from MacDonald's Labour Government on the recognition by Great Britain of the USSR. The normalisation of diplomatic relations between Great Britain and the USSR was a considerable attainment for the peace-loving foreign policy of the young Soviet state.

From mid-1920 Soviet-Italian relations were actively being promoted. The need to further these relations prompted the government of Italy to establish diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia. On February 7, 1924, an ex-

change of declarations took place between Italy and the USSR on the establishment of diplomatic relations. At the same time, a trade agreement was also signed.

The moods in favour of diplomatic recognition of the USSR gained in strength both in trade and industrial circles and especially among the broad democratic strata in France. In May 1924, a government of the left bloc headed by Edouard Herriot came to power which manifested its striving for diplomatic recognition of the USSR. On October 28, Herriot sent a telegram to the Chairman of the All-Union Central Executive Committee, Mikhail Kalinin, in which France declared its readiness to establish normal diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and exchange ambassadors. However, the development of Soviet-French relations was hindered by the lack of a trade agreement.

In 1924, Norway, Austria, Sweden, Greece, and Denmark established diplomatic relations with the USSR. Thus, the USSR had won extensive diplomatic recognition in Europe. The Soviet Government also established friendly relations with the government of Sun Yat-sen formed in February 1923 in Canton (China). In the face of the growing anti-imperialist movement in China the Peking government also signed an agreement on the establishment of diplomatic and consular relations with the Soviet Union on May 31, 1924. In January 1925, the Japanese-Soviet Convention was signed in accordance with which diplomatic consular relations were established between Japan and the USSR. Japan agreed to evacuate its troops from Northern Sakhalin by May 15, 1925. On August 4, 1924, Mexico took a decision on establishing diplomatic relations with the USSR. On August 21-22, 1926, there was an exchange of telegrams between the USSR and Uruguay on the establishment of diplomatic relations. Attempts were made to establish diplomatic relations with Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Venezuela, El Salvador, Colombia, and Bolivia. But the USSR's relations with these countries were not normalised at that time largely owing to the opposition of the USA. Of the big powers only the USA continued to persist in the fruitless policy of non-recognition of the USSR.

The Dawes Plan. In the years of stabilisation Germany's economic situation remained extremely grave. In a situation where world contradictions were becoming increasingly

acute, Germany decided to refuse to pay reparations. Back in 1922 Germany raised the question of delaying payment of the reparations and refused to make the next payment. In response to this, in January 1923 France and Belgium sent their troops into the Ruhr area, thereby causing an acute international crisis. Not wishing for France to become stronger in Europe, the governments of the USA and Great Britain compelled it to make concessions with regard to the reparations. The London Conference held in 1924 approved the report compiled by the commission of experts under the supervision of the American representative Dawes (the Dawes Plan).

In accordance with this plan, France withdrew its troops from the Ruhr area. Every year Germany was to pay a certain sum of reparations (gradually increasing it from 1,000 million marks in 1924-1925 to 2,500 million marks in 1928-1929). The plan envisaged the granting to Germany of a large international loan (800 million marks chiefly from the USA). According to Dawes' recommendations the golden rain of American loans poured down on Germany. The German economy was made dependent on foreign, mainly American, capital. The main source of covering the reparations was to be the income of the state budget from high indirect taxes on consumer goods, and this meant the greater exploitation of the people. The Dawes Plan was intended to intensify Germany's foreign trade operations on the markets of the Soviet Union. Thus, this plan did not eliminate but rather aggravated both the internal German as well as the international contradictions; it facilitated the rebirth of the war machine of German imperialism, encouraged revanchist moods in the country, cleared the ground for fascism and made Germany concentrate on furthering expansion eastwards, towards the USSR. The adoption of the Dawes Plan testified to the strengthening of the USA's positions in Europe and to the failure of the attempts by French imperialism to establish its hegemony.

The Locarno Conference. On October 5-16, 1925, a conference was held in Locarno, Switzerland, which was attended by representatives of Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, Poland, and Czechoslovakia. The Locarno Conference adopted the Rhine (guarantee) Pact which was called upon to ensure the inviolability of the French-Ger-

man and Belgian-German frontiers. France, Belgium, and Germany undertook not to resort to war. The main guarantors of the Locarno agreements were Great Britain and Italy. The conference did not adopt a decision on the extension of the guarantees to the frontiers of Germany with Czechoslovakia and Poland. German imperialism was thereby given to understand that the path of its aggression to the East remained open. Germany received an invitation to join the League of Nations. The Locarno agreements were evidence of a further weakening of France's positions. The Soviet Government saw in the Locarno agreements a new step towards setting up and expanding the anti-Soviet coalition of the imperialist powers.

The USSR's treaties with the neighbouring countries on neutrality and non-aggression. The Soviet Government took diplomatic steps to lessen the anti-Soviet bias of the Locarno Conference. On October 12, 1925, while the Locarno Conference was still going on, Germany and the USSR signed a trade agreement. Then, on April 24, 1926, a Treaty of Neutrality and Non-Aggression was signed by them. Article 2 of the Treaty stated: "Should a third power, or should several third powers, without being provoked, attack one of the contracting parties, the other contracting party shall observe neutrality for the complete duration of the conflict." The Soviet Union and Germany undertook not to join in the economic and financial boycott of each other and to continue to honour the Rapallo Treaty.

The Soviet Government attributed special importance to the conclusion of treaties of non-aggression and neutrality with the neighbouring countries. In January 1925 the Soviet Union submitted to Poland a proposal on signing an agreement of non-aggression. As a result of the opposition of Poland and Great Britain, however, this pact was not concluded. The USSR only signed a treaty of neutrality with Lithuania on September 28, 1926. Soviet diplomacy attained greater success in relations with its southern neighbours. Thus, on December 17, 1925, the USSR and Turkey signed a Non-Aggression and Neutrality Treaty. This was a new step in improving Soviet-Turkish relations. The negotiations between the Soviet Union and Afghanistan on a Treaty of Neutrality and Mutual Non-Aggression (signed on August 31, 1926) were successfully completed. On Oc-

tober 1, 1927, the Soviet-Iranian Guarantee and Neutrality Treaty was signed in Moscow and also trade and other economic agreements. All these agreements were fresh evidence of the peace-loving foreign policy of the USSR and dealt a blow at the plans of the imperialists to isolate the Soviet state.

The USSR's campaign for disarmament. In the last third of the 1920s the imperialist powers caused fresh aggravation of the international situation and the extent of the anti-Soviet provocation began to increase. The initiators of this new anti-Soviet campaign were the ruling circles in Great Britain who enjoyed the support of the USA. The Government of Great Britain selected as the cause of this anti-Soviet campaign the international aid rendered by the Soviet workers to the British workers who participated in the general strike in 1926. In connection with the national liberation revolution in China, at the beginning of 1927 the British Government again blamed the Soviet Union for anti-British propaganda. In April 1927, the imperialists provoked an attack on Soviet diplomatic and consular institutions in China. In May 1927, there was a British police raid on the building of the Anglo-Russian cooperative society (ARCOS) and of the USSR Trade Delegation in London, and on May 27, 1927, the Government of Britain declared that diplomatic relations with the USSR were broken off and annulled the 1921 trade agreement. At that time Soviet-Polish relations were also aggravated due to the fact that the Soviet plenipotentiary P. L. Voikov was murdered by anti-Soviet elements in Poland.

In the worsening international situation the Soviet Union actively spoke out in favour of disarmament. In 1927, the Soviet delegation attended the session of the preparatory commission on disarmament convoked within the framework of the League of Nations. The head of the Soviet delegation, M. Litvinov, submitted a declaration at the session of this commission on the implementation of general and complete disarmament, which envisaged the disbanding of all the personnel in the armed forces of all countries, the destruction of all types of weapons, ammunition, chemical means of warfare and other means of mass destruction, the abolition of all naval and air forces and dismantling of bases, the demolition of fortresses, the dis-

banding of war ministries and general staffs, the prohibition of military training, and so forth. But the commission evaded discussing the Soviet proposal. In 1928, at a regular session of the preparatory commission the Soviet Government came out with a project for a convention on immediate, complete and general disarmament, which was also rejected. After this, the USSR drew up and propo-, sed a draft convention on arms reduction, suggesting the implementation of partial measures on disarmament. But this proposal was not accepted either. The peace-loving public in all countries, however, welcomed the Soviet proposals.

To counterveil the peaceful initiative of the Soviet state, the imperialist powers increasingly began to resort to various types of pacifist manoeuvres. In April 1927, the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, Aristide Briand, proposed concluding a Franco-American treaty on eternal friendship and the renunciation of war. The US Secretary of State, Kellogg, declined the idea of a Franco-American treaty on December 28, 1927, and proposed a multilateral pact on renunciation of war (the Briand-Kellogg Pact). The ruling circles in the imperialist countries intended to exclude the Soviet Union from being a party to the pact, thereby making it anti-Soviet in its orientation. But the Soviet Government foiled these designs by declaring its readiness to take part in the negotiations on concluding the Pact.

On August 27, 1928, the Briand-Kellogg Pact was signed, and the Soviet Union also joined that Pact. The Briand-Kellogg Pact condemned war as a means of solving international conflicts, contained the pledge of the contracting parties to renounce war as an instrument of national policy, and demanded of them that they should resolve all conflicts by peaceful means. The Soviet Government proposed that the Briand-Kellogg Pact be enforced ahead of schedule. On February 9, 1929, the Protocol was signed in Moscow according to which the USSR, Latvia, Poland, Romania and Estonia declared that the Pact would be enforced ahead of time. Then Lithuania, Iran, and Turkey also became signatories to the Moscow Protocol. Thus, in the complicated international conditions obtaining in the second half of the 1920s, the Soviet Union actively campaigned for peace, against the attempts to organise fresh

anti-Soviet intervention, for wider international cooperation and disarmament.

3. International Relations and the USSR's Foreign Policy During the World Economic Crisis and on the Eve of the Second World War

The aggravation of world contradictions during the economic crisis. The Young Plan. The economic crisis, which began in the capitalist countries in 1929, exacerbated all the worldwide contradictions. The differences among the imperialist powers, namely the USA and Great Britain, the USA and Japan, France and Italy, Britain and France, and also between Germany and the victor countries, became particularly acute. Moreover, the contradictions between the USSR and the capitalist world, between labour and capital, between the imperialist states and the oppressed peoples were further aggravated. The international situation was extremely unstable and the tussle among the big capitalist powers to redivide the world intensified.

The economic crisis accelerated the imperialist countries' preparations for another world war, created a situation in which the fascist movement became more active and the anti-Soviet aspirations were boosted. The imperialists in the USA, Great Britain, and France calculated on pushing German fascism and Japanese militarism onto the path of war against the USSR. The Soviet country's successful fulfilment of the first five-year plan, aimed at creating the basis of socialism and fortifying the country's defence capacity, evoked fear and malice amongst the reactionary circles and stimulated them to speed up the armed offensive on the USSR.

The question of reparations, which reflected the contradictions of the Versailles system, was again one of the specific manifestations of the worldwide contradictions. In August 1929 and January 1930, a committee of experts worked headed by the US representative Young who drew up new recommendations regarding reparations. According to the plan the sum of the annual reparations payments in Germany was to be decreased by 20 per cent. Germany was to make payments or cancelling its debts right up to the year 1988.

But once the world economic crisis had started, Germa-

ny was incapable of paying the reparations contributions. Therefore, soon after the Young Plan was approved, the Government of Germany posed the question of stopping payments. The US President Herbert Hoover came out with the initiative that the payments should be delayed (the Hoover moratorium). At the Lausanne Conference in 1932 the reparations question was, in fact, abolished. The conference took a decision on redeeming by Germany of its reparations obligations for 3,000 million marks with the repayment of bonds within fifteen years. This essentially meant doing away with the Young Plan.

New peaceful initiatives of the USSR. Under the economic crisis world reaction again began to trumpet from the housetops that there was "a Soviet danger". The big capitalist countries began to boycott Soviet goods and impede normal trade relations. The most reactionary forces made fresh attempts to create a united anti-Soviet front. So, in February 1930 the Pope Pius XI, under the pretext that clergymen and believers in the USSR were being persecuted, called for a crusade against the USSR. Plans for an anti-Soviet campaign were also nurtured by the French General Staff. In May 1930, the French Minister for Foreign Affairs A. Briand put forward the idea of setting up a bloc of continental European states excluding the USSR (the Pan-Europe project). However, the attempts to create this anti-Soviet association failed as a result of the diplomatic steps taken by the USSR and also owing to the aggravation of inter-imperialist contradictions.

To prevent a united anti-Soviet front from being set up the USSR, just as before, attributed no small importance both to the promotion of trade relations and also to non-aggression treaties especially with the neighbouring countries. On December 17, 1929, the 1925 Soviet-Turkish Treaty of Friendship and Neutrality was prolonged. In 1931, a trade agreement was concluded between Turkey and the USSR. On June 24, 1931, the Treaty for Neutrality and Mutual Non-Aggression was signed by the Soviet Union and Afghanistan. The clauses of the 1926 Treaty formed the basis of this treaty. On June 24, 1931, the Soviet Union and Germany signed a Protocol on prolonging the 1926 Neutrality Treaty. On July 15, 1932, a new trade agreement was concluded between the two countries.

Overcoming the resistance offered by the reactionary cir-

cles in Poland, the Soviet Union succeeded in signing a non-aggression and neutrality treaty with it on July 25, 1932. A treaty of non-aggression was signed by the Soviet Union and France on November 29, 1932. The treaty contained pledges not to resort to either war or aggression against one another, to respect the inviolability of the territories of both states, not to render assistance to aggressors should one of the parties be the victim of aggression and not to participate in hostile actions which might cause damage to the trade and financial ties of the contracting parties, not to interfere in each other's internal affairs, not to encourage organisations on its territory hostile to the other side and to resolve all controversies or conflicts by peaceful means. The USSR concluded similar treaties with Finland on January 21, 1932, with Latvia on February 5, 1932, and with Estonia on May 4, 1932. The conclusion of these treaties was a considerable contribution by the USSR to the strengthening of international security and expanding cooperation among states.

The new period of diplomatic recognition of the USSR by a number of capitalist states was evidence of the successes gained by Soviet foreign policy. Of great importance was the establishment on November 16, 1933, of diplomatic relations between the USSR and USA. This act became a significant event in international life. In 1933, diplomatic relations were also established between the USSR and Spain; in 1934, between the USSR and Czechoslovakia, Romania, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Albania; in 1935, with Belgium, Luxembourg and Colombia. All this served to indicate the increased influence and authority of the Soviet Union in the international affairs.

Japanese aggression in China and the formation of a hotbed of war in the Far East. The economic crisis intensified the competition among the imperialist powers to redivide the spheres of influence in Asia and in the Far East. In the years of the crisis Japanese imperialism strove to establish its dominion in China, intending to oust the USA, France, and Great Britain from that region. To implement their plan to exploit the Chinese people, the foreign imperialists tried to cause a rift between China and the USSR, its natural ally in the struggle against the colonisers. In 1929, the Chinese militarists encouraged by foreign impe-

rialism seized the Chinese Eastern Railway which was under the joint control of China and the USSR. Together with the whiteguard troops they invaded the Soviet Primorye, and the Trans-Baikal area. Soviet-Chinese diplomatic relations were broken off through the fault of the Chinese side. The Red Army resolutely repulsed the aggressors and drove them out of Soviet territory. After the conflict had ended the Soviet-Chinese protocol was signed according to which the status quo was restored on the Chinese Eastern Railway.

In the autumn of 1931, Japan launched its aggressive programme which had been formulated back in 1927 by the Japanese Prime Minister Tanaka in a secret memorandum. It outlined plans for Japanese aggression in Asia: the seizure of Manchuria, Mongolia, and the whole of China as well as India and territories belonging to the Soviet Union. In starting to implement the Tanaka Memorandum, in September 18, 1931, Japan made an attack on China and soon occupied its north-eastern provinces (Manchuria). Japanese aggression not only created a threat to China, the USSR, and the Mongolian People's Republic, but also touched upon the interests of the USA and Britain in the Far East and in Asia. In spite of this, neither of these powers manifested any striving to curb Japanese aggression. On February 18, 1932, Japan declared "the independence of Manchuria", in March the state of Manchukuo dependent on Japan was formed. At the beginning of 1933, the Japanese troops seized new regions of China. To untie its hands completely, in March 1933 Japan gave up its membership of the League of Nations. Thus, the first hotbed of a new world war emerged with the connivance of the USA, Great Britain and France.

The creation by German fascism of the main hotbed of war. In the economic crisis the danger of fascism became more imminent in the capitalist countries. In the mid-19305 bourgeois-democratic freedoms were abolished in a number of states in Europe and fascist regimes were established in one form or another. The coming to power of the Nazis in Germany in January 1933 had particularly telling consequences for the entire international situation. The Nazis put forward extensive aggressive revanchist goals, and subjugated the whole of their policy to preparations for

war and the winning of world domination. Nazi Germany calculated on destroying and enslaving the Soviet people, on crushing Britain, France and other capitalist powers, on seizing their colonies and turning many countries into their vassals. The Nazis nourished their aggressive plans in the guise of contending with the "threat" of world communism.

To make it easier to pursue its militaristic policy, Nazi Germany left the League of Nations in October 1933. The Nazis began to take preparatory measures to launch their aggression. After the Nazis had come to power in Germany a feverish arms race began there. On March 13, 1935, Germany refused to honour the articles in the Versailles Treaty forbidding it to have military aircraft. Three days later compulsory conscription was introduced in Germany and in September 1936 the four-year plan for the militarisation of the whole economy was approved. These measures only evoked mild reproaches from the League of Nations. The ruling circles in Britain, France, and the USA hoped that Germany was arming itself for a war against the USSR and therefore connived at its aggressive policy in every possible way. On June 13, 1935, Britain signed the naval agreement with Germany according to which it did not object to Germany building up its navy.

Thus, in the first half of the 1930s the second, main hotbed of war in the form of Nazi Germany had taken shape in Europe. Fascist Italy was also setting out on the path of aggression. A triple alliance of the aggressive fascist states—Germany, Japan and Italy—had been formed. In 1936, an agreement was concluded between Germany and Italy (the Berlin-Rome Axis), on November 25, 1936, Japan and Germany signed the Anti-Comintern Pact which was later joined by Italy. In accordance with the pact and the documents appended to it the signatories mutually undertook to inform one another about Comintern's activities, to wage a struggle against it and also to contend jointly with the USSR. Widely advertising the anti-communist and anti-Soviet orientation of this pact, Germany, Italy and Japan did at the same time intend to employ it for their own expansionist purposes, against the interests of Britain, France and the USA. The world was on the brink of a new world war. A situation bristling with tense diplomatic competition was developing.

The Geneva Disarmament Conference. At this critical period in the history of mankind the USSR campaigned against the arms race, the growing danger of war, the aggressive actions of the fascist regimes, and for the creation of a system of collective security. The Soviet Union was actively involved in the preparations for and holding of an international disarmament conference, which started on February 2, 1932, and was attended by 63 countries including the USSR. The conference was the scene of acute struggle among the imperialist states. Instead of disarmament or arms reduction each capitalist country essentially strove to get solutions adopted that would allow it to gain advantage in armaments. The representatives of France proposed the setting up of an international army within the framework of the League of Nations in the hope of ensuring itself the decisive role in it. The British had wanted to gain the advantage in the air force and prohibition of submarines since it lagged behind in this type of armaments. Under the pretext of trying to gain equality in armaments, the German delegation did, in fact, speak out in favour of Germany's right to be armed, and to catch up with the other imperialist powers.

The Soviet delegation at the conference called upon all states to renounce war as a means of implementing their national policies. It consistently spoke out in favour of general, complete and immediate disarmament or for proportional, partial, stage-by-stage cuts of the armed forces. On February 6, 1933, the Soviet delegation submitted a draft declaration on definition of an aggressor for consideration by the conference. The declaration said that a state which had perpetrated at least one of the following actions should be considered an aggressor: declaration of war on another state; invasion by armed forces; an offensive by the army, the navy or the air force, with or withour declaring war, on the territory, sea-going vessels and aircraft of other states; a sea blockade of the shores or ports of another state; assistance to armed bands formed on its own territory and invading the territory of another state or refusal, in spite of the demand of the state which is the victim of aggression, to take measures on its own territory to deprive the abovementioned bands of any assistance or patronage. The capitalist countries' delegates rejected the Soviet proposal.

In spite of the impediments offered by the West, on Ju-

ly 3-5, 1933, the USSR concluded the Convention on the Definition of Aggression with Estonia, Latvia, Poland, Romania, Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Lithuania. Later on, Finland also became a party to the convention.

Nazi Germany was responsible for the ultimate failure of the international disarmament conference. At the beginning of October 1933, its delegation refused to take any further part in the conference. The lack of desire by the other imperialist powers to agree to actual arms reduction was also the reason for the conference's failure.

The USSR's efforts to create a system of collective security. The idea of creating a system of collective security and the efforts to achieve it was an outstanding contribution by Soviet diplomacy to contend with the impending threat of a second world war. One of the first measures towards setting up a system of collective security in Europe was the Soviet-French negotiations (1934) on concluding a multilateral regional treaty on mutual assistance (the Eastern Pact). The Soviet Union submitted to France the respective proposals on December 28, 1933. The members of the pact were to undertake to mutually guarantee the inviolability of the frontiers, to render assistance to the member states in the pact should they be the victim of aggression and to refuse aggressor state any assistance. However, the idea of the Eastern Pact was not to the liking of the aggressor states. Germany, for example, declared its refusal to join the Eastern Pact. Moreover, to frustrate the agreement on the Eastern Pact it began an active campaign to conclude bilateral treaties with a number of neighbouring countries. On January 26, 1934, a treaty of friendship and non-aggression was signed between Germany and Poland. The purpose of this treaty was to frustrate negotiations on concluding the Eastern Pact and prevent the system of collective security from being set up in Europe. In 1935, the talks on the Eastern Pact ended fruitlessly.

On September 15, 1934, thirty member states of the League of Nations extended an invitation to the Soviet Union to join it. With the growing danger of war, the Soviet Union considered it possible to join the League of Nations and use its platform to restrain the warmongers. The Soviet Government took the decision to join the League

of Nations but refused to be bound by any resolutions adopted by it earlier. On September 18, the League of Nations voted in favour of the Soviet Union being accepted as a member of it and the inclusion of its representative in the Council of the League as a permanent member. The USSR's entry into the League of Nations was extremely important from an international point of view and opened up new opportunities for championing peace and opposing fascist aggression.

After the negotiations on the Eastern Pact had been frustrated by the imperialist powers, the USSR took fresh steps to create a system of collective security. The Soviet Government submitted a proposal to the Government of France on concluding a Soviet-French treaty of mutual assistance. The French Government agreed, and on May 2, 1935, the Soviet-French Treaty of Mutual Assistance was signed. According to the treaty, in the event of a threat of aggression against one of them by any European state, the parties undertook to start immediate consultations for the purpose of taking measures according to Article 10 of the League of Nations' Statute which provided for mutual guarantees of the territorial integrity of the League of Nations' member states. The treaty further mentioned that if one of the contracting parties is the victim of unprovoked aggression, the parties to the agreement should render immediate mutual assistance to one another and support. The Soviet-French Treaty was an important international landmark in those years.

On May 16, 1935, a similar treaty of mutual assistance was signed between the USSR and Czechoslovakia. On the request of the Czechoslovak side, the following clause was introduced into the treaty: "At the same time, the two governments recognise that the undertakings to render mutual assistance will operate between them only in so far as the conditions laid down in the present Treaty may be fulfilled and in so far as assistance may be rendered by France to the Party victim of the aggression." This addition to the agreement envisaged in advance restrictions on the aid rendered to Czechoslovakia by the USSR (and equally on the aid rendered to the Soviet Union by Czechoslovakia).

Nevertheless, the conclusion of the Soviet-French and Soviet-Czechoslovak treaties of mutual assistance acquired

a nature of a tripartite agreement, and thereby provided the prerequisites for organising collective security.

From the mid-1930s onwards, the fascist states in Europe started to be more and more active in pursuing an aggressive policy. On October 3, 1935, fascist Italy started a war against Ethiopia, and, in spite of the heroic resistance of the Ethiopian people, the country had been conquered by the summer of 1936. Italy's aggression did not meet any resistance on the part of the USA, Britain, and France. Only the Soviet Union came out in support of the Ethiopian people, condemned Italian aggression against Ethiopia and suggested applying sanctions with regard to Italy. The ruling circles in Britain and France, however, did in fact frustrate the application of sanctions against Italy.

The Italian aggression further heightened international tension, especially in the Eastern Mediterranean. In this connection, the question of revising the Black Sea Straits regime established at the Lausanne Conference became extremely acute. On June 22, 1936, at the suggestion of Turkey an international conference was held in Montreux, Switzerland, to deal with the regime of the Straits. A representative of the Soviet Union also attended the conference. To ensure the security of the frontiers of the USSR and the other countries of the Black Sea area the Soviet delegation suggested restricting the passage through the Straits for the warships of non-Black Sea powers and conceding the Black Sea powers the right of unimpeded passage. The Western powers were opposed to the Soviet proposal and the Turkish delegation tended to support them.

However, the firm and consistent policy pursued by the Soviet delegation resulted in the adoption of an acceptable convention on the regime of the Straits. It restored Turkey's sovereignty over the Straits. The International Straits Commission which had existed since 1923 was dissolved. The right of Turkey to remilitarise the Straits was acknowledged. Freedom of passage through the Straits was ensured for merchant marine both in peacetime and in wartime. On the most important question—the passage of warships—the convention established different terms for the Black Sea and non-Black Sea powers. The Black Sea countries were in fact conceded unrestricted rights regarding the passage of their warships of any class through the Straits in peacetime. For the non-Black Sea states restrictions

were introduced both on the numbers and the tonnage of the ships: only light surface ships were permitted to sail through the Straits. The total tonnage of the ships belonging to the non-Black Sea powers simultaneously present in the Black Sea, was restricted to 30,000 tons and the time they were permitted to stay there was 21 days. Should Turkey go to war, it had the right to permit or prohibit the passage of all warships through the Straits. During the war in which Turkey was not fighting the Straits should be closed to warships of any power at war. The conference in Montreux was to a certain extent a step forwards in safeguarding the interests of the Black Sea states. But convention did not guarantee the necessary security for the Black Sea countries, including the Soviet Union.

In 1936, the situation in Europe had become even more acute owing to the confrontation between the Popular Front and the forces of fascism in Spain. Supported by the fascists in Germany and Italy, the Spanish reactionaries, headed by General Franco, had started a mutiny against the lawful Republican Government of Spain on July 18, 1936. The German and Italian fascists came to their help and from the summer of 1936 they began their intervention in Spain. The German-Italian intervention in Spain threatened the interests of Britain and France in the basin of the Mediterranean Sea and the Atlantic Ocean. However, the governments of these countries did nothing to stop the aggression. On July 25, 1936, the French Government, headed by the right-wing Socialist Léon Blum, announced a policy of neutrality with regard to Spain and prohibited arms deliveries there. The governments of France, Britain and the USA declared that they would pursue a policy of "non-interference in the events in Spain". Thus, for example, the ruling circles in the USA, pledging to honour the law on neutrality, refused to sell arms and materiel to Republican Spain, which in actual fact meant connivance at the intervention in Spain by troops of the fascist countries, Germany and Italy. Moreover, precisely at that time the Spanish fascist rebels and the Italian-German interventionists increased their purchases of weapons and materiel in the USA. This policy of "non-interference" was obviously aimed at helping Spanish reaction and the Italian-German aggressors.

The Soviet Union and progressive public throughout the

world resolutely came out in support of the Spanish Republic, exposed the fascist rebels and demanded that the German and Italian fascists should cease their intervention in Spain. The Soviet Government rendered great moral and diplomatic support, and military and material aid to Republican Spain in its struggle against the interventionists. Anti-fascist volunteers from 54 countries went to Spain to fight there in the international brigades. All in all, they numbered 42 thousand people including some three thousand from the USSR. Nearly two hundred Soviet volunteers fell, fighting fascism in Spain.

At that time, however, the balance of forces had swung in favour of reaction. Germany and Italy sent some 300,000 officers and men to Spain. The policy pursued by Britain, France, and the USA also promoted the victory of the Spanish fascists. At the beginning of 1939 these three countries officially recognised Franco's government. The connivance with the aggressors and reaction allowed fascism to fortify its international positions to an even greater extent.

The German-Italian intervention against Republican Spain distracted the imperialist powers from the events in the Far East for some time. Japan took advantage of this in preparing large-scale aggression in Asia. On July 7, 1937, Japan started a big war against China and in a short space of time it had occupied Peking, Tiensing, Shanghai, and a number of other cities in China.

The ruling circles in the USA, Britain, and France did not offer any substantial opposition to the expansion of Japan's aggression in the Far East, although it spelled a threat to their interests. They still hoped to spearhead Japan against the USSR and suppress the revolutionary movement, in China with Japan's help. Only the Soviet Union began to render China real support right from the early days of Japan's aggressive war against that country. On August 21, 1937, a non-aggression treaty was concluded between the USSR and China which provided China with reliable rear during Japanese aggression. Moreover, the Soviet Union granted China loans and provided it with weapons and materiel. In 1938-1939 China obtained a 250-million-dollar loan from the Soviet Union, with which it purchased some 600 aircraft in the Soviet Union, 100 guns and howitzers, more than 8,000 machine guns, motor vehicles, shells, cartridges and other materiel. More than

3,500 Soviet military specialists fought against Japanese aggressors in China (more than 200 Soviet volunteers perished in this struggle). All this helped the Chinese people to wage a taxing war against the Japanese invaders. In the League of Nations the USSR insistently tried to get Japanese aggressors condemned and effective measures taken against them.

Just as the Soviet Government had foreseen, Japan was also preparing to attack Soviet territory. At the end of the 1930s Soviet-Japanese relations became very strained. On July 15, 1938, through its embassy in Moscow the Japanese Government demanded that the Government of the USSR should withdraw Soviet troops from the heights located to the west of Lake Khasan. On July 29, 1938, detachments of Japanese and Manchurian troops crossed the Soviet frontier near Lake Khasan and engaged in battle with units of the Red Army. The armed provocations by the Japanese military in the Lake Khasan area continued until August 10, but each time the Japanese were forced to retreat under the blows of the Red Army. The events near Lake Khasan were the first major act of aggression on the part of Japan against the Soviet Union on the eve of the Second World War.

After their defeat in the battles at Lake Khasan, the Japanese imperialists encouraged by the reactionary circles in the USA, Britain, and France, committed a new act of aggression. In May 1939 Japanese troops began military operations against the Mongolian People's Republic near the river Khalkhin Gol. True to its allied duty and in accordance with the Soviet-Mongolian protocol of 1936 the Soviet Union came to the aid of the Mongolian people. In the course of fierce fighting lasting four months, the units of the Japanese army were routed. In September 1939, a Soviet-Japanese agreement was signed in Moscow on the cessation of military operations in the Khalkhin Gol river area. The rebuff received by Japanese aggressors in the Mongolian People's Republic showed Japan that a war with the Soviet Union did not promise easy victories. This somewhat lessened the danger of Japan invading the Soviet Far East.

Concurrently with the aggravation of the situation in the Far East the danger of fascist aggression in Europe had increased. Germany was intensively preparing for a second world war. On March 7, 1936, the Nazis brought their

troops into the demilitarised Rhine zone and reached the frontiers of France. In connection with this act the Soviet Government declared its readiness to participate in all measures proposed by the Council of the League of Nations against the aggressor. However, the Council of the League of Nations restricted itself solely to stating that Germany had violated the Versailles and Locarno treaties.

The policy of "non-interference", the connivance with the aggressor by Britain, France, and the USA allowed Nazi Germany to commit fresh acts of direct aggression in Europe. On March 12, 1938, Hitler's troops occupied Austria and a day later annexed it to the German Reich. The Soviet Government fiercely condemned this act, declared its readiness to participate in joint actions to prevent further aggression, and suggested immediate discussion in the League of Nations and outside it of the necessary measures to preserve peace. However, the Soviet proposal did not find support among the Western powers.

The situation being so favourable, Nazi Germany began to prepare its assault on Czechoslovakia. The Soviet Union came out in defence of the independence and sovereignty of Czechoslovakia. In April 1938, the Soviet Government declared its readiness to take all measures to safeguard the security of Czechoslovakia with or without France's participation. The USSR proposed that negotiations should begin among the representatives of the General Staffs of three countries (the USSR, France, and Czechoslovakia) to work out measures to render military aid to Czechoslovakia.

In this period Chamberlain's British Government played an exceptionally perfidious part with regard to Czechoslovakia and the future of international peace. Speaking in favour- of the conclusion of an agreement with Germany, Chamberlain's government decided to sacrifice Czechoslovakia to encourage the aggressive aspirations of Nazi Germany towards the East, and urge it on into a war against the USSR. On September 15, 1938, Chamberlain went to Germany for talks with Hitler at which he gave his consent to seizing Sudetenland by Hitler Germany. In spite of its treaty of mutual assistance with Czechoslovakia, France also supported Great Britain's stand.

On September 29-30, 1938, a conference attended by Hitler, the Italian dictator Mussolini, the French Prime Minister Daladier, and Chamberlain, and in the absence of rep-

resentatives of Czechoslovakia, was held in Munich in which an agreement was signed on Germany's annexation of the Sudetenland, which was part of Czechoslovakia, and some of its other territories that had been turned over to Hungary and Poland. Germany undertook to respect the new frontiers of Czechoslovakia, and Britain and France acted as guarantors of them. After the Munich agreement had been signed, Hitler believed, and not without grounds, that the British and French partners in the agreement would not offer Germany any real resistance if Germany were to seize the whole of Czechoslovakia and Poland and that they were ready to make further concessions, calculating that they would thereby not only fortify the might of the main anti-Soviet striking force of international imperialism, but also channelling Germany's aggression in an eastern direction, and bringing closer the moment of its assault on the USSR. On March 15, 1939, Germany invaded Czechoslovakia and seized the whole of its territory. Czechia became a German province called "The Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia". The Nazis turned Slovakia into a puppet state. Thus, nazism committed yet another act of aggression with the direct support of the Western powers. Only the Soviet Union protested against the elimination of Czechoslovakia.

Continuing its aggressive policy, on March 22, 1939, Germany seized Klaipeda from Lithuania. On March 23, it thrust upon Romania a fettering economic agreement. On March 24, the Nazis made a number of demands on Poland: that it should return to Germany the town of Danzig (Gdansk), and concede Germany the roads and railways through the Polish Corridor. Then they annulled the German-Polish Non-Aggression Pact (1934). Germany also demanded that Britain and France return its colonies, which had been taken from it after the First World War.

In Germany's wake, Italy became more active in its aggression. On December 22, 1938, it refused to honour the agreement on mutual respect and the territorial integrity of the states in Central Europe and the consultative pact with France, and then laid territorial claims to France. On April 7, 1939, Italy attacked Albania and then occupied it. The calculations of the USA, Britain and France that they would appease the aggressors had not been justified. Fascism increasingly created a threat to the interests of British, French and American imperialism.

The talks among the USSR, Britain and France in 1939. The Soviet-German non-aggression pact (1939). Anglo-French-Soviet negotiations were held in the spring and summer of 1939 in the course of which the USSR made yet another attempt to set up a system of collective rebuff to German aggression. At the talks, which began on March 21, 1939, the Soviet Government put forward a draft of an equal and effective Anglo-French-Soviet treaty of mutual assistance against aggression. The draft contained the mutual obligations of the three countries to immediately render each other all kinds of assistance including military aid should any of the contracting parties be the victim of aggression in Europe, and also to render the same kind of aid to the East European states bordering on the USSR from the Baltic to the Black seas, should any of them be the victim of aggression. The Soviet Union proposed that a military convention be signed at the same time as the political treaty. But Britain and France rejected the Soviet proposals and countered them with their own drafts, which placed the USSR in an unequal position, did not envisage aid to the USSR should it be the victim of aggression, had extended guarantees only to Poland and Romania, did not safeguard the security of the Soviet frontiers in the case of the aggressor invading the USSR from Finland, Estonia, and Latvia, and moreover, provoked an attack on the USSR via the Baltic countries.

The Western powers were particularly active in resisting the signing of a specific and effective military convention. On August 12-21, 1939, talks of the military missions of the three countries—the USSR, Britain, and France—were held in Moscow. The military delegations of Britain and France were represented by minor figures, and, what is more, the British representative came to Moscow without being vested with plenary powers to carry on the negotiations. Right from the very outset of the talks it could be seen that the British and the French military missions had no specific plans for military cooperation and only suggested discussing the common goals and the principles of such cooperation, which could have led to the adoption of an abstract declaration. As a result, Britain and France frustrated the negotiations with the USSR, giving Germany to understand that the Soviet state had no allies.

Meanwhile, secret Anglo-German talks started in London

in July 1939 were in progress. At the talks the British put forward a plan for dividing up the world markets, including those of China and the USSR, for turning Eastern and South-East Europe into a German sphere of influence, suggested concluding a pact of non-interference and an agreement on the colonial question, promising Germany access to the African colonies. Moreover, Britain proposed concluding an Anglo-German non-aggression pact, which led to Britain renouncing its support for Poland, should it be the victim of aggression, as was guaranteed in Poland's agreement with Britain and France. Britain also promised to induce France to renounce its alliance with the USSR and its obligations in South-East Europe. These facts are evidence that for Britain the talks in Moscow were a kind of "small change" for the Anglo-German negotiations.

For its part, Germany was playing a double game with Britain and France. It regarded concessions made by them as a manifestation of weakness, as an attempt, from Germany's point of view, to prematurely push it into a conflict with the Soviet Union, which it had not yet ventured to fight. Therefore, the German Government turned to the Soviet Union with a proposal on concluding a non-aggression pact. Although the Soviet Government was well aware that Britain and France were consciously dragging out the negotiations and were leading them to frustration, it did not give Germany a reply. Not until it became clear that Britain and France had foiled an agreement with the Soviet Union, did the Soviet Government resolve to accept the German Government's proposal regarding a non-aggression pact, in order to avoid the trap into which the imperialists of Britain, France, and the USA had intended to lure it, and also taking advantage of the inter-imperialist contradictions in the interests of peace and security. The Soviet-German pact was signed on August 23, 1939, and contained the following obligations: to restrain from aggression with regard to one another, observe neutrality if one of the contracting parties should become involved in military operations, and to resolve controversial issues by peaceful means.

By signing this treaty, the Soviet Government foiled the plans of the international reaction, which had calculated on a conflict between the USSR and Germany in circumstances that were extremely disadvantageous for the Soviet

Union. The treaty prevented the formation of a united front against the USSR by the European imperialist powers. So, for a period of 18 months, Soviet people had the opportunity to make preparations to resist the aggressor, to consolidate the position of socialism and to campaign for peace and democracy.

Chapter 3

The International Communist and Working-Class Movement from 1917 to 1939

1. The International Working-Class Movement in the Period of Revolutionary Upsurge. The Formation of the Communist International

The Communist International, an international proletarian organisation of a new type, emerged in a new era in the working-class and communist movement, an era which began with the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The development of world imperialism deepened and aggravated all the contradictions of the capitalist system and created objective prerequisites for the proletarian revolution. At the same time, the subjective prerequisites needed for the victory of the working class also were ripening and grew stronger. Evidence of this was, first and foremost, the formation of proletarian parties of a new type, Communist parties. Before the victory of the October Revolution a Communist Party only existed in Russia.

The historical experience of the working-class movement convinced the proletarian masses of the necessity to set up and consolidate the Communist parties. In the conditions obtaining at that time the task of consolidating the Communist parties ideologically and organisationally, the working out by them of the correct strategy and tactics could best be tackled by unifying them into a solid international communist organisation. The Communist International was called upon to educate and temper the proletarian parties of a new type, to prepare them for the successful struggle for the victory of the proletarian revolution, and for guiding socialist construction.

The Bolsheviks' struggle to found the Communist International. At the beginning of the twentieth century the international working-class movement was divided into three main trends which differed in their character, goals and methods of struggle: revolutionary, reformist, and centrist. The revolutionary trend was represented by the Bolshevik Party headed by Lenin, and also the left wing, which existed in almost all the socialist parties (for example, the group of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg in the German Social-Democratic Party). Lenin described the adherents of this trend as loyal, sincere, uncompromising fighters against capitalism, prepared to battle with it not only in words, but also in deeds, ready to make any sacrifice for the sake of the victory of the socialist revolution. The best proletarian forces, the exploited masses at large who seethed with indignation at the bourgeois system and who were increasingly eager to stage a revolution followed the left wing of the Socialists. However, the left-wing supporters were guilty of a number of errors regarding the theory and tactics of the class struggle. They did not, moreover, set up a party of their own.

The left-wing Socialists were in opposition to the right-wing Social-Democrats, who took a reformist stand, objectively hindering the revolutionary struggle and helping to preserve the bourgeois system. They expressed the interests of the reformist, opportunist petty bourgeoisie which was afraid of revolution. By means of bribes and various favours the bourgeoisie essentially suborned right-wing Socialist leaders and compelled them to champion the salvation of the bourgeois system from revolution. It was the misfortune of the working-class movement that almost all the Social-Democratic parties were headed by right-wing Social-Democrats who used their position to exert reformist influence on the working class and other strata of the working people.

The third trend was that of the centrists, who occupied an intermediate position between the left-wing and right-wing Socialists. Recognition of the revolution in words, but refusal to support it in deeds was characteristic of centrism. Karl Kautsky, the leader of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany (SPD), was the ideological leader of centrism in Europe.

The proletariat could not head the revolutionary move-

ment of the masses and become its leader without exposing the reformists and the centrists, without breaking off with them, without setting up proletarian parties free of opportunism and founded on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

All the three trends were represented in the Second International, the international socialist organisation which existed from 1889 till 1914. In August 1914, when the First World War started, the Second International broke up and collapsed. The main reason for this was the treachery of the right-wing leaders of the Second International and their shift to a social chauvinist stand, in support of the imperialist governments in the war.

During the war the Bolshevik Party headed by Lenin raised aloft the banner of struggle against the imperialist war and international social chauvinism. In the manifesto of the Central Committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party signed by Lenin, dated November 1, 1914, the task of setting up a new Communist International was advanced for the first time. In many of his works of the war years Lenin worked out the ideological and organisational principles of the international communist organisation.

The Bolsheviks put great efforts into separating themselves on an international level from the social chauvinists and bringing together all revolutionary Marxists. The Bolshevik Party attempted to use any, even the tiniest opportunity, to organise the left-wing Socialists on an international level. In 1915, on Lenin's orders, representatives of the Bolsheviks defended revolutionary Marxist tactics at a conference of Socialists of the Entente countries in London, and at international socialist women's and youth conferences in Berne.

In September 1915, the International Socialist Conference which called itself the Zimmerwald Socialists' Association, was held in the village of Zimmerwald in Switzerland, not far from Berne. Most members of the Zimmerwald Association were centrists which determined the nature of the manifesto adopted at the conference. Although its key demand was that of championing peace, it did not contain any slogan about using the crisis ensuing from the war for the workers' struggle to overthrow their imperialist governments and eliminate the dominion of their own imperialists; nor was there a slogan suggesting that the imperialist war be

turned into a civil war or demanding that a break should be made with the opportunist social chauvinists from the Second International.

On Lenin's initiative, a left-wing group was formed at the Zimmerwald Conference. This group put forward a draft resolution largely in support of Lenin's slogans. In a special statement, it noted the inconsistency of the manifesto and the unwillingness of its authors to break with opportunism. But, at the same time, the group voted for the manifesto since it was the first step in the struggle to combat the war.

When the conference ended, the left-wing group in the Zimmerwald Association legalised its position organisationally and elected its governing body, the bureau.

The major part in the left-wing Zimmerwald group was played by Lenin and the Bolsheviks. The revolutionary internationalist movement in many countries began to take shape around this group.

This group's activities made themselves felt in the decisions taken by the Second International Socialist Conference of the Zimmerwald Association which took place in the village of Kienthal in Switzerland in April 1916. In the decisions taken by the Kienthal Conference the demand for an end to the war was put forward in more clear-cut expressions, but Lenin's revolutionary slogans regarding war and peace, on the break with the social chauvinists and on the setting up of the Third International were not reflected in them.

Therefore, in April 1917 Lenin raised the question of the left wing breaking not only with the social chauvinists, but also with the centrists, i.e. with the Zimmerwald Association, in order to found a new, revolutionary International immediately. Lenin's proposal was approved by the Seventh (April) Conference of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party (Bolsheviks), which resolved that the Bolsheviks should take upon themselves the initiative in settingup the Comintern.

The triumph of the October Revolution promoted the increasing dissemination of the ideas of the Bolshevik Party, the ideas of Leninism in the international working-class movement. The mighty upsurge in the revolutionary and national liberation movements throughout the world made it easier to set up proletarian parties of a new type and

speed up the resolution of the question of a new International. In 1918, Communist parties were founded in Germany, Austria, Hungary, Poland, Greece, the Netherlands, Finland, and Argentina. In a number of other countries Communist parties were actively being formed. In these circumstances, the Bolshevik Party took practical steps to found Comintern. In January 1918, a congress of representatives of the Socialist parties and groups was held in Petrograd which resolved to convene an international conference on the basis of the immediate conclusion of a peace treaty, the support of Soviet Russia, recognition of the need for revolutionary struggle and the setting up of a new International. An important part in the preparations to found Comintern was played by the Federation of Foreign Groups set up under the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) and the Central Bureau of Moslem organisations of the RCP(B). The efforts of these bodies were spearheaded at uniting foreign workers, and the prisoners of war who were in Russia.

In January 1919, a conference attended by the representatives of a number of Communist and Socialist parties and organisations was held in Moscow which adopted an address to the revolutionary proletarian parties with an appeal to take part in setting up the Third International. Thereafter, invitations were sent to 39 Communist and left-wing Socialist parties and groups in a number of countries in Europe, Asia, America, and Australia to a conference on the founding of the Communist International. Thus, thanks to the indefatigable efforts of the Bolsheviks headed by Lenin, preparations were made for convening an International Communist Conference.

The right-wing Social-Democrats, however, attempted to prevent this conference from taking place. In February 1919, they convened an International Socialist Conference in Berne (Switzerland). The agenda of the Berne Conference included the restoration of the Second International, stunting the growth of the world communist and revolutionary movement, and keeping the popular masses under the influence of bourgeois ideology.

At the conference fierce attacks were made on the Bolsheviks, the October Revolution, and Soviet power in Russia. The leader of the right-wing Social-Democrats in Sweden, Karl Branting, gave a report on “democracy and dic-

tatorship" in which he accused the Bolsheviks of disclaiming democracy and essentially spoke in favour of abolishing the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia. Other right-wing Social-Democrat leaders also supported him.

On the colonial question the Conference in Berne adopted the resolution put forward by Kautsky which justified the imperialist oppression in the colonies and all the Socialists had to do was simply to alleviate it somewhat. The conference spoke out in favour of the League of Nations as the "sole" means of preventing international conflicts. At the conference it was decided to set up a Berne International (1919-1923), an international organisation of the right-wing and centrist Social-Democratic parties. However, the organisers of the Berne Conference failed to achieve their key aim, namely that of frustrating the international conference of Communists.

The First, Constituent Congress of the Communist International. The International Communist Conference started on March 2, 1919, in Moscow. It was attended by 51 delegates from 30 countries, among them representatives of the Communist parties of Soviet Russia, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Poland, Finland and other countries, as well as a number of Communist groups and Social-Democratic parties. Lenin made the inaugural speech at the opening of the conference.

At the conference reports were made by the representatives of Communist parties and groups from a number of countries on the development of the class struggle and the revolutionary movement in their countries.

Then theses and Lenin's report "On Bourgeois Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" were discussed. In the face of the mighty revolutionary upsurge caused by the October Revolution, the bourgeoisie and its agents in the working-class movement intensified their attacks on the dictatorship of the proletariat and in defence of bourgeois democracy. The defenders of the capitalist system thereby proceeded from the concepts of "democracy in general" and "dictatorship in general". Lenin exposed the groundlessness of such a non-class formulation of the question. He indicated that in no other country was there either "democracy in general" or "dictatorship in general". It might be a question of either bourgeois or proletarian democracy,

of either bourgeois or proletarian dictatorship.

Lenin noted that no class had ever gained or could have come to power without establishing its dictatorship. This is precisely how the bourgeoisie won its political dominion in the struggle against feudalism. As Lenin showed, bourgeois democracy was not "pure" at all, it served the interests of the exploiters and was an instrument wielded by a handful of capitalists to suppress the working class and the working people at large. Lenin revealed the limited nature of bourgeois democracy and showed the need to replace it by proletarian democracy.

In his report, Lenin substantiated in detail the thesis that the dictatorship of the proletariat and its state form in Russia, Soviet power, was the highest form of democracy, proletarian democracy. The dictatorship of the proletariat in its various forms, Lenin noted, "presents to the toiling classes, i.e., the vast majority of the population, greater practical opportunities for enjoying democratic rights and liberties than ever existed before, even approximately, in the best and the most democratic bourgeois republics".[1]

The formulation of the question on bourgeois democracy and the dictatorship of the proletariat was of tremendous significance for the Communist parties, for those workers in the capitalist countries who gazed hopefully upon the experience of the October Revolution, but who had not yet completely freed themselves of the influence of reformist ideology. Lenin explained to the Communists and working masses the advantage of proletarian democracy, strengthened their belief in the need to struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat. This meant the defence and vindication of the Comintern's key strategic line. In the resolution adopted on Lenin's report, the main task of the Communist parties in all countries where Soviet power had not yet been established was outlined. It consisted in explaining to the broad masses of the working class the need for a new, proletarian democracy which was to replace bourgeois democracy and bourgeois parliamentarism; to spread and organise Soviets among the workers, soldiers, sailors, farm labourers and poor peasants, and to gain a

[1] V. I. Lenin, "First Congress of the Communist International", *Collected Works*, Vol. 28, 1974, p. 465.

sound Communist majority in the Soviets. Thus, this resolution acted as an incentive to the Communists to organise their struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat and to form Soviets.

As new delegations attended the Congress, it was resolved to make it Constituent Congress of the Communist International from March 4. A resolution on forming the Communist International was approved. The Congress took a decision to officially dissolve the Zimmerwald Association. Those attending the Congress called upon the workers in all countries to wage a resolute struggle against the perfidious and splitting tactics pursued by the leaders of the international Social-Democratic organisation.

Of great importance was the adoption of the Platform of the Communist International and the Manifesto of the Communist International—To the Workers of the World. The basic programme and tactical principles of the Comintern were set out in the Platform: the inevitability of replacing capitalism by a communist system; the need for a proletarian revolution to overthrow bourgeois domination, the breaking up of the bourgeois state and substituting for it a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat; the expropriation of big capital in industry and agriculture; the setting up of an alliance of the working class and the poorest peasantry and semi-proletarian strata in the towns and countryside; the establishment of firm ties between the working-class movement in the economically developed countries and the national liberation movement of the oppressed peoples; the strengthening of the fraternal alliance and mutual assistance among the socialist republics. Thus, the Platform determined the revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist character of the Third International.

The' delegates of the Congress also approved the theses on the international situation and the policy of the Entente, heard the report on the white terror in Finland, and elected the Executive Committee of the Comintern (ECCI). At the First Congress it was resolved to postpone the adoption of the Comintern Statutes until the next congress, at which more representatives of Communist parties were expected to be present. The Congress restricted itself to the adoption of a brief resolution on the question of organisation which referred to the composition of Comintern's Executive Committee and making it responsible for the

guidance of the Communist International. The First Congress of the Comintern ended on March 6, 1919.

Lenin emphasised that the founding of the Comintern "was a record of what has been gained not only by the Russian workers, but also by the German, Austrian, Hungarian, Finnish, Swiss—in a word, by the workers of the world".[1] Right from the moment of its foundation the Communist International was not only an organisation of the proletariat of the Land of Soviets and the capitalist states, but also of the working masses in the dependent countries. The First Comintern Congress was attended by Communists from Iran, Turkey, China, and Korea. The historic significance of the Comintern was that it began implementing the slogan of fighting for the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the genuine power of the workers.

The international working-class and communist movement after the First Comintern Congress. In 1919, the revolutionary upsurge continued to gather momentum. Soviet republics were founded in Hungary, Bavaria, and Slovakia. A movement in defence of Soviet Russia from imperialist intervention had emerged in the biggest capitalist countries. In many colonial and semi-colonial countries a mass-scale national liberation movement developed. The Communist parties continued to swell and grow stronger. In 1919 and 1920, Communist parties were set up in Bulgaria, Denmark, Mexico, the USA, Yugoslavia, Indonesia, Great Britain, Iran, and Spain. The Socialist parties of France and Italy, the Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany, the Labour Party of Norway, and others which had decided to join the Communist International, broke with the Berne International.

The Comintern paid tremendous attention to the mass revolutionary movement, appealed to the workers in all countries to rise in defence of Soviet Russia and Soviet Hungary from imperialist intervention, exposed the perfidious policy of the social reformists who had opposed the workers' struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat. The consolidation of the Communist parties ideologically and organisationally remained the key task of the Comintern.

[1] V. I. Lenin, "Won and Recorded", *Collected Works*, Vol. 28, p. 477.

An important part was played in this respect by the journal *The Communist International*, the first issue of which appeared on May 1, 1919.

Further demarcation in the working-class movement led to the emergence of new international organisations. The right-wing opportunists strove to gain the initiative in organising the masses. In July 1919, they convened a congress of reformist trade unions in Amsterdam and formed the International Federation of Trade Unions (the Amsterdam International). The British and French trade union officials, who were pursuing a policy of class cooperation between labour and capital, held the leading position in the International Federation of Trade Unions.

The founding of the Comintern had a great impact on the international youth movement. In November 1919, at the International Youth Congress in Berlin the Communist Youth International was founded, which was guided by the Comintern. The Communist Youth International set itself the task of promoting a large-scale mass movement of young people to protect their economic, political, and cultural interests. It attached special importance to the campaign against militarism, war, and fascism, and in support of the USSR.

The dissension among the trends in the international working-class movement created the danger of opportunist elements penetrating into the Comintern. Right from the moment of its emergence the Comintern waged a relentless struggle against right-wing opportunism. With the revolutionary upsurge some of the reformist-minded figures in a number of the parties began to disguise their views, and, declaring their recognition of the principles of the Comintern, strove to penetrate into its ranks. This was the centrist trend whose adherents were in favour of revolution in words, but in deeds they pursued an opportunist policy just as before. On the other hand, “left” Communists appeared who were opposed to the strict discipline in the party, refused to work among the masses, in the reformist trade unions and the cooperatives and denied the necessity to use parliament in championing the interests of the working class. The tasks of revolutionary struggle demanded complete delineation both from the right-wing and the centrist elements as well as the “left-wing” opportunists. This is why Lenin and the other leaders of the Comintern con-

centrated enormous efforts on consolidating international movement of Communists ideologically and organisationally.

In the summer of 1920, Lenin wrote and published his outstanding work, *"Left-Wing" Communism—an Infantile Disorder,* directly before the Second Comintern Congress. In this work Lenin recommended that Communists in all countries should benefit from the wealth of experience gained by the Bolshevik Party in seeking ways of struggling for the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the hegemony of the working class in the revolution, for the leading role of the party, when working out a correct strategy and tactics. He pointed out the tremendous importance of mastering Marxist theory, of establishing strict discipline in the party, and defeating the right-wing and left-wing opportunists. Lenin stressed with particular force the need for Communists "to work wherever the masses are to be found",I revealed the incorrectness of the sectarian tactics of the "left-wing" Communists in Germany, Britain, and other countries which had led to their isolation from the masses. When referring to the experience gained by the Bolsheviks, he proved the exceptional importance of the efforts of Communists in the trade unions, even if the latter were headed by reformists, and the need to join in the parliamentary struggle; he urged that advantage should be taken of the contradictions in the enemy camp, to be ready to accept compromises, and for agreements with other parties if this would serve the cause of the proletarian revolution. Lenin recommended that the British Communists in particular should strive to enter the Labour Party to campaign for the masses there. Lenin's book was of great assistance to the communist movement in combating opportunism and sectarianism, and in consolidating the party ranks. To this day, it remains a vital aid on the strategy and tactics of the communist movement.

The Second Comintern Congress. The ideas put forward by Lenin in this work were the focal point at the Second Comintern Congress (July-August 1920). The Second Congress was highly representative, attended as it was by

[1] V. I. Lenin, " 'Left-Wing' Communism—an Infantile Disorder", *Collected Works,* Vol. 31, p. 53.

218 delegates from 69 organisations (Communist parties, Socialist parties, trade unions, youth organisations), including those from 27 Communist parties from 37 counries. The Congress was attended by representatives from the Socialist parties of Spain, France, the Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany, and some other organisations with consultative rights.

The Second Congress holds an important place in the history of the programme, strategy, tactics and organisation of the Comintern. The Congress determined the basic political line, and the main tasks to be tackled by the Comintern in that historical situation, according to the report and theses written by Lenin on the international situation and the principal tasks facing the Communist International. The key task of the Communist parties, as noted in the theses, was that of uniting all the forces of the Communists, of forming or consolidating a single Communist party in each country to make the effort of preparing the proletariat to establish its dictatorship ten times more effective. Lenin's theses and report served as the principled basis for working out all the other resolutions at the Second Congress.

The Comintern pointed out that, if the historical aims of the proletariat were to be achieved, it ought to have its own revolutionary party. In the Congress resolution "On the Role of the Communist Party in the Proletarian Revolution" the view that the working class could stage a revolution without the Communist Party was resolutely rejected. The Congress discussed in detail what kind of party, both in its nature and in its essence, the proletariat needed and what kind of party could be a member of the Comintern. The resolution on the conditions of admission to the Comintern (21 Conditions), the draft of which was drawn up by Lenin and which was approved by the Congress, points out the major principles of the programme and of the organisation and tactics of a proletarian party of a new type. These were the following: recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat as the chief theoretical and practical principle of Marxism, the complete break with the reformists and centrists and their expulsion from the ranks of the party, the combination of legal and illegal methods of struggle, systematic work in the countryside, in the trade unions, in parliament, the establishment of demo-

cratic centralism as the party's main organisational principle, the resolutions of the Comintern's congresses and plenums and those of its top bodies were binding on the party, and support for every socialist republic. The 21 Conditions formed the organisational and political basis of the activities of both the Comintern itself and of its sections. Adoption of them created a barrier to those right-wing opportunists and centrists who wished to penetrate into the Comintern. Most of the conditions of admission to the Comintern expressed the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism; the rest were a consequence of the concrete historical conditions obtaining at the time.

The Congress paid great attention to discussion of the Communist parties' tactics in winning over the masses (work in the trade unions, parliamentarism, the joining by the British Communist Party of the Labour Party). The resolution "The Trade Union Movement, Factory Committees, and the Third International", adopted at the Congress, defined the tasks and tactics of the Communist parties in the trade union movement. The vital task to be tackled by the Communists, as pointed out by the Comintern, was that of winning over the majority of workers in the trade unions to their side. This was of tremendous importance for the success of the everyday struggle of the working class as well as for the struggle for its ultimate ends.

At the Congress, the Italian "left-wing" Communist Amadeo Bordiga and his followers who were opposed to Communists joining in the parliamentary struggle met with a rebuff. In the resolution "The Communist Party and Parliamentarism" the Congress officially decreed that the Communist parties should use their deputies' speeches in parliament to their own benefit as one of the forms of their activity, to consolidate their ties with the masses and to fight for the goals of the working class. The resolution determined the main trends in the revolutionary parliamentary tactics and put forward concrete recommendations for Communist deputies on political behaviour and parliamentary work.

The Comintern also spoke out in favour of the Communist Party of Great Britain joining the Labour Party while preserving the ideological and organisational independence of the Communist Party. These tactics would have paved the way for setting up a truly political party of the

working class in Great Britain. The adoption by the Congress of resolutions on parliamentary and trade union work, and so forth directed the Comintern and the Communist parties towards a persistent and systematic effort among the masses, dealt a blow at the sectarian views of the "left-wing" Communists and also repulsed the right-wing opportunist policy.

The Congress paid great attention to the question of the leadership of the proletariat in the revolutionary struggle, and the question of the allies of the working class. For the first time the Comintern discussed in detail the agrarian and national-colonial questions and adopted comprehensive relevant resolutions. The discussion of these questions acquired a special importance owing to the fact that the draft theses on the agrarian and also on the national-colonial questions were written by Lenin.

Marxist-Leninist ideas on the alliance of the working class and the peasantry, on the leadership of the proletariat in the revolution were reflected in the resolution on the agrarian question. The Congress put forward serious reasons why the Communist parties should adopt certain tactics with regard to the various strata of the rural population. The Comintern recommended that Communists should attract to the side of the working class the working population in the countryside (the agricultural proletariat, the semi-proletariat, and the small peasantry), to make the middle peasantry take neutral positions in the early stages, and to wage a struggle against the village rich, and make every effort to free the working masses from their ideological and political influence. The resolution advanced the demand that all the land of the landowners and big landed proprietors should be confiscated immediately and unconditionally. The Congress further outlined the policy to be pursued by the proletarian state in the agrarian question. Thus, the Congress armed the Communist parties with the basic principles of the programme and tactics to discern who were the allies of the working class in the countryside.

The question of the leadership of the proletariat was also dealt with during the discussion of the national and colonial problem. The cornerstone of the Comintern's entire policy on the national-colonial question was the rapprochement of the proletarians arid working masses of all nations and countries for the joint revolutionary struggle

against imperialism. The Comintern urged for the establishment of a close alliance of the international working-class movement and the national liberation movement of the dependent peoples. In the specific conditions obtaining in that period the alliance of the working-class and national liberation movements had to be primarily an alliance of all the national liberation movements and the Soviet state.

At the Second Congress the attitude of Communists to the bourgeois-democratic or national-revolutionary movement in the less developed countries was discussed. As opposed to the reformists and sectarians, the Congress spoke out in support of these movements. One great merit of the Second Congress was the approval of Lenin's ideas on the prospects of the less developed countries to get on their feet as they liberated themselves from colonial oppression. The Congress supported Lenin's idea on the possible non-capitalist development of the newly free peoples in the less developed countries. The Congress's resolution also formulated the key tasks facing the Comintern and the Communist parties with regard to the national liberation movement. They directed the Communist parties towards vigorous propaganda, agitation and organisational efforts in the dependent countries. Once these tasks had been tackled, the alliance of the international working-class movement and the movement of the peoples for their national emancipation could be further strengthened.

The questions discussed by the Second Congress were connected with the general tasks of preparing the working class, its revolutionary party, and its allies for the proletarian revolution and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Congress also defined the prerequisites for making the change-over to the direct struggle for power (the resolution "When and Under What Conditions Soviets of Workers' Deputies Should Be Formed"). At the end, the Congress adopted the Comintern Statutes.

As a result, under the guidance of Lenin, the Second Comintern Congress did a tremendous amount of theoretical work on generalising and further developing the Marxist-Leninist programme, and the strategy and tactics of the international communist movement. This was of outstanding importance for the ideological and organisational consolidation of the Communist parties and for promoting the revolutionary and liberation movements. The Congress

dealt a blow at the reformist, centrist, anarcho-syndicalist and leftist views in the communist movement, and assisted in unifying the Comintern on the basis of Marxist-Leninist ideological and organisational principles.

The resolutions of the Second Comintern Congress facilitated the delineation from opportunist elements in the revolutionary workers' movement. In December 1920, most of the members of the Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany joined the Communist Party. At the same time, the majority of the members of the Socialist Party of France adopted a decision for their party to join the Comintern. In January 1921, the Communist Party of Great Britain finally took shape which incorporated the mass organisation of revolutionary shop stewards. At that time, the left wing of Italy's Socialist Party broke with the opportunists and centrists and formed a Communist party. Communist parties emerged in Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, and Romania in this period in the course of delineation with the opportunists. The danger of the extensive penetration of opportunism into the communist movement was largely overcome.

The Comintern's struggle for a united workers' front. From the second half of 1920 there was a definite decline in the world revolutionary movement. The bourgeoisie strove with all the means at its disposal to overcome the revolutionary crisis and begin an offensive at the working class. The bourgeois onslaught became especially intensive in connection with the economic crisis in the capitalist countries in 1920-1921. So, the ruling circles in Germany put down the March revolutionary actions of the workers in 1921: At that time, too, the miners and other groups of the British working class suffered a serious defeat.

Noteworthy above all among the reasons for the defeats and failures of the working-class and revolutionary movement was the split in the ranks of the proletariat. Many workers found themselves bound by Social-Democratic traditions and retained parliamentary illusions, which persisted owing to the intensive support of the reformist leaders of workers' organisations. Due to this, a considerable part of the working class supported the Social-Democratic parties and trade unions headed by reformist leaders just as before. The latter made every effort to deepen the split in

the working class and prevent the workers from going over to the side of the Communists.

The centrists were largely responsible for the split in the working class at this time. The centrist leaders convened a conference of eleven Socialist parties in Vienna on February 22, 1921, at which the Vienna International was set up (Second-and-a-Half International). Those who attended the conference abounded in revolutionary phrases but their true aim was the struggle against the revolutionary movement, against the Comintern, for the sake of preserving the bourgeois system. One of the leaders of the Second International described the organisers of the Vienna International very aptly: "These gentlemen in Vienna talk like the Muscovites but think like us. In the end they will return to us." The founding of the Vienna International further deepened the split in the working class and undermined its strength. In these circumstances, the unity of the working class and its unity of action acquired tremendous significance.

The Third Comintern Congress, held on June 22 through July 12, 1921, was devoted to the efforts in resolving this task. Attended by 605 representatives from 58 countries, the Congress discussed the following questions: the world economic crisis and the new tasks facing the Comintern, its tactics, the organisational build-up of the parties, the methods and content of their work, the state of and tasks to be tackled by the trade unions, women's and cooperative movements, the German and Italian questions, and a number of others. The Congress recorded the temporary defeat of the proletariat in the revolutionary battles of 1918-1921. As its key task the Congress recommended that the Communist parties should intensify their effort to win over the masses and the majority of the proletariat.

At the Third Congress Lenin made a speech in defence of the Comintern tactics which was spearheaded against the supporters of the leftist "theory of an offensive". In his speech he announced that for the Communists there can be no question of whether a revolutionary offensive is permissible in principle or not. It all depends on whether they are ready for such an offensive or not. Lenin showed that the communist movement must make certain strides in that direction. The first step would be the setting up of a true Communist party and a rupture with opportunism. The

second includes learning to prepare for a revolution. A vital element in the second step is the winning over of the masses to the side of the Communist party. "And if," said Lenin, "during the struggle itself the majority of the working people prove to be on our side—not only the majority of the workers, but the majority of all the exploited and oppressed—then we shall really be victorious."[1]

A vital means of winning over the masses were the tactics of a united workers' front. The Congress examined the question of the battles of the working class in Germany in March 1921, noted their positive significance and at the same time condemned the opportunist policy pursued by the leader of the Communist Party of Germany, Paul Levi, at the time of these battles. The Third Congress approved the decision of the Executive Committee of the Communist International on expelling the Italian Socialist Party from the ranks of the Comintern (headed by the centrist Serrati) which refused to honour the 21 Conditions of Admission to the Comintern. Regarding the organisational question, the Congress recommended that the Communist parties should arrange their work among the masses on the basis of factory cells. On the basis of Lenin's report, the Congress discussed and approved the tactics of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) and the New Economic Policy. The Congress noted that experience gained in politics by Soviet Communists would serve as a good example of how to manoeuvre, retreat and launch an offensive in the complicated and changing situation of the class struggle.

The Congress paid great attention to the trade union question, condemning the neutrality of the trade union movement. While the Third Comintern Congress was in progress the congress of revolutionary trade unions attended by 380 delegates from 41 states was held from July 3 to July 19, 1921. After the war, under the influence of the October Revolution, the left wing of the trade union movement began to grow stronger and left-wing trade union organisations began to be set up in many countries. At that time, the reformists began to expel the revolutionary workers from the trade unions. Under these conditions, the left-wing trade unions were faced with the task of unit-

[1] V. I. Lenin, "Third Congress of the Communist International", *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, 1973, p. 477.

ing into a single international centre.

The congress of revolutionary trade unions adopted a decision on setting up the Red Trade Unions International (Profintern). The Profintem's programme and tactics were founded on Lenin's teaching on trade unions. The Profintem urged that workers throughout the world should fight to overthrow capitalism and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. It opposed the reformist policy of class co-operation, and also of sectarianism and the political indifference of the anarcho-syndicalists, who demanded that workers should leave the reactionary trade unions, that parallel unions should be set up, and renounced cooperation with the Communist parties and Comintern. The vital task facing Profintem consisted in achieving unity in the world trade union movement on the basis of the campaign for better working conditions for the workers, to improve their standard of living, for the development of trade union democracy, the setting up of a single trade union centre in each country, the drawing together of the world proletariat with Soviet workers, the alliance of the workers with the working masses in the countries of the East, countering the offensive of fascism and the warmongers and forming a united trade union international.

The decisions taken by the Third Comintern Congress were of tremendous assistance to the Communist parties in working out tactics for a united workers' front. In December 1921, in accordance with the decisions of the Third Congress, the Executive Committee of the Comintern adopted the detailed "Theses on the United Front of the Workers", which armed the Communist parties with an in-depth analysis of the united front tactics. The development of the class struggle in the capitalist countries revealed the tremendous significance of the tactics of a united front of the workers. The Comintern strove to put these tactics into effect not only on a national, but also on an international scale. Lenin considered it necessary to convene a conference of representatives of the Berne, Vienna and Third Internationals for working out measures to achieve the unity of the workers.

The conference of the three Internationals was held in Berlin on April 2-5, 1922, to establish unity of action. The representatives of the Comintern suggested convening an international congress and organising a united front of the

workers to combat the offensive of capital, reaction, imperialist war, the Versailles Treaty, and in support of Soviet Russia. It was resolved to begin preparations for an international workers' congress. But the opportunists and centrists torpedoed the agreement on unity of action by the three international organisations of the working class.

In a number of cases, the bourgeoisie's offensive began to take the form of organising the forces of and encouraging fascism and was aimed at abolishing democratic rights and freedoms. Only the tactics of a united workers' front could frustrate the plans of reaction. This was again stressed by the Fourth Comintern Congress, which was held at the end of 1922 and attended by 408 delegates from 58 countries.

The Fourth Comintern Congress paid serious attention to combating the offensive of capitalism and the danger of fascism, and the gathering danger of war connected with this. The Resolution on the Versailles Treaty adopted by the Congress revealed the imperialist essence and the deep-going internal contradictory nature of the system of post-war peace treaties.

The Congress approved the theses on the Comintern's tactics. In promoting the united front tactics, the Congress advanced the slogan of a workers' or workers' and peasants' government, which was to disarm counter-revolution, offer resistance to the bourgeoisie, establish control over production, and so forth. The workers' government was, as it were, a step towards the dictatorship of the working class.

The Congress also discussed the achievement of unity by the trade unions and the agrarian, and national-colonial questions. The opportunist theory of "the neutrality" of the trade unions was rejected once again. The slogan of a united anti-imperialist front was advanced for the effort of Communists in the colonial and dependent countries. The Fourth Congress confirmed the resolutions of the Second Congress on the agrarian question. The tactics of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) analysed by Lenin in his report "Five Years of the Russian Revolution and the Prospects of the World Revolution" were approved as well. The Fourth Comintern Congress thus made a fresh contribution to the elaboration of tactics of a united workers' front.

However, just as before the reformist leaders of the Berne and Vienna Internationals, who had continued to deepen the split in the working-class movement, stood on the path to the unity of the working class. Owing to subsiding tide of revolution, the reformists and centrists came to the conclusion that the main danger was over for them, that they succeeded in restraining a considerable strata of the proletariat from turning to the revolutionary struggle and that they could once more therefore reunite into a single organisation. In May 1923, a unifying congress of the Berne and Vienna Internationals was held in Hamburg. At the Congress the founding of the united Labour and Socialist International was legalised. Thus, the right and centrist trends in the former Second International finally dissociated themselves from the left wing of the working-class movement.

In their practical activity the Communist parties strove to attain unity of the working class and win over the working masses to their side. During the revolutionary crisis of 1923 the Executive Committee of the Comintern advised Communists in Germany to set up Soviets and prepare to seize power. It recommended the Bulgarian Communists that they should attain unity of action with the Agrarian People's Union. But the indecisiveness or opportunism of individual Communist leaders prevented the Communist parties of these countries from successfully employing the tactics of working-class unity.

The setting up and activities of the Comintern in 1919-1923 were of tremendous importance for consolidating the world communist movement ideologically and organisationally, and for elaborating the principles of its strategy and tactics. The ranks of the Comintern swelled considerably. Whereas at the moment of its foundation the communist movement numbered some 300-400 thousand people, by 1922 the number of Communists throughout the world was 1,210,000. At the same time, the young Communist parties were still weak and lacked experience. This largely explained why the revolutionary upsurge did not bring victory to the proletariat. The Comintern was therefore faced with the task of helping the Communist parties to become mass revolutionary parties of a new type.

2. The Struggle of the Communist International for the Ideological and Organisational Consolidation of the Communist Parties

In the years when capitalism was partly stabilised (1924-1928), the Comintern concentrated its efforts on consolidating the Communist parties ideologically and organisationally and achieving unity in the international working-class movement.

The Fifth Comintern Congress. The Fifth Comintern Congress held in the summer of 1924 noted that the main task facing the international communist movement was that of making the Communist parties mass-scale organisations, which had mastered the experience accumulated by Bolshevism. In the Congress resolutions it was stressed that each Marxist-Leninist Party should be a mass-scale party, capable of manoeuvring, true to revolutionary Marxism and the proletarian revolution, centralised and monolithic, employing the method of criticism and self-criticism to rectify its mistakes. All the Communist parties' work should be based on the factory cell. Communists were called upon to work actively within the trade unions, among the peasants, and in the national liberation movement.

The policy of strengthening the Communist parties ideologically and organisationally became to be called "BoLshevisation" of the Communist parties in those years. Bolshevisation did not by any means signify automatically applying the CPSU's experience to the Communist parties. "Bolshevisation," said the resolution adopted at the Fifth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International (March-April 1925), "is the application of the general principles of Leninism to the concrete situation of the given country."

Bolshevisation simultaneously signified the generalisation and dissemination of what was positive in the experience and theory of the entire international communist movement. "Bolshevisation of the Comintern sections," it was noted at the same Plenum, "means studying and applying in practice the experience of the Russian Communist Party in the three Russian revolutions, and of course the experience of other sections which have serious struggles behind

them."[1] In short, Bolshevisation meant the consolidation of the Communist parties, proceeding from the ideological, tactical, and organisational principles of Leninism.

The work of the Fifth Comintern Congress was an example of the struggle for Bolshevisation of the Communist parties in practice. When analysing the revolutionary battles in Germany in 1923, the Congress condemned the capitulation tactics of the right-wing opportunists who headed the Communist Party of Germany and of some other Communist parties. The opportunist understanding of the tactics of a united front purely as an agreement with those at the top was denounced. The Congress pointed out that the unity of the masses, unity stemming from below should form the basis of a united front which by no means rules out accord on unity among those at the top. The Fifth Congress also discussed ways of achieving trade union unity, and methods of combating fascism. A persistent campaign was waged at the Congress against right and leftist tendencies, in particular against Trotskyism. Trotsky and his followers spoke out against Leninism, that is, against the ideological, organisational and tactical principles of the Communist parties' activities.

The Congress expressed its complete support for the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) in its struggle against Trotskyism. The Congress resolution approved the decisions of the 12th Party Conference and the 13th Congress of the RCP(B) and condemned the platform of Trotskyist opposition and its activities. Trotskyism was described as petty-bourgeois, opportunist trend. Thus, the Fifth Comintern Congress made a substantial contribution to consolidating the Comintern and the Communist parties ideologically and organisationally.

The resolutions of the Fifth Congress and the Theses of the Fifth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International on the Bolshevisation of the Parties of the Communist International was of tremendous assistance to many Communist parties in organising their work along Leninist lines. Several plenums of the Executive Committee of the Communist International were held between the Fifth and Sixth Comintern Congresses. At these ple-

[1] *The Communist International. 1919-1943. Documents.* Selected and edited by Jane Degras, Oxford University Press, London, New York, Toronto, 1960, Vol. II, 1923-1928, p. 190.

nums, questions of Bolshevisation of the Communist parties of Czechoslovakia, Italy, Germany, the USA, France, and elsewhere, were examined. The Comintern helped these parties to defeat the right-wing and left-wing opportunists and rectify party policy and tactics. The ECCI plenums made an in-depth analysis of the nature of relative capitalist stabilisation and of the major revolutionary actions of that time (the general strike of 1926 in Britain, the Chinese Revolution, and others). The struggle of the Comintern against the Trotsky-Zinoviev bloc in the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) was of great significance. The Trotskyites spoke out against Leninism not only with regard to the basic question, namely, the possibility of constructing socialism in the USSR, but also in respect of a number of other questions: the attitude to the peasantry, the freedom of factional activity in the party, and the like. The Eighth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International (December 1926) dealt a crushing blow at Trotskyism on an international scale. In February 1926 the Comintern adopted a resolution on the incompatibility of adherence to Trotskyism and membership of the Comintern. Everywhere the Trotskyites were expelled from the ranks of the Communist parties. The defeat of Trotskyism was of great significance for consolidating the world communist movement ideologically and organisationally.

The struggle for the unity of the working-class movement. The Comintern fought indefatigably for the unity of the working-class movement on a national and an international scale. The task of setting up a united International of trade unions was put forward by the Third Profintern Congress, proceeding from the decisions of the Comintern in July 1924. As a first step, Profintem suggested convening an International Unity Congress. However, the reactionary leaders of the Amsterdam International were opposed to trade union unity. Their main efforts were aimed at achieving class cooperation between labour and capital, at renouncing struggle by means of strikes, and at the introducing of compulsory state arbitration everywhere. At the same time, they disrupted the unity of action in mass-scale efforts of the workers. Thus, during the general strike of 1926 in Britain the leaders of the Amsterdam In-

temational opposed the Profintem's suggestion on joint assistance to the British workers. At the Prague Congress of 1927 the Amsterdam International flatly refused to give any kind of support to the Soviet Union and the Chinese Revolution, and rejected the policy of a united front. In this connection, the Fourth Profintem Congress in March 1928 urged that the revolutionary trade unions should head the struggle of the working class for their vital interests, to overcome the ideological and organisational influence of the reformists and to continue the struggle for the unity of the trade union movement. The Congress outlined the tasks facing the international trade union movement, and also examined questions on working youth, the trade union movement in colonial and semi-colonial countries, and others.

The splitting policy of the Labour and Socialist International still remained a great hindrance to the unity of the international working-class movement. In the years of capitalist stabilisation the leaders of the reformist International intensified their propaganda of various theories regarding the peaceful growth of capitalism into socialism. The Congress of the Labour and Socialist International held in Marseilles in 1925 decided to give full support to the bourgeoisie's policy for stabilising capitalism. At the same time, it declared that the participation of the Social-Democrats in bourgeois governments was a way of achieving socialism, while in actual fact such participation boiled down to attempts to carry out some kind of limited reforms while preserving the foundations of the capitalist system. The leaders of the International unconditionally supported the League of Nations, the imperialist policy reflected in the Dowes' Plan and in the resolutions of the conference in Locarno, and in the suppression of the national liberation movement. They slandered the Soviet Union and the Communist International. At the Brussels Congress of the Labour and Socialist International in 1928 a resolution was adopted calling for struggle against "the dictatorship" in the USSR. In its resolution on the colonial question the Congress did in fact approve the colonial policy of imperialism. All the activities of the Labour and Socialist International, like those of the Amsterdam International, only deepened the split in the international working-class movement.

In the atmosphere of a splitting policy on the part of the

right-wing Social-Democrats, the Comintern took a number of decisions which contained elements of a sectarian approach to the united front problem. So, in individual documents the united front tactics were understood as unity of action only on a grass-roots level or solely as a method of agitation and not as a means of effecting it in practice. Such an approach to Social-Democracy did not facilitate the setting up of a united front. Nevertheless, the reformists were mainly to blame for the split in the ranks of the international proletariat, for they had invariably rejected unity of action, and when they had come to power in the bourgeois governments they had at times dealt with the workers' demonstrations no less cruelly than the representatives of the big bourgeoisie. All this evoked tremendous indignation among the proletarian masses.

The Sixth Comintern Congress. The adoption of the Comintern Programme. The Sixth Comintern Congress, held from July 17 to September 1, 1928, occupies an important place in the history of the international working-class and communist movement. The Congress analysed the international situation, determined the stages in developing the working-class movement after the world war, noted the achievements in socialist construction in the USSR, and remarked upon the inevitable cracking up of capitalist stabilisation. The conclusion was drawn at the Congress that a new period in the revolutionary battles was in the offing and the tactics of "class against class" were approved; this orientated the Communist parties towards preparing for the possible occurrence of an acute socio-political crisis in the capitalist countries and envisaged the intensification of the efforts to combat the reformism of social-democracy. The shortcoming of these tactics was that they underestimated the danger of fascism and were intended solely for the future proletarian revolutions.

The Congress paid paramount attention to the efforts to prevent the impending imperialist war and especially to the need to defend the USSR against possible intervention. The Congress decisions urged that the working class in the imperialist countries should bring about the defeat of their own governments and frustrate the plans for the imperialist intervention against the USSR. The interests of proletarian internationalism, the interests of world revolution

demanded of the workers in all countries that they should defend the hearth of socialism, the foundations of the revolutionary movement throughout the world in every possible way. A decision was taken on waging an international campaign against war.

The Sixth Congress of the Comintern also examined the question of the revolutionary movement in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. Its decisions referred to extremely resolute support for the national liberation movement of the peoples in the colonial and dependent countries. The Congress paid special attention to defence of the Chinese revolution from imperialist intervention. However, owing to the betrayal by the national bourgeoisie in China and India of the cause of the revolutionary liberation struggle, the Congress erroneously noted that the national bourgeoisie was no longer capable of combating foreign imperialism.

The Comintern Programme adopted at the Sixth Comintern Congress contained a profound analysis of the laws governing the development of the world capitalist system and the opposing socialist system in the Soviet Union. The Programme generalised the tremendous wealth of international experience gained in revolutionary struggle in the capitalist countries, and also the struggle of the Soviet people for the dictatorship of the proletariat and the construction of socialism. The principal conclusion in the Programme was that on the inevitability of the revolutionary collapse of capitalism and the victory of communism throughout the world. The ultimate goal of the proletariat, it was noted in the Programme, was to replace the world capitalist economy by a world communist system. Based on the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the socialist revolution, the Programme provided an analysis of prospects for and ways of development, and types of revolution in individual countries (proletarian, bourgeois-democratic, national liberation). The Programme stressed the international significance of the Soviet Union as a buttress of the world revolutionary movement. The Comintern Programme was an extremely important ideological and theoretical document arming the Communist parties with profound scientific analysis of the prospects for the development of world revolution.

The Sixth Comintern Congress urged the parties not to relax their vigilance with regard to opportunist elements.

The Congress pointed out that in the period of the partial stabilisation of capitalism right-wing opportunism posed the main danger in the parties. But the struggle had to be fought not only against right-wing but also against left-wing deviators. The right-wing elements headed by Bukharin who had overestimated the soundness of capitalist stabilisation, were exposed by the Congress. The Congress approved the struggle against Trotskyism and refused Trotsky and other opportunists from different countries to restore their membership of the Communist parties. Thus, the Sixth Comintern Congress did a great deal to consolidate the Comintern and its sections ideologically and organisationally.

In the period when capitalism was partially stabilised the Comintern achieved considerable consolidation of the Communist parties and the mastering by them of the wealth of experience of Leninism. In these years staunch cadres, well-schooled in the theory of Marxism-Leninism, formed in the Communist parties, among them Maurice Thorez, Jacques Duclos, Pierre Semard, Marcel Cachin (French Communist Party), Antonio Gramsci, Palmiro Togliatti (Italian Communist Party), Ernst Thalmann, Wilhelm Pieck, Walter Ulbricht (Communist Party _pf Germany), Klement Gottwald, Bohumir Smeral, Antonin Zapotocky, and Jan Sverma (Czechoslovak Communist Party), William Gallacher, Harry Pollitt (Communist Party of Great Britain), Georgi Dimitrov, Vasil Kolarov (Bulgarian Communist Party), William Z. Foster (Communist Party USA), Victorio Codovilla (Communist Party of Argentina), and many others.

The achievements of the Comintern in those years were of vital importance for the subsequent efforts to counter the offensive of capital, fascism, and war.

3. The Tactics of the Comintern and the Communist Parties in the Struggle for a United Workers' and Popular Front Against Fascism and War

Changes in the balance of forces in the international arena and the new tasks facing the world communist movement. The thirties were marked by substantial changes in the balance of forces throughout the world, ensuing,on the one hand, from the victory of socialism in the USSR and, on the other, from the economic crisis in the capitalist world. While the economic crisis was raging in the capital-

ist countries, the Soviet people, guided by the Communist Party, had successfully carried out the first five-year plan and had started on the second five-year plan. Consequently, by the mid-thirties socialism was victorious in the USSR. The building of socialism in the USSR was a great feat, an extremely important world historic event after the October Socialist Revolution. With the victory of socialism the Soviet Union became a mighty industrial and collective farm socialist power, a powerful bulwark of the world revolutionary movement. The USSR's successes had a revolutionising impact on the working masses in the capitalist countries, filled them with confidence in their own forces and the conviction that capitalism must be and could be eliminated and a socialist society built.

The achievements of the Soviet Union provoked an increasing surge of malice and hatred towards the state of proletarian dictatorship on the part of all the reactionary forces. The imperialists in Britain, France, the USA, Germany, Japan, and other countries dreamt of destroying the Soviet Union and intensively prepared for a new attack on the Soviet country. The German fascism was assigned the role of the striking force against the USSR. All this testified to the further aggravation of the basic contradiction of the epoc, the contradiction between the capitalist and the socialist world.

Owing to the world economic crisis which had struck the capitalist countries in 1929-1933, the aggressive anti-Soviet designs of imperialism intensified. The crisis was particularly manifest in the United States, the citadel of capitalism. The crisis slowed down the development of industrial production, agriculture, and trade. The level of industrial output in the capitalist world dropped by 36 per cent on average. The world trade turnover was only two-thirds of what it was formerly. The crisis led to a drastic deterioration in the position of the working masses. In many countries the wages of factory and office workers fell by 40-60 per cent. The number of fully unemployed in the capitalist world in 1933 was 30 million. The crisis led to the ruin of the mass of the peasants, petty bourgeoisie and middle bourgeoisie. The many-million-strong masses of the peoples in the colonial world were hard hit by the crisis.

On the whole, the economic crisis seriously aggravated all the contradictions in the capitalist world, engendering con-

ditions for a new revolutionary upsurge. In many capitalist countries big strike battles were launched, a mighty movement of unemployed and ruined peasants and farmers started. The urban petty bourgeoisie became actively involved in the political struggle. According to the data of William Z. Foster, in 1929-1932 there were 18,794 strikes in the 15 largest countries involving 8,515,000 people. In the years of the crisis a revolutionary situation began to take shape in a number of capitalist countries (Germany, Spain, Austria, and others). It became increasingly difficult for the imperialist bourgeoisie to rule by bourgeois-democratic and parliamentary methods. The influence of the Social-Democrats, the mainstay of bourgeois influence in the working class, waned. Revolutionary activity among the broad masses of the workers grew unprecedentedly.

The crisis promoted the fresh intensification of the national liberation movement. The national liberation revolutionary struggle continued in China. In India a new campaign of civil disobedience was launched. In Cuba a mighty anti-imperialist movement expressed itself in a general strike and uprising. However, at the given stage the movement did not lead to revolution, to the revolutionary storming of capitalism as was the case at the end of the First World War. Imperialism advanced a new reactionary force, fascism, to suppress the revolutionary movement, and created a threat to the bourgeois-democratic regime in capitalist countries. The growth of fascism testified both to the weakness of the working class, disorganised by the splitting policy of the right-wing Social-Democrats, and to the weakness of the bourgeoisie itself, which was not capable of retaining its power by methods of bourgeois democracy.

German fascism was a particularly reactionary variety of fascism which falsely called itself “National Socialism” (nazism). In actual fact, it had nothing in common with either socialism or the defence of national interests. When the Nazis came to power in Germany, the true essence of fascism was revealed to all peoples. Fascist power destroyed the best representatives of the working class in prisons and concentration camps. The fascists broke up the trade unions, cooperatives, and all legal workers’ and democratic organisations. They deprived the workers of elementary social rights. Germany became the most reactionary state

in the world, the major hotbed of world war. German fascism became the striking force of international counter-revolution. When in power, fascism was an undisguised terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinist, and most imperialistic elements of finance capital. Its grass roots were to be found in the petty-bourgeois strata.

From a political point of view, fascism was characterised' by bestial chauvinism, the growth of militarism and preparations for another world war. The economic crisis led to aggravation of the clash between the imperialist states on the world market. A bitter economic war began among them, which grew over into a struggle to redivide the world. The imperialists hoped with the help of another world war to resolve the contradictions in the capitalist system as well. An intensive arms race began in all the imperialist countries. In Germany, Japan, and Italy the economy was put on a military footing. Chauvinism and racialism were propagandised on a tremendous scale.

Japanese imperialism began the new redivision of the world. In 1931, Japan committed an act of aggression against China. Its action undermined the positions of British and American imperialism in the Far East. However, the main instigators of a new world war were the Nazis who put the question of changing the European frontiers by means of war. Their plans included seizing part of the lands of France, the partitioning of Czechoslovakia, the annexation of Austria, the defeat and enslavement of the Soviet Union, the seizure of the colonies, and so forth. Italian imperialism, which launched a military offensive against Ethiopia in 1935 played no small part in unleashing the world war. As far as the British and American imperialists were concerned, they encouraged and supported the Nazis in every possible way, rendered them colossal financial and other aid, in an attempt to spearhead Germany's aggression eastwards, towards the Soviet Union. At the same time, Anglo-American contradictions continued to exacerbate, just like the differences between Britain, the USA, and France, on the one hand, and Germany, Japan, and Italy, on the other.

All this created instability throughout the world and led to the unleashing of the new world war. With the world economic crisis, the onslaught of fascism, the preparations for

a world war by the imperialists, the workers' and communist movement was faced with new historical tasks. The efforts of the working class and all the progressive peace-loving forces had to be combined to defend democratic freedoms, avert a new world war, and defeat fascism. From 1932 onwards a mass-scale international movement against fascism and war got under way. On the initiative of the progressive intelligentsia it was decided to convene the International Anti-War Congress. This idea found a broad response among all peace champions. In spite of the tremendous impediments put up by the bourgeoisie and the leaders of the Labour and Socialist International, the International Anti-War Congress was held in Amsterdam on August 27-29, 1932. Henri Barbusse made a report on the efforts to combat the threat of an imperialist war at the Congress. The Congress was attended by workers, peasants, members of the intelligentsia, Communists, Socialists, figures from trade unions, women's and youth movements. These participants unanimously adopted a manifesto condemning the arms race and the imperialist policy of aggression and outlined concrete measures for combating the danger of war. The Congress considerably boosted the general democratic movement.

The growth of the fascist threat, especially after the Nazis came to power in Germany, activated the world antifascist public. The trade union organisations in Italy, Germany and Poland suggested convening a European Anti-Fascist Workers' Congress in Paris which started on June 4, 1933. The Congress was a new impressive manifestation in favour of a joint struggle against fascism.

In the capitalist countries the united front movement against the offensive of capital, fascism, and war began to gain in strength. In February 1934, armed battles against fascism flared up in Austria in the course of which the unity of the Communists and Social-Democrats was fortified. At that time (February 1934), the working class in France foiled the attempt of the fascists to seize power. For the first time in France the working class headed by the Communist Party employed the tactics of a united workers' and popular front to combat fascism. In October 1934 workers in Asturias (Spain) started a general strike which developed into an armed uprising. The October battles convinced the Spanish workers of the need for them to consoli-

date their unity and that of all the anti-fascist forces. The campaigns for the liberation from fascist torture-chambers of the outstanding revolutionary fighters Georgi Dimitrov and Ernst Thälmann also testified to the success in forming a united international front of the proletariat.

The struggle of the working class in Austria, France, and Spain had a mobilising effect on the working class and other strata of the workers in the capitalist countries and confirmed the tremendous force of the united front tactics. The success of these tactics depended on all the contingents of the working class, on all organisations. Great responsibility lay with the Social-Democratic parties which were still supported by the majority of the workers in the capitalist countries of Europe. The striving of the Social-Democratic workers for unity with the Communists, and the growth of their class consciousness assisted in healing the split in the working class and achieving successes in the struggle against fascism and the bourgeoisie. However, the right-wing leaders of social-democracy pursued a splitting policy just as before, which was particularly dangerous as fascism and war were launching their offensive. At the Congress of the Labour and Socialist International in Vienna in 1931 its leaders demagogically announced their resoluteness to fight for and protect bourgeois-democratic freedoms with all the means at their disposal. In words they even intended to respond with a socialist revolution to the fascists' attempts to seize power. However, in actual fact the right-wing Social-Democrats feared a socialist revolution most of all. Therefore, at the Vienna Congress they approved the tactics "of the lesser of the two evils" according to which they would support any bourgeois government except a fascist one but in deeds their efforts were chiefly aimed at fighting not against fascism, but against the communist movement.

These fateful tactics doomed the working class and all the democratic forces to inevitable defeat in the face of the fascist danger. In the years of the economic crisis the right-wing Social-Democrats invariably responded by rejecting all the Communists' suggestions regarding the setting up of a united front. Owing to this, the crisis of right-wing social-democracy intensified. The rejection by the German Social-Democratic Party of the united front tactics proposed by the Communists facilitated the victory of fas-

cism. The Austrian right-wing Social-Democrats also distracted the masses from the struggle, although it became increasingly evident that an armed clash with fascism was inevitable. All this increased the disappointment of the masses in the policy of the Social-Democratic parties. Their members began to split into two camps: the right-wing elements attempting to further the policy of class cooperation with the bourgeoisie, and the left-wing elements who spoke out in favour of establishing a united proletarian front.

The Comintern and the Communist parties were in the vanguard of the struggle against the offensive of capital, fascism, and war. During the world economic crisis many Communist parties were subject to cruel persecution by the reactionary forces. By 1935, fifty of the seventy-six Communist parties and groups had had to go right underground. But, in spite of this, the Communists fought courageously for the interests of the working people. In many cases, they headed the mass actions of the workers, the general strikes, and the movement of the unemployed. Tens of thousands of Communists gave their lives fighting fascist obscurantism. The Communist parties were the only force that did in fact oppose fascism.

In the years of the economic crisis the Comintern strove to organise the struggle of the proletariat headed by the Communist parties to combat the offensive of capital. At the Eleventh Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, which was held in the spring of 1931, an analysis was made of the economic crisis and the growing revolutionary upsurge. The Plenum pointed out to the Communist parties that their activity was lagging behind the gathering revolutionary actions and proposed that greater efforts should be made to win over the masses. In the early years of the economic crisis the Comintern dealt a crushing blow at the adherents to the right-wing, revisionist deviation in the Communist parties. Bukharin's group of right-wing deviators in the USSR's Communist Party was defeated. The Comintern rendered the assistance to the Communist parties in Poland, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, Greece, Czechoslovakia, France, and Spain in countering factionalism. As a result, the Marxist-Leninist leadership in many of the Communist parties was strengthened and this allowed these parties to work out a correct political course.

The intensification of the struggle between the forces of fascism and democracy demanded of the Communist parties that they should work out new tactics. The Comintern moved the centre of gravity in all its efforts to the working out and putting into effect of the tactics of a united front. On March 5, 1933, the Executive Committee of the Comintern appealed to all the Communist parties to achieve the unity of action of the working class. However, the leadership of the Labour and Socialist International forbade their organisations to even start negotiations with the Communist parties. This prohibition was confirmed by the decisions of the Paris Conference of the Labour and Socialist International in July 1933. In spite of this, the Communists strove to overcome all the hurdles in achieving unity with the Social-Democrats.

The 13th Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International in December 1933 made an in-depth analysis of the class nature of fascism and spoke out in favour of a united front in the struggle against fascism and war. In 1934, there was unity of action the Communists and Social-Democrats attained in France, Italy, Austria, Spain, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, and Greece. In October 1934, the Executive Committee of the Comintern made yet another attempt to achieve unity of action with the Labour and Socialist International. It submitted to its leadership a proposal to organise joint efforts in support of the struggle of the workers of Asturias (Spain). This time too the leaders of right-wing social-democracy essentially rejected the appeal of the Executive Committee of the Communist International to create a united front. At the same time, the leaders of the Labour and Socialist International lifted the ban on their own sections entering into agreements on the united front with the Communists.

The Seventh Comintern Congress. The tactics of a united popular front. The swing of the world communist movement towards a united popular front in the struggle against fascism and war was made at the Seventh Comintern Congress (July 25-August 20, 1935). The Congress attended by 510 delegates from 65 sections of the Comintern proposed a new strategic and tactical orientation for the communist movement corresponding to the new circumstances and the new tasks to be tackled. All the work of the

Seventh Comintern Congress was permeated with the thought of how better to put into effect the tactics of a united workers' and popular front in countering the offensive of capital, fascism, and war.

The Seventh Congress discussed the report on the activity of the Executive Committee of the Communist International made by Wilhelm Pieck. The report contained an analysis of world development, the growing class and anti-fascist struggle, the situation in the world communist movement, and the Communist parties were set the main task of creating a united workers' and popular front. The resolution adopted on the report contained recommendations on granting greater autonomy and initiative to the Comintern sections.

A special report by Georgi Dimitrov ("Fascist Offensive and the Tasks of the Communist International in the Fight for the Unity of the Working Class Against Fascism") was devoted to the creation of a united proletarian and popular front. The Seventh Congress analysed the class essence of fascism, revealed the reasons for its coming to power in some countries and noted that if the working class employed the right tactics, launched the struggle in time and rallied round itself allies, it could defeat fascism.

In Georgi Dimitrov's report great attention was paid to the setting up of a united front of the working class. The Comintern recommended employing the united front tactics in a new way, achieving an agreement on the joint actions with organisations of workers of different political trends on a factory, local, regional, nation-wide, and international scale; the joint actions of the Communists with the Social-Democratic parties, the reformist trade unions and other organisations should be attained on the basis of short-term or long-term agreements.

The workers' united front tactics in all the capitalist countries were meant to defend the direct interests of the working class and protecting it from fascism. The Comintern advised that the masses should be rallied by means of a programme expressing the vital needs of the workers and through the joint actions of workers' organisations. The Seventh Comintern Congress recommended that a united proletarian front should be achieved in various ways.

The Congress paid great attention to the unity of the trade union movement. It directed the Communists towards

the achievement of trade union unity on a production, nation-wide, and international scale, the creation of united class trade unions at each enterprise, in each country, a united international trade union organisation.

The idea of creating a united class political party of the working class in each country was also put forward in the decisions of the Seventh Congress. The Congress shaped the general terms in which the Communists and Socialists could be united into a single party. At the same time, it was declared that the Comintern was prepared to begin negotiations with the Labour and Socialist International on setting up a single International.

Thus, the Seventh Comintern Congress discussed in depth and in detail ways and means of setting up a united workers' front, its tasks and activities. All the Congress' work was imbued with the thought that the creation of a wider popular anti-fascist coalition depended on the success gained in uniting the working class. The Seventh Comintern Congress made a thorough analysis of the question of creating an extensive anti-fascist popular front on the basis of a united workers' front. It appealed to the Communist parties to unite under the leadership of the proletariat the working peasantry, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the working masses of the oppressed nationalities. The struggle in defence of the specific demands made by these strata needed to be waged more actively. The Congress paid great attention to the involvement of young people, working women, the unemployed, and so forth in the united popular front. The Comintern taught the Communist parties to use even the slightest legal and semi-legal possibilities to stay fascism. For this purpose the Seventh Congress recommended that the Communists should join mass Nazi-controlled organisations (workers', youth, sports, and so forth) and campaign there to deprive fascism of its mass basis. The Comintern pointed out to the Communist parties the need to promote systematic ideological struggle against fascism.

At the Seventh Comintern Congress the idea was put forward of a government of the proletarian or popular front. The struggle to combat the offensive of capital, fascism, and war could intensify the political crisis. In these circumstances, the Communist parties ought to put forward the cardinal slogans of control over production and the banks, the disbandment of the police, the setting up of

workers' militia, and so on. These slogans could unite the broad masses and lead to the establishment of a government of the proletarian or popular front. Such a government would be of an anti-fascist nature. It would take decisive measures to counter fascism and reaction. The Communist parties, the Congress pointed out, will support this government in every possible way and may be members of it, depending on the specific situation.

The decisions of the Seventh Congress envisaged the creation of an anti-imperialist popular front in the dependent countries. The Congress recommended that the Communists should draw the masses at large into the national liberation movement, actively participate in all the anti-imperialist actions, and make every effort to achieve joint actions with the national-revolutionary and national-reformist organisations. The Congress stressed the close interrelationship of the struggle waged by the proletariat in the imperialist countries and the liberation struggle of the dependent peoples.

The spread of the united front tactics to the struggle to combat the danger of world war was of paramount importance. On the report made by Ercoli (Palmiro Togliatti) the Congress adopted the resolution "On the Preparations for Imperialist War and the Tasks of the Communist International". This resolution defined the concrete tasks facing the Communist parties and the working class in combating the war danger. The Congress did at the same time emphasise that the struggle for peace was the central slogan of the Communist parties. First of all, the Congress called upon the peoples of the whole world to work for peace and in defence of the USSR. The most important task facing the Communist parties was the struggle against militarism and the arms race. The Comintern urged that the Communist parties should combat chauvinism, fight for national liberation, and support the national liberation wars. The Communist parties were to attract into the united anti-war front all those who were interested in preserving peace.

The Seventh Congress advanced recommendations to the Communists regarding their tactics, should a world war start. Proceeding from Lenin's teaching, from the experience gained by the Bolshevik Party, the Congress confirmed the tactics of the Communists to turn the imperialist war

into a civil war against fascism, against the bourgeoisie and to overthrow capitalism.

The Seventh Congress also discussed the report made by Dmitry Manuilsky and adopted the resolution "The Victory of Socialism in the USSR and Its World Historical Significance". Pointing out the tremendous significance of constructing socialism in the USSR, the Congress addressed to workers of the whole world the appeal "To Help Strengthen the USSR with All the Forces and Means at Their Disposal and to Struggle Against the Enemies of the USSR".

The historical merit of the Seventh Comintern Congress is the fact that it gave Communists and workers of the whole world a new strategic and tactical orientation in the struggle against fascism and war. In that complicated historical period it was precisely the Comintern and no other organisation or trend that pointed out to peoples the way to combat the danger of fascism and to organise resistance against the forces of reaction and war.

The development of the struggle of peoples against fascism and war on the eve of the Second World War. The decisions of the Seventh Congress met with great approval on the part of the broad anti-fascist forces. The rallies and meetings held in many countries showed that the Comintern's tactics were not only approved by Communists but also by Socialists and non-party people. Proceeding from the experience accumulated and the instructions of the Comintern, the Communist parties successfully began to fight for a united anti-fascist front. The Communist parties of France, Spain, China, and Chile attained great success in putting these tactics into effect. The Comintern attempted to achieve the unity of the anti-fascist forces on an international scale as well. It strove indefatigably to forge contacts with the leadership of the Labour and Socialist International. In 1935-1939, the Executive Committee of the Communist International addressed the leaders of the Labour and Socialist International ten times with a definite platform for united actions. However, its suggestions on joint efforts against the aggression of the fascist states in Ethiopia, and Spain and with regard to other questions were categorically rejected by the reformist leaders of the Labour and Socialist International.

Nevertheless, the Comintern did manage to make very

real headway in achieving unity of the trade union movement. In accordance with the line of the Seventh Comintern Congress Profintem began to strive for the entry of its small trade unions into the large reformist trade unions and the amalgamation of the big left-wing trade unions on an equal basis with the reformist on the platform of fighting against fascism and war and with trade union democracy guaranteed. Such trade union amalgamation was achieved in France, Czechoslovakia, the USA, Romania, India, Spain, Canada, Latin America, and so on. By the end of 1937, as a considerable part of the Profintem sections had joined the trade unions associated within the framework of the Amsterdam International of Trade Unions, Profintern ceased to exist.

Before the Second World War the Communists and other peace champions effected a number of major measures aimed against the warmongers. In July 1936, a conference of representatives of the anti-war movement of the countries of Central and South-East Europe was held in Prague. In August 1936, there were anti-war demonstrations and a Peace Week in France. In September 1936, the International Peace Congress was held in Brussels attended by representatives from 35 countries. Characteristically, the leaders of the Labour and Socialist International did not wish to attend this congress.

The Soviet Union and the world communist movement could not prevent the onslaught of fascism and the unleashing of the Second World War, the reason for this being that the Soviet Union was the only state to pursue an active peace-loving policy. The other big powers did, in fact, encourage the aggressors. The split in the working-class movement within individual capitalist countries as well as in the international working-class movement as a whole, ensuing from the rejection by right-wing Social-Democratic leaders of cooperation with the left-wing, anti-fascist forces, paved the way for the fascist bloc to unleash the Second World War.

The World in 1917-1939

EUROPE

C hap ter 4

The Countries of the West and South of Europe

Great Britain

1. The Upsurge of the Mass Working-Class Movement in Great Britain in the Early Post-War Years

The economic and political situation in Great Britain after the First World War. When they entered the First World War the British ruling circles calculated on strengthening Britain's positions in the world arena. However, these calculations were not justified, in spite of the fact that the main opponent of British imperialism, Germany, had been defeated and Britain had significantly expanded its colonial possessions.[1] Although Britain had suffered less than the other European countries economically, it came out of the war greatly enfeebled. The country's state debt grew more than 12-fold in the war years. During the war Britain had repeatedly resorted to financial aid from the USA and as a result it had turned from its creditor to its debtor.

By the end of the war the volume of British industrial output had dropped sharply. The increasing inability of British goods to compete on world markets meant that Britain's foreign trade more than halved. Among the reasons for the growing economic difficulties experienced by the country were the USA's expanding foreign trade, the mounting competition offered by Japan, and the withdrawal of Soviet Russia from the world market.

Britain's economic development was extremely uneven, from the end of 1918 to mid-1920 the economy began to

[1] At the expense of the German and Turkish colonies the territory of the British Empire expanded by 2,600,000 sq km, and its population by almost 13 million.

pick up owing to certain short-term factors such as: the growth in the population's demand for consumer goods (the output of which had fallen drastically in wartime), and also the restoration work.

However, the limited home and foreign markets hindered the futher development of Britain's economy. By the autumn of 1920, an acute crisis had started in the country, which affected all aspects of the economy. In 1921, industrial output was only 68 per cent of the pre-war level. The sharp drop in production brought in its wake mass-scale unemployment and a serious deterioration in the standard of living of the British workers. The number of registered unemployed in July 1921 was 20.6 per cent of all the trade union members. Unemployment remained on a high level for several years. When the crisis ended, in 1922-1923, the country's economy was still in a state of stagnation.

The victory of the imperialist grouping in the world war, in which Britain had played a leading part, did not help to lessen the class contradictions in the country. On the contrary, the economic difficulties gave rise to tensions in the political situation. The workers demanded that their situation should be improved. A movement in support of nationalisation of the basic branches of production and the effecting of democratic changes got under way in the country. There was unrest in the army. To prevent the class struggle from exacerbating, the British ruling circles made certain concessions to the workers. At the beginning of 1918, they put into effect an election reform granting suffrage to men aged 21 years and women aged 30. Following this, compulsory education was introduced for children up to the age of 14, allowances were established for former soldiers, and demobilisation of the army was started. However, these half-hearted measures could not prevent the growth of the working-class and revolutionary movement in the country.

The mounting class struggle caused the regrouping of the bourgeois parties with the Liberal Party losing its leading position. A considerable part of the big bourgeoisie went over to the side of the Conservatives. Many workers joined the Labour Party. A split occurred among the Liberals resulting in the formation of two hostile factions headed by David Lloyd George and Herbert Asquith. The complete political decline of liberalism was obvious. At the same

time, the Conservative and Labour parties fortified their positions considerably.

Immediately after the war, in December 1918, new parliamentary elections took place in Britain. This time the Conservatives stood with the part of the Liberals headed by Lloyd George. The Labour Party put forward an independent programme. The elections brought the Conservative-Liberal bloc a rousing victory. Out of 707 seats in the House of Commons it obtained 477; the Lloyd George group got 136 of them and the rest went to the Conservative Party. The Labour Party had 62 deputies in Parliament backed by some 2,500,000 votes, five times more than at the 1910 elections.

After the elections the Conservatives and Liberals set up a coalition government headed by Lloyd George which existed for nearly four years right up to the end of 1922 and was one of the most reactionary governments in Great Britain.

The upsurge of the mass working-class movement in Britain. The October Revolution had a mighty impact on the development of the mass revolutionary movement in Britain. Under its influence the British working class made a sharp swing to the left and the revolutionary trend in the working-class movement gained in strength. Deep dissatisfaction with the policy pursued by the ruling circles led to growing strike battles and the anti-war movement in Britain. The strikes acquired a tremendous scale in 1919 when more than 2,500,000 workers took part in them. The railwaymen, the textile workers, the transport workers, the miners and the metalworkers went on strike. The workers demanded pay rises, a shorter working day, and the restoration of trade union rights. Characteristically, it was precisely in this period that demands of a political nature were increasingly advanced; the workers demanded an end to the intervention against Soviet Russia and the nationalisation of the railways, the coal industry and other branches of industry.

In 1919, the industrial area along the river Clyde was the scene of the biggest general strike of that time, which involved more than 100,000 shipbuilders, metalworkers, dockers and building workers. The workers demanded that the working week should be cut to forty hours to decrease unemployment. But the workers did not manage to gain a

victory as they were poorly organised and lacked a revolutionary proletarian party.

The miners whose situation was the most difficult were especially active in the economic and political struggle. The very fact that only 16 per cent of the coal in the mines was extracted by machines and the rest was obtained by hand testifies to the terrible conditions in which they worked. At a conference at the beginning of 1919, the miners formulated a programme which included demands for a wage rise of 30 per cent, the introduction of a six-hour working day, the nationalisation of the mines, and the establishment of workers' control over them. The workers in the coal industry were resolute about waging the struggle to the end.

As there was a general upsurge in the working-class movement, Lloyd George hastened to set up a commission chaired by the judge John Sankey to consider the miners' demands. The Sankey Commission recommended that the miners' daily wage should be increased and the working day be cut to seven hours. The miners agreed to these recommendations and called off the strike. However, the British Government was opposed to the nationalisation of the mines.

Besides the mining industry, the Lancashire cotton industry and the railways were also the scene of struggle. In September and October 1919, the British railwaymen held a general strike to gain a wage rise. The attempts of the government to cause a split among the workers and prevent the strike ended in failure. The unity of the railwaymen and also the transport workers' and miners' solidarity with them secured victory for the strikers. All these achievements were attained by the British proletariat at a time when the revolutionary movement was gaining momentum.

During the economic crisis of 1920-1921, the bourgeoisie decided to launch an offensive on the working class. In October 1920, Parliament granted the government extraordinary powers to suppress the strike movement. This was done right at the very moment when a new conflict had flared up between the miners and the mine owners. The constant growth in the cost of living again compelled the miners to demand a pay rise, while the colliery owners were intending to cut the miners' wages which were negligible as they were. On April 1, 1921, the mine owners announced a lock-out. The government introduced a state of emergency

and sent troops into the mining areas. The miners decided to respond to the lock-out with a strike. Fearing that the entrepreneurs and the government would also launch an onslaught on the other contingents of the working class in Britain, the railwaymen and the transport workers took a decision to support the miners, announcing a strike in solidarity with them.

Lloyd George came to an agreement with the leaders of the trade unions and the members of the parliamentary faction of the Labour Party that they would not allow the workers' action, a promise that was kept. The trade union leaders were in no hurry to begin the strike. Only when the workers began to set up strike committees locally did the Federation of Mineworkers set the date for the strike as on April 12, and then postponed it off for three days. On Friday, April 15, 1921, when the miners' strike and the solidarity strike were to begin, the leaders of the railwaymen's and transport workers' trade unions called off the solidarity strike under an invented pretext that the miners allegedly did not take advantage of the opportunity to settle the conflict by peaceful means. That day has gone down in the history of the British working-class movement as "Black Friday", symbol of the perfidious betrayal of the workers' interests by the trade union officials.

Once defeated, the miners were forced to agree to a pay cut of 34 per cent. Following this six million people—mechanics, shipbuilders, sailors of the merchant fleet, textile workers, and others—suffered a cut in their wages. This defeat called forth disappointment in the expediency of struggle among the least stable strata of the working class and they began to move away from it. The reforminst leaders of the workers' organisations were largely to blame for this situation.

The general crisis of capitalism was manifest in the national liberation movement embracing all of Britain's colonies. A movement for independence started in India in 1919, which was joined by the broad sections of the workers, artisans, peasants, and the patriotic national bourgeoisie. Anti-imperialist uprisings took place in Egypt in 1919-1921. The national liberation struggle enveloped the Arab, Iranian and Turkish lands seized by Great Britain.

In spite of the fact that all these actions were brutally suppressed, they undermined the foundations of the colo-

nial regime and created the prerequisites for the development of the more successful struggle against British imperialism in the future. The British bourgeoisie was forced to make some concessions. India and Egypt received a constitution, imposed from above, and the independence of Iran, Turkey, and Afghanistan was recognised.

Under the impact of the October Revolution open armed struggle against the British enslavers started in Ireland. The movement was of a social nature, with the workers trying to take over the factories and the peasants seizing the lands of the landowners and in some regions workers' councils emerged. The workers in Ireland protested against the intervention against Soviet Russia.

Cruel reprisals by the British Government rained down on the Irish people. In a persistent sanguinary struggle the fighters for independence compelled the imperialists to make concessions. In 1921, Ireland was granted the status of a dominion.

The movement of the British workers in defence of the Soviet state. A vital feature of the working-class movement in Britain was the campaign for peace and in defence of Soviet Russia from foreign intervention. Back at the end of 1917 and the beginning of 1918, several large rallies and demonstrations were held in Britain demanding that the war should be stopped and to demonstrate solidarity with the Soviet state. In one of the resolutions approved by the workers of Glasgow it said: "We passionately approve the establishment of a socialist government in Russia... We swear to fight for the same goals—the overthrow of the capitalist system and the founding of a socialist republic."

The British workers created a ramified network of "Hands Off Russia" committees. In the autumn of 1919, the National "Hands Off Russia" Committee was formed in Britain, which united 400 local committees. Thus, in Britain the movement to protest against anti-Soviet intervention was distinguished by its mass scale and good organisation.

This movement made itself felt in the army and navy as well. At the beginning of 1919, British soldiers in the Murmansk region destroyed their occupation equipment and other materials. The crew of the ship *Queen Elizabeth* which was to put to the Baltic Sea also refused to obey orders. Similar actions were taken on other British vessels,

as well as in Great Britain itself. So, several companies of the Yorkshire regiment refused to fight against Soviet Russia. In many army units there was unrest, and the soldiers demanded that they should be demobilised. Sailors and dockers refused to load and transport materiel for the intervention against Soviet Russia. All this testified to the unwillingness of the soldiers and sailors to take part in suppressing the revolutionary struggle of the Russian workers.

The actions of the trade union organisations in support of the Soviet workers made a vital contribution to foiling the interventionist plans of the British imperialists. In April 1919 the British miners, railwaymen, and transport workers held a trade union conference, at which they demanded an immediate end to the intervention against Russia. Thus, the working class of Great Britain made a major contribution to the international movement of solidarity with the Russian workers. In the spring of 1919, the British Government was forced to recall its troops from Russia. In the summer of 1920, however, during the Soviet-Polish war the British imperialists again tried to interfere in the affairs of the Soviet state. The British Government sent the Soviet Government an ultimatum demanding that the offensive of the Red Army, which was routing the white Poles, should be stopped. The threat of Britain attacking Soviet Russia was again imminent.

This time an unprecedented wave of protest swept the country. The workers held rallies, demonstrations and conferences everywhere. Under the pressure exerted by the masses the leaders of the Labour Party and the trade unions set up a Council of Action which called for a national British workers' conference on August 13. At this conference a decision was taken to combat attempts at fresh anti-Soviet intervention and, if necessary, to call a general strike. This compelled the British Government to renounce its plans for intervention. The British working class performed its internationalist duty with regard to Soviet Russia.

The formation of the Communist Party of Great Britain. Daring the strike struggle and the movement of solidarity with Soviet Russia the left wing of the working class of Britain grew stronger and expanded. Serious processes occurred in the biggest political organisation of the workers, the Labour Party which numbered more than four million

people. The overwhelming majority of Labour Party members were trade unions which were its collective members. The workers, who were members of the trade unions, paid the greater part of the expenses of party activities but its policy was determined by reformist trade union leaders. The ideologists of the Labour Party were the leaders of the Labour opportunist workers' organisations which were also members of it—Ramsay MacDonald, Philip Snowden— the Independent Labour Party, Sidney Webb—the Fabian Society, and others.

The victory of the socialist revolution in Russia, the exacerbation of the class contradictions in Britain promoted revolutionary trends in the British working-class movement. The influence of socialist ideas increasingly made itself felt in the Labour Party. To preserve and expand its influence among the workers, the leaders of the Labour Party reorganised the party somewhat. Before 1918 all the party activity boiled down to the election campaigns and was determined by the current tasks involved in the elections. The new party rules adopted in 1918 for the first time formulated the party's goals as follows: to furnish workers doing manual and intellectual labour with the complete product of their labour, the most fair distribution of the benefits produced on the basis of the common ownership of the means of production, the best system of popular management of and control over each branch of industry or social service. The leaders of the Labour Party widely advertised the "socialist" nature of the new document but did not even intend to implement it as became clear in the future. The proclamation of socialist aims corresponded to the spirit of the times and allowed the reformists, under cover of such formulae, to preserve their influence over the working class and retain it as a captive of bourgeois ideology. The new rules kept the old organisational principle in the party—collective membership and also introduced individual membership thereby making itself accessible to bourgeois elements. The Labour Party remained "a thoroughly bourgeois party".[1] Therefore the left-wing elements in the party were compelled to leave it and set up an independent revolutionary organisation.

[1] V. I. Lenin, "The Second Congress of the Communist International", *Collected Works,* Vol. 31, p. 258.

In Britain a left wing had existed in the working-class movement even before the October Revolution. The formation of the Comintern stimulated the emergence of a number of Communist groups. The biggest and the most influential organisation, gravitating towards Marxism-Leninism was the British Socialist Party which formed part of the Labour Party. In 1919, of the 102 branches of the British Socialist Party 98 were in favour of joining the Comintern. A meeting of a number of left-wing socialist organisations was held in London to deal with the question of setting up the Communist Party. However, the groups did not have stable ties with the masses and they did not have experience of working among the working class and had no common tactics. The lack of revolutionary experience and their insufficient political maturity was expressed in their "left-wingness". The young Communists, indignant at the fact that the interests of the working class had been betrayed by the leaders of the Labour Party and the trade unions, took a sectarian stand on a number of tactical questions. Lenin severely criticised the "left-wing" Communists in Britain for refusing to work in the trade unions, for ignoring the parliamentary struggle, for not recognising compromise tactics, and for their unwillingness to join the Labour Party. This criticism helped the British Communists to recognise the shortcomings of their tactics and unite into a Communist Party. One-third of the members of the Independent Labour Party, who were also part of the Labour Party, were in favour of joining the Comintern. The British Socialist Party also decided to join the Comintern. Such organisations as the shop stewards, the Socialist Labour Party, and some others also took a communist stand. From July 31 to August 1, 1920, at a congress of a number of Communist groups the Communist Party of Great Britain was founded. In 1921, the shop stewards and the leftwing of the Independent Labour Party joined it.

However, the members of these organisations only had a vague idea of some of the important principles of strategy and tactics to be employed by a proletarian party of a new type; among them there were adherents of anarcho-syndicalism and sectarians. At the same time, the setting up of the Communist Party was a major achievement of the British working class, the outcome of the class battles of 1919-1920.

To begin with, the Communist Party numbered only ten thousand members all in all but this was the revolutionary vanguard of the working class. In spite of the fact that there were strong sectarian moods in the Party, most of the Communists took the decision to enter the Labour Party while preserving organisational and ideological independence. The leadership of the Labour Party which was in the hands of the right wing and opposed the unity of the working class and the dissemination of genuinely Marxist ideas refused to admit the Communist Party as a collective member.

The fall of Lloyd George's government. The government of Lloyd George which was in power in the years when the working-class and national liberation movements were becoming more vigorous, acted as a "social buffer". Combining repression with liberal demagogy and some concessions, it did to a certain extent check the scale of the class and national liberation struggle. However, when, after the crisis of 1920-1922, Britain's economy became stagnant for a long time instead of recovering as was expected, the policy of the coalition government began to evoke general dissatisfaction. The rising cost of living, the increase in indirect taxes, and unemployment gave rise to new actions on the part of the workers. The imperialist intervention against Soviet Russia ended in failure. Lloyd George's foreign policy suffered a fiasco, too. The Conservative-Liberal coalition was no longer capable of "quietening" the workers or of protecting the interests of the bourgeoisie.

In October 1922, a completely Conservative government headed by Andrew Bonar Law was formed in Britain; later it was headed by Stanley Baldwin and existed until January 1924. It continued to pursue a hostile policy towards the Soviet state. In May 1923, Britain again tendered an ultimatum to the Soviet Government demanding "the cessation of propaganda in Iran and Afghanistan". The Soviet people with the support of British workers frustrated the attempts at anti-Soviet intervention this time, too. The Conservative government was not capable of pulling the British economy out of stagnation. All this made the political situation in the country extremely unstable.

2. Great Britain in the Period of the Partial Stabilisation of Capitalism

The economy of Britain in the years of temporary stabilisation. Economic development in Britain in the years of partial stabilisation (1924-1929) testified to the deep crisis of British imperialism. The country's economy was in fact at a standstill. By 1929, the volume of its industrial output was hardly on the 1913 level. The main branches of industry (coal mining, iron-and-steel, shipbuilding, textile) continued to lag behind. In the volume of output the pre-war level was attained at the expense of new branches of industry such as engineering, chemicals, aircraft and motor car and others. Britain's share in the industrial production of the capitalist countries was 9.8 per cent in 1926-1929, while it was 14.8 per cent in 1913.

One of the main reasons for the economic difficulties in Britain was the extremely backward technology in its industry owing to which British firms were finding it harder and harder to market their goods in other countries. Britain had lost many markets in the USA, Japan, China, Russia, and South America. In the dominions and colonies British capital was faced with growing competition from other imperialist powers, first and foremost the USA. As a result, the foreign trade balance in Great Britain had a rapidly growing deficit from year to year. The attempt by the British ruling circles to pull the country's economy out of a state of decline by financial reform, the concentration of capital and production and the rationalisation of industry was virtually ineffectual.

In April 1925, the government restored the gold parity of the pound sterling. But this only led to price rises of almost 12 per cent on British goods, and consequently put them at a disadvantage with regard to goods from other countries.

For the purpose of lowering production costs British entrepreneurs set about concentrating production and capital, renewing the industrial equipment and intensifying the labour of the workers, and also such means was tried as raising direct and indirect taxes. In 1924, indirect taxes grew almost fivefold against the pre-war years. The slump in the British economy called forth a further drop in the standard of living of the working class and a growth of unemployment. Attempting to eliminate the economic dif-

ficulties in the country, the British bourgeoisie intensified exploitation of the peoples in the colonies and of the working class at home.

The first Labour government. The parliamentary elections in 1923 took place in complicated circumstances. The economic situation in the country remained a difficult one. The working class began to recover from the blow it had been dealt in 1921 and was preparing for a counter-offensive. The international situation was unfavourable for Britain. In the country itself the conflicts between the various groups of monopoly bourgeoisie were becoming extremely acute.

As a result of the elections the Conservatives lost a hundred seats in the House of Commons and thereby their absolute majority in Parliament.

One of the consequences of the upsurge in the working-class movement was the actual collapse of the Liberal Party and its replacement by the Labour Party in the two-party system. As the working-class movement got on its feet, the authority of the Liberals declined. The bourgeoisie needed the two-party system to be fortified by including in it a party capable of pursuing a policy of social demagogy more flexibly than the Liberals. The right-wing Labourites came to the aid of the British monopolies.

The Labour Party included in its election programme the following points: the establishment of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, the revision of the Versailles system, the guaranteeing of a peaceful policy, the nationalisation of the main branches of the economy, the introduction of a capital gains tax, the abolition of unemployment and the solution of the housing shortage, wage rises, and so forth. At the same time, the Labour leaders amply proved their loyalty to capitalism.

On January 23, 1924, the leader of the Labour Party, Ramsay MacDonald, formed a government. All the Labourites in the government belonged to the extreme right wing of the party leadership. The government included several lords connected with the Conservative or Liberal parties. This was to satisfy that part of the British bourgeoisie which feared the actions of the new government in the interests of the workers.

The new government pursued a policy completely meet-

ing the interests of monopoly capital. The right-wing leaders of the Labour Party had no intention of keeping their election promises. Instead, while protecting the interests of big capital, they assisted the development of private enterprise in every possible way by passing through Parliament laws on privileges for industrial enterprises and tax cuts on the profits made by monopoly companies.

The first Labour government established diplomatic relations between Great Britain and the USSR, increased old-age and invalid pensions and passed a law on building housing for the workers. Simultaneously, the Labourites began to persecute the Communist Party functionary J. R. Campbell for his anti-militarist and anti-imperialist efforts. But, fearing the indignation of the workers, the Labour government was forced to stop the Campbell affair. The reactionary policy of the Labour government rapidly led to a decline in its influence in the country.

The slanderous campaign against the Communist Party, upheld by the Labour Party, promoted the activity of all the reactionary forces. On the eve of the new parliamentary elections, the Conservatives came out with an anti-communist forged document containing the so-called letter of the Comintern of September 15, 1924, in which the Comintern had allegedly obliged the British Communists to launch a campaign to overthrow the existing system in Britain by force and carry out "subversive activities" in the British army and navy. The board of the Conservative Party used this "letter" to defeat the Labour Party. Although the Labour leaders knew that this "letter" was a fake, they did not expose it as false in categorical form thereby playing into the hands of the Conservatives.

The activity of the Labour government gave rise to disappointment among the workers and to the discontent of the bourgeoisie, who saw that the government was incapable of dealing with the working-class movement. The Labourites feared that their further stay in power would lead to a complete rupture with the masses and preferred to go over to the opposition. On October 9, 1924, MacDonald resigned. Parliament was disbanded and on October 29 new parliamentary elections were held. The Labour Party lost 40 seats. Amidst the anti-communist campaign and with the declining authority of the Labour Party the majority of

seats in Parliament (415) were won by the Conservatives headed by Stanley Baldwin.

The general strike of 1926. The working class in Britain opposed the policy of the bourgeoisie aimed at stabilising capitalism at the expense of the workers.

The chain of strikes did not cease throughout 1924. The movement of the unemployed headed by the Communist Party swelled in numbers. The workers demanded jobs for the unemployed or adequate benefits. On June 1, 1924, a national day to champion these demands was held. In many towns and cities tens of thousands of jobless and employed workers took part in demonstrations.

In the trade unions the National Minority Movement emerged in which more than 200,000 trade union members were involved. In August 1924, its first national conference to adopt the programme was held. The programme envisaged a number of specific measures aimed at improving the workers' working conditions, raising wages and extending the rights of the trade unions. The programme mentioned the need to establish workers' control at enterprises, rejection of the Dawes Plan, the campaign against the increasing danger of war and for the unity of the trade union movement. The conference elected as the national chairman of the Movement the veteran of the British working-class movement Tom Mann, and as its secretary Harry Pollitt, one of the leaders of the Communist Party. By 1926 the National Minority Movement embraced more than a million people.

The intensification of the revolutionary trend in the working-class movement in Britain, the successful work of the Communist Party, and the National Minority Movement in the masses influenced the activity of the trade union congresses which were held annually. In 1924, the Congress in Hull spoke out in favour of a change in the organisational principle of building up the trade unions: for the replacement of the workshop principle by a production principle. A delegation from the Soviet trade unions was present at the Congress for the first time. It was warmly welcomed by the British workers.

The Congress charged the General Council of the British Trades Union with convening a special congress to decide on the immediate organisation of a strike should war appear

imminent and also to take every possible measure to unite the varied elements of the European working-class movement. A decision was taken to send a British trade union delegation to the Soviet Union on a return visit. The Anglo-Russian Trade Union Committee was soon set up. Its mission was to establish contacts between Soviet and British trade unions and develop combined actions against the threat of a new war and the aggressive schemes of British imperialism, which was planning to organise fresh intervention against the Land of Soviets. The Congress in Scarborough in 1925 marked a considerable success of the left-wing elements in the British working-class movement. The Congress passed a resolution stating that it was the aim of the trade unions to wage a joint struggle with the party of workers to overthrow capitalism. It also spoke out in favour of unity in the international working-class movement, condemned the Dawes Plan, dissociated itself from the imperialist policy of Britain, declared its support for the fight of all peoples of the British Empire for self-determination up to complete secession. At the same time, the right-wing leaders managed to swing the balance of forces in the General Council in their own favour. James Thomas and Ernest Bevin, trade union officials, who had betrayed the miners in 1921, were elected into it. Soon after the Congress Walter Citrine, an extremely right-wing trade union figure, became the head of the General Council.

The growing resistance put up by the workers to the policy pursued first by the Labour Party and then by the Conservatives was evidence of the increasingly acute contradictions in the country and of the increasingly vigorous activity on the part of the workers. The coming to power of the Conservatives meant a further offensive on the standards of living and rights of the workers. The entrepreneurs and the government tried once again to strike the hardest blow at the best organised contingent of the workers, the miners.

In the summer of 1925, the colliery owners announced their intention to cut the miners' pay by 4-13 per cent and at the same time lengthen the working day from 7 to 8 hours. Should the miners fail to agree to this innovation the colliery owners threatened to announce a complete lock-out, which was to begin on July 31.

The cuts in the miners' wages was to trigger off a revision of the wages of other categories of workers, too. Baldwin

said this point blank during a conversation with the leaders of the Miners Federation. “I consider,” he said, “that all the workers in the country should agree to pay cuts to help our industry to get on its feet.” The British bourgeoisie ensured stabilisation at the expense of the working class.

However, at this time, unlike 1921, the workers managed to prepare for the conflict with the coal industrialists in good time. Back in the spring of 1925, a quadripartite alliance was set up in which the railwaymen, transport workers, and engineering industry workers were included as well as the miners. Reckoning on their help, the miners announced that if their wages were cut they would begin a strike. The unity of the main contingents of the British proletariat also forced the General Council of Trades Union to declare its readiness to support the miners. Under the pressure exerted by the grass-roots trade union organisations, the General Council took a decision on July 31 (the day appointed for the lock-out) to begin a boycott of the loading, transportation and unloading of coal on a nation-wide scale. At that moment, the British bourgeoisie was not prepared for a struggle against the united forces of the leading contingents of the working class. Their unity took the country’s ruling circles unawares.

The government accepted a compromise, announcing on Friday July 31 its decision to grant the mining companies a subsidy to the tune of 20 million pounds sterling so that the miners’ wages could remain on the former level. At the same time, the coal industrialists withdrew their demands for changes in the working conditions of the miners. This was a victory for the British working class.

The workers called July 31, 1925, “Red Friday”. Their victory was the outcome of unity and solidarity. However, a clash between the workers and the entrepreneurs was inevitable. The subsidy for keeping the miners’ wages on the former level was only sufficient to last for nine months, i.e. until May 1, 1926. The reasons for the conflict had not been eliminated, and the conflict itself was merely postponed.

With the help of the government the bourgeoisie began to prepare for an open clash with the proletariat. Speaking in the House of Commons on December 10, 1925, Winston Churchill said that they had decided to postpone the conflict in the hope of averting it or, if this did not succeed,

then of dealing with it when the time came. The aim that the bourgeoisie was pursuing in the imminent clash was that of completely defeating the miners and then the other contingents of the working class. The defeat was to take the working-class movement of Britain back to the previous trade union forms and exclude the possibility of large-scale protest actions and political campaigns.

The British Government worked out a detailed plan of offensive. A nation-wide strike-breakers organisation was formed whose members were recruited from young bourgeois people and declassé elements. During the nine months stocks of foodstuffs and coal were accumulated. The whole of Britain was divided up into emergency districts headed by government commissioners. If there were to be a general strike, an emergency situation was to be announced during which the commissioners were granted unlimited rights. The government was preparing for battle while the Labour leaders and leaders of the trade unions did nothing, hypnotising the workers with promises to come to an agreement with the mine-owners.

The only party that called upon the workers to prepare for the coming struggle was the Communist Party. Immediately after "Red Friday", the Executive Committee of the Communist Party published an address to the British workers, pointing out in it to the preparations being made by the bourgeoisie for a fresh attack and the tasks facing the proletarian organisations in this respect. To undermine the Communist Party and prevent it from exposing the anti-worker policy of the ruling circles the police and reactionary bands made raids on Communist Party premises in September 1925. Twelve leaders of the Party were arrested including the Chairman Arthur MacManus, the Vice-Chairman William Gallacher, the Secretary Albert Inkpin, members of the Central Committee Harry Pollitt, Campbell, and others. Charged with "incitement to mutiny", they were sentenced to from six to twelve months imprisonment.

At the same time, to mislead the workers, the British Government set up a Royal Commission to study the situation in the coal industry. It presented a report in which it rejected the workers' demands for nationalisation of the coal industry and recognised as justified the demands of the mine-owners to cut the miners' wages.

Although the miners categorically protested against this

conclusion, the General Council began negotiations with the government and the mine-owners, promising to "gain" satisfaction for the miners' demads. The right-wing leaders strove to disorganise the miners and with them the working class as a whole so as to frustrate preparations for the battles with the bourgeoisie which had been started by the Communist Party and the progressive elements in the trade unions.

Knowing how carefully the government and the bourgeoisie were preparing for the struggle, the General Council of the British Trades Union did nothing to prepare for a general strike.

On May 1, 1926, the lock-out announced by the mine-owners started. The miners responded with a strike. Under pressure from the workers, the General Council was forced to call a general strike of the transport workers, railwaymen, metalworkers and workers from a number of other industries. In the early hours of May . 4, 1926, the general strike began. On the very first day of the strike more than three million workers were involved, and in subsequent days some five million took part in it. This was the biggest protest action on the part of the British proletariat in its entire history. Although the right-wing leaders of the trade unions did all they could to prevent the number of strikers from growing, the strike was also joined by those workers who should not have taken part in it according to the instructions of the General Council.

The very beginning of the general strike revealed the tremendous potential force of the workers. In spite of the careful and lengthy preparations the government and bourgeoisie did not manage to restore railway and urban transport straight away. In a number of places the emergency commissioners were so helpless that they were forced to turn to the strike committees with a request to take upon themselves the function of distributing foodstuffs and organising the keeping of law and order.

In the course of the strike, on the initiative of the Communist Party Councils of Action from representatives of political, trade union, cooperative and other workers' organisations began to appear in the big populated centres in the country. In a number of places the Councils of Action did essentially turn into embryos of new proletarian revolutionary power. In spite of the fact that the general strike flared

up in defence of the miners' wages, it was of a clearly expressed general class and political nature.

The right-wing leaders of the trade unions and the Labour Party were frightened by the grandiose scale of the general strike. They wanted to put an end to it as soon as possible, and the General Council openly had begun to betray the cause. On May 12, 1926, at the very height of the general strike, the General Council made an appeal to the workers informing them that the government had promised to resolve the conflict between the miners and the mine-owners in favour of the miners but only if the strike was called off. This information caused disorganisation in the ranks of the strikers. Most of the workers believed the General Council. Only a few groups, primarily the miners, did not submit to the appeal and continued to strike.

The day after the strike was called off, the government announced that it had not given any promises to the General Council. So, the right-wing trade union and the Labour leaders had frustrated the general strike.

Experiencing tremendous deprivation, the miners continued to strike for another eight months but then, having exhausted all their means, they were forced to call off the strike. Pay in the mines was cut and the working day lengthened from seven to eight hours.

The significance of the general strike in Great Britain went far beyond the bounds of the country. The bourgeoisie throughout the world followed attentively and fearfully the class battles in Great Britain, rendering assistance and support to the British capitalists.

The international working class took a different attitude to the British strike. The Dutch, Belgian, and German sailors did not allow a single British vessel to leave their ports nor did they load or unload the cargoes. In New York the members of the sailors' union announced a solidarity strike. In Shanghai money was collected for the strikers.

The workers in the Soviet Union rendered great assistance to the British workers. When the first news came in that the strike in Britain had begun, rallies and meetings were held at enterprises and institutions in the Soviet Union. Factory and office workers decided to collect money for assisting the British workers. The All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, taking into consideration the desire of the Soviet workers, announced on May 6, 1926, to the General Coun-

cil of the British Trades Union on the transfer of 250,000 gold roubles from the means collected and on May 7, another two million roubles were transferred. But the General Council did not accept this money, its motivation being that the help of the Soviet trade unions was "interference in the internal affairs of Britain". The All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions was forced to take back the money from Britain but the collection of money for the British miners continued. It was decided that the money collected should be saved up as a special fund to help the British miners and sent to them as soon as they asked for it. And in actual fact, when the British miners, betrayed by the right-wing leaders of the trade unions, were in a difficult position, and turned to the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions with a request for material assistance, the whole of the sum collected was immediately transferred to them.

The solidarity of the Soviet Union's workers with the British proletariat troubled the right-wing leaders of the British trade unions. They dragged their feet in convening the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Committee to discuss the strike and assistance to the miners. The work of the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Committee was disrupted, and in 1927 it ceased to exist.

Thus, the biggest battle waged by the British proletarians of great international significance ended in defeat. The reasons for this were the following: first, the bourgeoisie was more experienced and better organised than the workers; second, the right-wing leaders of the trade unions (Thomas, Bevin, and others) and the Labour Party (MacDonald, Henderson, and the like), by refusing to prepare for the strike in fact rendered decisive assistance to the bourgeoisie in frustrating the general strike; in the course of the strike they betrayed the interests of the working masses; third, the Communist Party of Britain was not a mass party and could not gain the support of the majority of the working class.

The intensification of reactionary trends in Britain's home and foreign policy. After the defeat of the general strike, Britain's home and foreign policy tended to become increasingly reactionary. The bourgeoisie took advantage of the defeat of the British workers to launch an all-out offensive on the political and trade union organisations of the proletariat. The ruling class in Britain strove to prevent

other similar massive actions by the working class. With this aim in view, in 1927 the Trade Disputes and Trade Unions Act was passed according to which any strike organised for the purpose of solidarity or to exert pressure on the government was declared illegal. Any general strike was also considered illegal. At the same time, the trade unions were forbidden to expend their means on promoting or supporting strikes which were banned by law. Strikes were only permitted on the scale of a single enterprise, or at least a single branch of industry. The participants and the "instigators" of "illegal" strikes would be liable to imprisonment. Trade unions could not spend on political measures any other means except those from individual collections.

Finally, the law forbade civil servants to join trade unions which were members of the British Trades Union Congress. Many of the gains of the working class attained in the struggle for the rights of trade unions over the preceding fifty years, were swept away.

Instead of defending the rights of the workers, the leaders of the British trade unions intensified propaganda of class cooperation. In 1927, they suggested that the entrepreneurs should conclude an agreement with them on joint cooperation in developing capitalist production and "raising the workers' standard of living". The big industrialist Mond and other entrepreneurs supported this idea. This stage in "the class cooperation" of labour and capital has gone down in history under the name of "Mondism". The renunciation by British trade union officials of strike struggle for the sake of class cooperation was doomed to failure. The strikes at the end of 1928 and the beginning of 1929 testified to this.

The British bourgeoisie directed its blows first and foremost against the most advanced and militant sectors of the British working class. Thousands of trade union activists and members of the Communist Party lost their jobs.

The offensive launched by reaction was reflected in the intensification of the anti-communist campaign in the country. In 1929, the reformist leaders of the working-class movement managed to get a resolution adopted banning Communists from occupying top posts in the trade unions. The attacks on the Communist Party by the ruling circles and by the official leader? of the Labour Party and the trade unions were aimed at undermining it. In this period the number of party members fell from ten thousand to three

thousand. The defeat of the general strike had boosted the influence of bourgeois ideology among the workers.

The defeat of the working-class movement in 1926 helped to step up reaction not only in political life at home but also in Britain's foreign policy.

In the second half of the 1920s the British imperialism grew more aggressive in its foreign policy. This was largely manifest in the attempts of Britain's ruling circles to knock together an anti-Soviet bloc. Baldwin's government began to prepare for fresh intervention against the Soviet Union. The British reactionaries organised a series of anti-Soviet acts and then a provocative raid on ARCOS (the Anglo-Russian Cooperative Society set up to trade with Britain), and the Conservative government broke off diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. Britain thereby openly set about getting ready for a "crusade" by the imperialist countries against the USSR. Britain hoped that other states would follow suit and, as a result, the Soviet Union would find itself in complete isolation and would be forced to submit to the diktat of the West. However, the consistently peace-loving foreign policy of the Soviet Government, the active support of the first proletarian state by workers in Britain and other capitalist countries prevented war from breaking out. The Soviet Union's influence on the world revolutionary and liberation movement gave rise to increasing fear among the British imperialists who were afraid of losing their overseas territories. The crisis of British imperialism continued to wax.

3. Britain During the World Economic Crisis and on the Eve of the Second World War

The British economy during the years of the world economic crisis. The world economic crisis broke out in the autumn of 1929. The first symptoms of it in the British economy were manifest at the beginning of 1930. The volume of the country's industrial output in the years of the crisis fell by 15 per cent. The so-called old branches of production such as the mining industry and the iron-and-steel industry, and so on suffered most. The crisis greatly affected British foreign trade, which approximately halved, and worsened the situation of the working class, 22 percent of

the workers finding themselves jobless. However, the crisis did not hit Britain as hard as it did other countries. The comparative "mildness" of the crisis ensued from the shifting of the economic difficulties onto the populations of the numerous colonies and also onto the British workers.

The decrease in incomes from foreign trade in the years of the crisis and the general disorder of the monetary system led to the drastic outflow of gold from the country as a result of which Britain's gold reserves fell substantially. In September 1931, the British Government was forced to annul the gold parity of the pound sterling. The cessation of the exchange of British currency for gold led in turn to the rapid devaluation of the paper pound sterling.

The economic crisis led to the disintegration of the integrated monetary system of capitalism into hostile monetary blocs. The biggest of them was created by Britain in 1931, "the sterling bloc". Besides the countries of the British Empire, it embraced a number of states in Europe, Asia and Latin America with a population of more than 600 million. The members of the sterling bloc established the rate of exchange in accordance with the rate of the British pound, their monetary reserves were kept in British banks and commercial accounts among them were settled on the basis of the British pound sterling. This gave Britain the opportunity to carry on a considerable part of the trade in the countries adjacent to the bloc with the help of the pound sterling and to mobilise the monetary reserves of these countries to uphold the financial positions of the British monopolies.

To overcome the economic crisis, the British ruling circles renounced the principle of free trade and went over to the policy of protectionism. The high protectionist tariffs introduced in 1931 were to protect the home market in Britain from an influx of foreign goods and assist in boosting sales of British products in Britain itself. The British bourgeoisie sought a way out of the economic crisis in a further offensive on the standard of living and rights of the working class; it also intensified the exploitation of the peoples in the colonies and dependent countries, and made fresh attempts to organise anti-Soviet intervention. The second Labour gevemment based its activities precisely on this programme.

The second Labour government and its home policy. On May 30, 1929, the Conservatives suffered a defeat in the parliamentary elections. On June 7, Ramsay MacDonald formed the second Labour government. The Labour Party again pursued a policy of close cooperation with the country's monopoly circles.

During the election campaign the Labourites demagogically promised the voters that they would abrogate the reactionary law on the trade unions, introduce a seven-hour working day in the mining industry, enforce a tax on capital, ease the lot of the unemployed, and restore diplomatic relations with the USSR. Once in power, the Labour Party leaders did not keep many of their promises. MacDonald's government granted the industrial companies subsidies and credits on preferential terms, and helped them to gain maximum profits.

The policy of the Labour government evoked an active rebuff on the part of Britain's working class. A strike movement got under way. In 1930, there were 442 strikes involving a total of some 300,000 people, and in 1931, there were already 500,000 workers going on strike.

In the autumn of 1930 a campaign for a Labour Charter began under the leadership of the Communist Party and the National Minority Movement. It included such demands as shortening the working day, a nation-wide minimum wage, and increasing benefits for the unemployed. In April 1931, the first National Congress of Supporters of the Labour Charter was held which, on the suggestion of the Communists, spoke out in defence of the USSR, against the policy of preparing for a new imperialist war, and in favour of abolishing the colonial system.

The formation of a "national" government. In 1931, in the period of greatest economic difficulties the British bourgeoisie demanded that MacDonald's government should take firmer measures to combat the crisis. In July 1931, the report of the George May Committee was published in which means of bringing about a recovery in the British economy mainly at the expense of the working population were put forward. Playing into the hands of the big British monopolies, the authors of the report spoke out in favour of a general cut in benefits for the unemployed and in the allotments for social needs. The Prime Minister MacDonald and

another two members of the government agreed to the demand of the monopolies and were in favour of accepting the George May Committee proposals, while the other members of the cabinet were opposed to it. This led to a crisis in the Labour Party. Disregarding the opinion of the government majority, MacDonald resigned. But by the 24th of August 1931 he had formed the so-called national government in which the key posts were occupied by representatives of the Conservative Party. MacDonald's blatant changeover to the side of the Conservatives led to his expulsion from the Labour Party. MacDonald and his supporters formed the so-called National Labour Group whose platform was political alliance with the Conservatives.

MacDonald's "national" government immediately set about implementing the plan for economising on and rationalising budget expenditures. In accordance with this plan direct and indirect taxes were considerably increased, allocations for social needs and education were reduced, teachers' and civil servants' pay was cut. A humiliating means test was introduced which significantly cut the fund for unemployment benefits. The abolition of the gold standard in September 1931 resulting in retail price rises on the home market had a severe effect on the living standard of the British workers. The British and foreign monopolies approved of the economising policy pursued by the "national" government.

But this policy of economising was not only unpopular among the working population of Britain but also met with a serious rebuff from the working class. The struggle of the British workers in 1931-1932 against the sway of monopoly capital can be compared in its tension and acuteness solely with the early post-war years and the period of the general strike in 1926. The movement of the unemployed who organised mass demonstrations and Hunger Marches under the guidance of the Communists became especially widescale. In May 1932, the unemployed held a conference and organised the signing of a petition demanding that the laws cutting down unemployment benefits should be repealed. More than a million people signed the petition. In the autumn of 1932, the jobless undertook the national Hunger March to London. The workers supported this movement with strikes.

The success of the workers' movement was hindered by the lack of militant leadership. The Labour Party which was

in the hands of the reformists was undergoing a serious internal crisis, owing to the split in its ranks. The Communist Party just as before remained feeble and isolated from the broad working masses. In the years of the economic crisis the Communist Party took measures to fortify its ranks ideologically and organisationally. In 1929, the opportunist elements were removed from its leadership and Harry Pollitt was elected the Party's General Secretary. From 1930 the Communist Party started putting out the daily paper *Daily Worker*. At the Congress in 1932 the Communists decided to intensify the party work among the masses and to campaign for a united workers' front. In 1933-1934, the Communists headed a number of mass demonstrations and Hunger Marches, as a result of which the means test was repealed in 1935. But all the Party's attempts to forge contacts with the broad working masses, united into the trade unions and the Labour Party, came up against the decisive resistance of the reformists. In 1933, a small step was made towards a united workers' front. An agreement was concluded between the Communist Party and the Independent Labour Party on unity of action in the campaign to ward off unemployment and the danger of fascism and war. But the majority of the working class continued to support the Labour Party, which frustrated the cause of unity.

In response to the swelling of the working-class movement MacDonald's "national" government intensified police terror and assisted the growth of fascism in the country. In 1932, the former Labour Party member Oswald Mosley founded the British Union of Fascists with the support of big financiers and industrialists. Part of the ruling circles in Britain regarded fascism as one of the most effective means of combating the revolutionary working-class movement. At the same time, the British Communist Party was subject to increasing attacks by the bourgeoisie and its accomplices. In September 1931, with the knowledge and consent of the government authorities a raid was made on the editorial office of the *Daily Worker* newspaper. At the same time the right-wing leaders of the British trade unions again demanded that their grass-roots organisations should not allow Communists access to leading posts in the trade unions.

Britain's foreign policy in 1929-1932. The world eco-

nomic crisis affected Britain's foreign policy. The contradictions between Britain and the other capitalist countries became increasingly pronounced. The national liberation movement in the British colonies acquired an even wider scale. The positions of British imperialism in the dominions were considerably undermined. In 1931, the British Parliament passed the Statute of Westminster which established juridical equality between the metropolis and the dominions and formally recognised the independence of the dominions in home and foreign policy.

The British ruling elite continued to pursue a policy of merciless plundering and exploitation of the peoples in the colonies. The Labour government and then MacDonald's "national" government pursued a blatant imperialist policy in India, Egypt, Palestine, and its other colonial possessions. MacDonald's second Labour government refused to keep its election promises to grant India the rights of a dominion. It suppressed the striking Indian workers and devised the well-known Meerut Conspiracy Case involving the eminent figures in the Indian trade union movement.

The growth of the Soviet state's economic and political might, the weakening of Britain's economic and political positions in the world forced the British ruling circles to normalise relations with the USSR. Britain calculated that the resumption of normal relations with the USSR would help it to get out of the economic crisis. Therefore, in November 1929, the British Parliament took the decision to resume Anglo-Soviet diplomatic relations. Following this, in April 1930, a temporary trade agreement was concluded between the two countries which established most-favoured-nation treatment for Soviet exports.

But, as the economic crisis subsided, at the end of 1932, the "national" government, subject to pressure from the reactionary circles, set about making Anglo-Soviet relations deteriorate again. An anti-Soviet campaign was started in the country, and false rumours were spread about subversive Soviet activity in Britain and its colonies. In October 1932 the "national" government denounced the Anglo-Soviet trade agreement of 1930, and in April 1933, it announced an embargo on all Soviet exports to Great Britain. The British bourgeoisie again attempted to set up an anti-Soviet front of the imperialist states..

Germany was assigned quite an important place in the

anti-Soviet plan by the British ruling circles. British and US imperialism helped Germany to rapidly restore its military and industrial potential and establish a fascist dictatorship. In 1930, on the initiative of Britain and the USA, the allies were evacuated from the Rhine zone, five years earlier than the term stated in the Versailles Peace Treaty. All this was evidence of the fact that Britain was, just as before, relying on Germany as an instrument in fighting against the USSR.

Pursuing anti-Soviet goals, Britain facilitated Japan's aggression against China in 1931, attempting to channel the Japanese militarists northwards and push Japan into a conflict with the USSR.

Britain's economic situation on the eve of the Second World War (1933-1939). Somewhere towards the end of 1932, after several years of crisis the first signs of recovery could be perceived in Britain's economy. The economy recovered but slowly. It was not until 1934 that the volume of industrial output reached the 1929 level. But even in that period the upswing in the economy was by no means stable. The large army of the unemployed remained, numbering approximately 1,700,000 people in 1935-1937.

There were a number of reasons for industry picking-up. Britain had suffered less than other countries from the world economic crisis, and British businessmen had managed to take advantage of this circumstance to consolidate their positions on the world markets. The policy of protectionism, the ban on the export of capital, the renewal of the fixed capital, and the increased efficiency of production all helped British industry to recover. The sharp expansion of artns production also stimulated additional orders in several industries.

By the end of the 1930s, however, by virtue of the law of the uneven development of capitalism, a number of states had overtaken Britain in economic development. Not only the USA, but also Germany, Italy, and Japan became serious competitors with British imperialism on the world markets.

For Britain the period of economic upswing was a short one as another economic crisis began in the autumn of 1937. As a result of the new slump industrial output in 1938 fell by 12 per cent against 1937. The further development

of the crisis was interrupted by the Second World War. Thus, in the period between the two world wars the British economy was essentially at a standstill. The level of industrial production rarely surpassed that of 1913 in these years. Britain's economy lagged considerably behind those of the other imperialist countries. Between 1913 and 1938 its share in the world capitalist output fell from 14.8 to 11.3 per cent. Its positions in world trade were also weakened.

Intensifying reaction in Britain's political life. The discontent of the British people with the home and foreign policy pursued by the "national" government was reflected in the strikes, the unrest of the unemployed, and the movement to avert a new war.

By this time MacDonald's authority as "a workers' leader" had finally grown dim. He could no longer disguise the Conservative essence of the government's policy and was not needed by the bourgeoisie as Prime Minister. As the parliamentary elections were in the offing, the bourgeoisie tried to avoid complete failure and reorganised the government. In June 1935, Baldwin was made its head. The responsibility for the policy of the previous years was thereby foisted onto the former Prime Minister.

In November 1935, parliamentary elections—the last before the Second World War—were held in Britain. The parties supporting the "national" government suffered a serious loss. The number of votes gained by them fell from 14.5 to 9.5 million. The Labour Party did not quite make victory. It obtained eight million votes. The British bourgeoisie believed that in an alliance with the right-wing Labour Party members and the trade union leaders it would be in a position to cope with the working-class movement in the country, without resorting to the help of fascism. No small part was played in this respect by the fact that the British fascists had met with a serious rebuff on the part of the working class. As a result, the activity of the fascists was considerably restricted.

The period when the governments of Baldwin and Chamberlain were in power was a time of intensifying reaction. The ruling circles dealt cruelly with the working-class movement. In 1935, one of the most reactionary laws in the history of Great Britain, Sedition Bill was passed. Formally it was directed against anti-war propaganda. But in

practice the law made it possible for the government to imprison anyone who was found in possession of revolutionary, anti-war or socialist literature. In 1936, the British Government passed the Public Order Act which gave the police the right to restrict the freedom of demonstrations, rallies, and meetings at their descretion.

In spite of the reactionary home policy and a number of emergency measures, the Baldwin-Chamberlain "national" government did not manage to prevent the further growth of the working-class movement in the country. The British workers actively struggled against the onslaught of reaction, and in defence of their rights. In 1933, the movement of the unemployed gained in strength. In 1934, the national movement of the unemployed organised a nation-wide Hunger March. The mass scale of the movement of the unemployed compelled the government to refrain from making cuts in benefits. However, in January 1935, a law came into force whereby a considerable part of the jobless were deprived of benefits, namely those who had been without a job for a lengthy period, and also young people. In response to this, many thousands of unemployed again began to stage demonstrations in Glasgow, Sheffield, Liverpool, and other towns and cities. The government was forced to promise to repeal this law.

In subsequent years, the struggle of the popular masses against fascism and to avert a new world war acquired a wide scale in the country. The Peace Plebiscite carried out in Britain in June 1935, in which more than eleven million people took part showed that the overwhelming majority of the British (more than 90 per cent) were against the policy pursued by Britain and the other imperialist countries encouraging the fascists in Spain, and that they were in favour of disarmament and demanded a rebuff to the fascist aggressors.

The Communists headed the anti-fascist and anti-war movement. On September 9, 1934, the Communist Party staged a 150,000-strong anti-fascist demonstration in London. Demonstrations like this took place in all the other towns and cities of Great Britain. The authority of the Communist Party grew as can be seen from the election of Communist Party member William Gallacher to the British Parliament in November 1935. Moods in favour of cooperation with the Communist Party intensified in the Labour

Party. At the beginning of 1937, the Communist Party along with the Independent Labour Party and the Socialist League again spoke out in favour of a united front and demanded that the "national" government resign. The working class compelled the British Government to ban the fascist demonstrations in 1937.

The active campaign by the British Communists against fascism and to avert a new war boosted the influence of the Communist Party among the working class. By the beginning of the Second World War its ranks already numbered as many as 18,000 against three thousand in 1929.

The policy of encouraging the fascist aggressors. The foreign policy pursued by the British ruling circles on the eve of the Second World War was aimed at encouraging fascist aggression and was of a pronounced anti-Soviet nature. The British bourgeoisie made numerous concessions to the aggressors and then entered into a direct compact with them. Back in 1933, MacDonald put forward the idea of an alliance of Germany, Great Britain, France, and Italy against the Soviet Union. In January 1934, the British Government gave its consent to Germany increasing its land forces and later concluded an agreement with it on increasing the German navy.

The deal with the aggressor countries was also expressed in the fact that Britain actually encouraged the aggression of fascist Italy against the Ethiopian people, and during the Italian-German intervention in Spain facilitated the strangling of Republican Spain under the guise of a policy of "non-interference". At the beginning of 1937, Britain concluded a special treaty with fascist Italy according to which both sides pledged to respect the interests of one another in the Mediterranean zone. In the following year Chamberlain made a visit to Rome where, in the name of the British Government, he made yet another concession to Mussolini by officially recognising the seizure of Ethiopia by Italy.

The policy of encouraging the aggressors pursued by Britain reached its culmination in September 1938 at the conference in Munich where Chamberlain and the French Prime Minister Daladier agreed to the partitioning and seizure of Czechoslovakia by the Germans. As a result of this shortsighted policy of the "national" government Britain's position in the international arena on the eve of

the Second World War had considerably worsened. In the spring of 1939, the Anglo-German contradictions had seriously exacerbated. Germany began to openly demand the return of the colonies. Chamberlain's government was forced to take certain measures to strengthen the country's defences, to introduce universal conscription, to increase the allocations for defence, and so forth. To consolidate its positions in Europe, and to avoid finding itself isolated in the face of a united fascist front, Britain concluded military alliances with a number of European countries granting military guarantees to Poland, Romania, Greece, and Turkey.

All these measures did not, however, mean that the British ruling circles renounced the Munich course in foreign policy. The British Government declined the Soviet proposal on convening a special conference to discuss questions connected with the German threat to Poland and Romania. In March 1939, Chamberlain proposed to the USSR that a triple pact against fascist aggression should be discussed. But at the same time as the negotiations were taking place in Moscow in the summer of 1939, representatives of the British Government were attempting to come to an agreement with Hitler behind the Soviet Union's back. This double game played by the British ruling circles cost the British and other peoples dearly for it facilitated the unleashing of the Second World War.

FRANCE

The revolutionary upsurge in France after the war. France came out of the First World War victorious, but for the French people the war had only meant enormous sacrifices, suffering and deprivation. The northern regions of France which had been the' theatre of military operations lay in ruins. As a result of the military operations, 1,800,000 people had been killed, and 750,000 wounded. Industry, transport, finances, and agriculture had been disrupted by the war. France found itself greatly in debt to American and British capital.

Nevertheless, during the war years industrial development in a number of regions of France (the Centre, the South, and the South-West) had received considerable impetus. The

return of Alsace and Lorraine to France considerably heightened the country's overall industrial potential. Moreover, up to 1935 France had used coal from the Saar (Germany).. All this had allowed the French economy to develop at comparatively rapid rates after the war, as a result of which France turned from an agrarian-industrial country into an industrial-agrarian one. Just as before, it rated fourth in the world's industrial output.

During the war and in the post-war period production and capital were being concentrated and centralised in France. Giant trusts and concerns appeared in the country. Three large concerns controlled the country's iron-and-steel industry. The same was true of the motor industry, and so forth. The financial oligarchy grew strong and richer, two hundred families being the biggest shareholders in the Bank of France and in actual fact the masters of the country. State-monopoly tendencies in France became more pronounced. Besides this, a fairly large number of small producers continued to exist in the towns and countryside. More than 50 per cent of the French population were rural inhabitants. But the processes of capitalist development were accelerating in the countryside.

Two political groups could be discerned in the political life of France in the post-war period: the National Bloc—an association of right-wing parties, and the Left Bloc comprising the Party of Radicals and Radical Socialists and the Socialist Party. The Radical Party which drew support from the middle and petty bourgeoisie was the most influential force in the country. Reformists predominated in the Socialist Party. The General Confederation of Labour—the biggest trade union association, was under the influence of the anarcho-syndicalists and the reformists. This is a general picture of the situation in France.

Under the influence of the October Revolution there was a sharp upsurge of the working-class and revolutionary movement in France from 1918 to 1920. The first news about the socialist revolution in Russia evoked a warm response among the French workers. In December 1917, at the national conference of the General Confederation of Labour the revolutionary syndicalists put forward a resolution approving the Soviet proposals on concluding peace without annexations and indemnities. The representative of the left wing of the Socialist Party, Marcel Cachin, published a

propaganda article in the newspaper *L'Humanité* about the revolutionary events in Russia. From the beginning of 1918, the French workers joined the movement of protest against the imperialist intervention in Soviet Russia. Many strikes of that time were not only staged under economic slogans but also with demands for peace, democracy, and solidarity with the first socialist state. With the revolutionary upsurge the positions of the undisguised opportunists in the Socialist Party were shaken and the influence of its left wing grew. At the Party congress in October 1918, the social chauvinists suffered a defeat but the Party leadership remained temporarily in the hands of the centrists.

In 1919, the revolutionary upsurge continued to gain in strength. The strike movement became increasingly widespread, involving more than a million people in 1919 and the overall number of working days lost through strikes was more than 15 million. The French proletariat demanded a shorter working day, pay rises, and recognition of the rights of the trade unions. Demands were also advanced for the nationalisation of industry, the banks, railways, and so forth. Frightened by the stormy upsurge of the working-class movement, the ruling circles in France had satisfied a number of the workers' demands: raised pay, extended the rights of the trade unions, and passed a law on an eight-hour working day in April 1919. This was a great achievement for the working-class movement of France.

Parallel with the strike campaign, the French workers were increasingly active in joining in the movement of protest against the intervention of foreign troops against Soviet Russia. They demanded that French troops be withdrawn from Russia and that the army be demobilised completely. In April 1919, the soldiers and sailors of the French interventionist units rose in mutinies in Sebastopol and Odessa. The rebels demanded that they should return to their homeland immediately. The government of France was forced to recall its troops from Russia and renounce open intervention.

The French workers staged a number of militant strikes, political demonstrations, and rallies in defence of Soviet Russia. Five hundred thousand people took part in the May Day demonstration in Paris in 1919. Barricades were raised in the streets and clashes broke out with the police and the army. In the summer of 1919, the sailors of the battleship

Provence mutinied, refusing to deliver reinforcements to the interventionists in Soviet Russia. Representatives of the progressive intelligentsia, in particular, the writers Anatole France, Henri Barbusse, and Romain Rolland, actively joined the effort against the anti-Soviet intervention.

Frightened by the revolutionary upsurge, the bourgeois parties set up the National Bloc in 1919 headed by such figures as the former Socialist Alexandre-Etienne Millerand and the right-wing bourgeois figure Raymond Poincaré. In the course of the election campaign in 1919 they put forward chauvinistic and anti-Soviet slogans, namely France's hegemony in Europe and the fight against Bolshevism. In the elections to the Chamber of Deputies at the end of 1919 and in January 1920 to the Senate the National Bloc came out victorious. Millerand was elected President of France (September 1920). The National Bloc government made great efforts to suppress the revolutionary movement in the country.

However, the economic and political struggle of the French workers continued into 1920 as well. That year there were 1,943 strikes in the country involving more than a million workers, and a total of more than 23 million working days were lost through strikes, the biggest of which were those of the railwaymen, in February and May 1920. Train services came to a halt on almost all lines. The workers' demands included observance of the eight-hour working day, pay rises, and an end to the anti-Soviet intervention. In the course of the campaign the workers expelled the reformist leaders of the trade unions who were not capable of defending the interests of the workers. Left Socialists, including Gaston Monmousseau, were elected to the trade union leadership. The railwaymen were supported by the miners, the dockers, the sailors of the merchant fleet, and workers in other industries. The stoppage in railway transport in France meant, in particular, that deliveries of materiel to Poland which had attacked Soviet Russia, were disrupted. The ruling circles quashed the railwaymen's strike by means of repressions and making use of the reformists.

The peasants who demanded land also rose in the struggle with the workers. In February 1920, there was unrest among three thousand tenant farmers who were trying to gain more favourable rent terms. The farm workers went on strike in 44 of the country's 90 departments from March to

May 1920. The authorities were forced to make concessions to the rural population as well. Thus, for example, the peasants were given the opportunity to get state credits.

The class battles and movement of solidarity with Soviet Russia convinced the vanguard part of the French proletariat of the need to break with reformism and set up a revolutionary party. Amidst revolutionary upsurge the influx of workers into the General Confederation of Labour and the Socialist Party swelled. The membership of the Confederation grew from 1,200,000 in 1919 to 2,400,000 in the first few months of 1920. The ranks of the Socialist Party increased from 34,000 in October 1918 to 180,000 in December 1920. The struggle between the opportunist and the revolutionary trend in the Confederation and the Socialist Party intensified. Many members of these organisations demanded a break with reformism and active participation in the class struggle.

The example of the Russian workers, who had created their own Communist Party, stimulated the left Socialists in France to try to turn the Socialist Party into a communist one. The Committee for the Restoration of International Relations which had come into being back in January 1916 was turned into the Committee for Adhesion to the Third International. Sections of this Committee appeared in a number of towns in France. The effort to get the Socialist Party, to join the Comintern was headed by the left-wing Socialists and revolutionary syndicalists (Marcel Cachin, Paul Vaillant-Couturier, Gabriel Peri, Gaston Monmousseau, Pierre Semard, and others). The revolutionary upsurge and the dissemination in France of the ideas of Leninism considerably boosted the left wing in the Socialist Party. At the congress of the French Socialist Party held in Strasbourg in 1920 themajority of those attending voted for withdrawing from the Second International. This was quite an achievement on the part of the left Socialists. Although the congress had not yet taken the decision to join the Comintern, it approved the latter's fundamental principles: the dictatorship of the proletariat and the rejection of cooperation with the bourgeoisie. It was also decided to enter immediately into negotiations with authoritative bodies of the Third International and send a delegation to the Second Comintern Congress in Moscow to include the director of the newspaper *L'Humanite* Marcel Cachin, and the

General Secretary of the Party, Ludovic Frossard.

On return to France the delegates of the Socialist Party who attended the Second Comintern Congress waged an active campaign to join the Third International. Marcel Cachin was particularly active in this, and in his own words, he took up the pilgrim's staff, went around the country and spoke at rallies in favour of joining the Comintern. In a short period the newspaper *L'Humanité* published some 30 articles by Marcel Cachin on his visit to Soviet Russia and on the development of the international communist movement. As a result, an increasing number of French Socialists tended towards joining the Comintern. The Clarté group founded on the initiative of the writer Henri Barbusse waged an active campaign among the intelligentsia and helped to popularise the ideas of the Comintern. At their congress, which started on October 30, 1920, the young Socialists of France took the decision to create a Union of Communist Youth and join the Third International.

The Socialist Party had come to the point of making a decisive choice. The Party's National Congress started on December 25, 1920, in Tours. By that time the overwhelming majority of the party organisations were in favour of joining the Third International. At the Congress, however, the right-wing reformists (Léon Blum and others) were opposed to joining the Comintern. And the centrists (Jean Longuet, Paul Faure) suggested that joining the Third International should be made with serious reservations. Most of the delegates at the Congress supported the resolution of the lefts on the immediate and unconditional joining the Third International. Then, the right-wing and centrist minority, which refused to submit to this decision, abandoned the Congress and formed the reformist Socialist Party. The Congress in Tours adopted the Manifesto of the French Communist Party on December 30. The setting up of the Communist Party was a great achievement for the French proletariat. But the Party was still ideologically, politically, and organisationally weak and much work lay ahead if it was to become a genuinely communist organisation.

At the beginning of 1921, the government and the entrepreneurs launched an attack on the democratic rights and the vital interests of the workers. The bourgeoisie tried to get a ban imposed on the workers' right to strike, demanded the introduction of compulsory arbitration, and the repeal of

the law on the eight-hour working day. The reformists fought more vigorously against the left wing in the trade union movement and expelled revolutionary-minded activists from the trade unions. The membership of the trade unions dropped sharply and the workers' strike struggle tended to wane. In the autumn of 1921, there was a general strike of the textile workers in the north of France which lasted for approximately three months. In the course of this strike, the workers demonstrated their striving for unity in the struggle against the entrepreneurs. They set up a united strike committee which included representatives of the revolutionary minority as well as the reformist figures from the General Confederation of Labour. The workers in other industrial centres organised strikes of solidarity. The textile workers' action was supported by the peasantry and some of the factory petty bourgeoisie, and also by part of the army. However, the strike ended in failure. The government which sent large numbers of the armed forces against the strikers managed to cause a rift among the workers with the help of the reformist leaders, and defeat them.

The strike movement in the autumn of 1921, considerably undermined the authority of the reformist trade union leaders. To keep the General Confederation of Labour in their hands, they began to expel left trade unions from it. By the end of November 1921, 400 trade unions had lost their membership. The revolutionary elements in France's trade union organisations condemned the split and held a trade union unity congress. However, the trade union officials expelled all the trade unions attending this congress from the Confederation. In these circumstances, the expelled unions were forced to set up their own association at the beginning of 1922, the Unitary General Confederation of Labour. The split in the trade union movement did, thanks to the opportunists, have a negative effect on the class struggle of the French proletariat.

France's foreign policy in the early post-war years was characterised by the hegemonic and anti-Soviet aspirations. Even after the failure of the intervention against Soviet Russia, ruling circles in France resorted to an economic blockade against the Soviet state, refused to establish normal trade and diplomatic relations with it, and set about forming anti-Soviet blocs. In 1920-1921, under their aegis, the Little Entente came into being (a bloc comprising

Czechoslovakia, Romania and Yugoslavia). In 1921, France and Poland concluded an alliance among themselves. But the hegemonic tendencies in French foreign policy called forth opposition on the part of Britain and the USA. The allies insisted on cutting France's share of the German reparations. But when, after Germany refused to repay its next reparation contribution, France and Belgium occupied the Ruhr area and part of the Rhine province (the "Ruhr venture") in January 1923, both the international situation and the class struggle in France were aggravated.

The "Ruhr venture" caused France's economic situation to deteriorate, and increased the exploitation of the French workers. The latter rose in struggle against the venturesome course taken by the ruling circles. The French Communist Party and the Unitary General Confederation of Labour were in the vanguard of the movement against the occupation of the Ruhr. The French Communist Party came out with the initiative to set up Central Committee of Action against Imperialism and War. This Committee arranged numerous rallies and demonstrations. Much campaigning was done among the men of the occupation forces. As a result, the "Ruhr venture" was a failure, and France agreed to the conditions stipulated by the USA and Britain with regard to reparations.

France in the period of capitalist stabilisation. There was a boom in some branches of industry in France in the years of capitalist stabilisation. Its financial situation did, however, remain complicated, and agriculture could not get out of the crisis. The intensification of labour and the greater exploitation of the peoples in the colonies were the main source of the slight improvement in the economy.

Changes also occurred in political life of France. The National Bloc compromised itself in the eyes of the electorate owing to the failure of the "Ruhr venture". In 1923, the Radical Socialists left this bloc and set up the Left Bloc together with the Socialists and a group of Republican Socialists in 1924.

In May 1924 parliamentary elections were held in France at which the Left Bloc was victorious. The Communist Party increased its representation in parliament from nine to twenty-five people. In June 1924, the Radical Edouard Herriot headed the new government. Until July 1926,

Paul Painlevé and Aristide Briand, also headed the governments of the Left Bloc. In the years when the Left Bloc was in power a partial amnesty was granted to political prisoners, nightwork was restricted for women and children, civil servants were given the right to set up their own trade unions, and women were granted the right to vote in elections to municipal and canton bodies.

In its foreign policy the French Government was increasingly forced to take into consideration the position of the USA and Great Britain which was manifest in particular in the agreement with the Dawes Plan suggested by them and the agreements in Locarno. Consequently, France lost part of the reparations. It also enabled American monopolies to found their own enterprises on French territory. Owing to the growing interimperialist contradictions and the increased authority of the USSR and also the pressure exerted by the popular masses, France established diplomatic relations with the Soviet state on October 28, 1924.

An important trend in the foreign policy of French imperialism was its colonial policy. France strove to stunt the growth of the national liberation movement in its colonies and to intensify exploitation of their peoples. In 1925, it started war against the Republic of Rif in Morocco. At the same time, it brutally suppressed the uprising of the Druses in Syria. This policy evoked resistance on the part of the oppressed peoples and the French workers and undermined France's international prestige.

The workers of France spoke out against the foreign and home policy of the Left Bloc as was demonstrated at the workers' congresses held in the summer of 1925. The idea put forward by the French Communist Party of calling a general strike against the colonial wars of French imperialism was widely supported. On October 12, 1925, approximately one million people joined in this strike which was of great political importance since it dealt a blow at the Left Bloc. The Socialists went over from it to the opposition. The big bourgeoisie was also dissatisfied with the failure of the government's home and foreign policy.

In July 1926, the representatives of the right-wing parties formed a government of "national unity" headed by Raymond Poincaré. Defending the interests of the financial oligarchy, this government raised indirect taxes and transport tariffs, cut pensions, the wages of civil servants, and

stabilised the franc. Taxes on big capital were cut. The reactionary organisations became more active in social and political life and fascist associations like the League of Patriotic Youth, and Fiery Crosses emerged. The landed aristocracy and the wealthy peasants formed a reactionary agrarian party in 1928.

The new government began to pursue a policy hostile to the Soviet Union, advanced the idea of setting up an anti-Soviet bloc of the capitalist states of continental Europe (Pan-Europe). Militarisation went ahead in the country.

The workers of France offered resistance to the policy of the "national unity" government. In this period the part played by the Communist Party, strengthened both ideologically and organisationally, was heightened. A Marxist-Leninist leading nucleus was formed in the Party (Maurice Thorez, Jacques Duclos, Pierre Semard, Marcel Cachin, and others). In July 1930, Maurice Thorez was elected General Secretary of the Party which had successfully defeated the "left" and right-wing opportunism in its ranks, set about forming production cells, and improved the work of the party press. The French Communist Party staged such important acts as the strike of solidarity with the British miners in 1926, the demonstration of protest against the execution in the USA of the workers Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti in August 1927. The Communists of France actively campaigned against the danger of war, and the anti-Soviet policy pursued by the government. At the same time the influence and the authority of the Unitary General Confederation of Labour was also gaining in strength.

Striving to stunt the growth of the working-class movement, the authorities meted out brutal repressions against the Communist Party. In 1929, they arrested four thousand Communists on the charge of conspiring against the government. Almost all the leaders of the French Communist Party, including Maurice Thorez, were thrown into prison. But the workers' demonstrations did not cease. On August 1, 1929, at an International Anti-War Day, mass demonstrations were held in France in the course of which workers demanded that their' standard of living should be improved and the anti-Soviet policy ended.

The Popular Front in France. The impact of the world economic crisis was manifest in France from 1930 to 1936.

In the years of the crisis, which was of a long, drawn-out and destructive nature, the volume of industrial output and the national income fell by more than 30 per cent. The output of agricultural produce decreased by 40 per cent. Foreign trade fell by 60 per cent. The crisis caused the material situation of the workers to deteriorate greatly, the number of unemployed, reaching 1,500,000 people. The working day was extended to 12-15 hours and the real wages fell as much as 40 per cent. The price rises on foodstuffs and the increase in taxes caused the living conditions of the masses to worsen even further. The incomes of the petty-bourgeois strata in the towns and countryside also diminished sharply. Many peasant farmsteads and artisans' enterprises went bankrupt. All this gave rise to tremendous aggravation of the class contradictions and furnished conditions for a fresh upsurge of the working-class movement. The crisis also affected the French colonial empire. The oppressed peoples of Indochina, Morocco, and Algeria became more active in their struggle for national and social emancipation.

In the years of the crisis the fascist danger rapidly increased. The reactionary circles in France encouraged the founding of fascist organisations. In 1932, a fascist party came into being under the name of French Solidarity. In the following year a union of French fascists, Les Francists, was set up. The Fiery Crosses and other fascist organisations which had emerged earlier began to operate more actively. Big capital, which rendered support to the fascist organisations, calculated on abolishing the parliamentary system and establishing reactionary and dictatorial rule.

The fascists and reactionaries strove to use the 1932 election Campaign for their own purposes. Boosting the anti-Soviet and anti-communist campaign, they organised the assassination of the President of France, Paul Doumer. The assassin, a whiteguard emigré, Gorgulov, was presented by them as a Moscow agent. But the intrigues of reaction were exposed, and the elections brought success to the left forces. The left parties gained 408 out of the 618 seats in the Chamber of Deputies. The victory of the left forces was the first serious blow at the designs of fascist-inclined reaction.

But the fascist organisations, inspired by the coming to power of Hitler in Germany, continued their efforts to estab-

lish their dictatorship in France. They took advantage of the indecisiveness of the government of the Left Bloc, the inconsistency and contradictions in their policy. At the end of 1933 the Stavisky scandal was uncovered in France. A speculator, Stavisky had accumulated tremendous wealth by means of various machinations. Many people who had bought fake shares from him suffered and went bankrupt as a result. Political figures from the bourgeois parties, the Radicals and the Socialists were involved in the Stavisky affair. Referring to these facts, the fascists began a campaign against the parties mentioned, against the parliamentary system, calling for the establishment of a fascist dictatorship.

At the beginning of 1934, the political crisis in France became extraordinarily acute. On February 6, 1934, armed fascist detachments headed for the parliament building in Paris, intending to dissolve parliament. At that time the government was headed by the Radical Edouard Daladier who had not taken decisive measures to counter the fascist danger. However, on the appeal of the Communist Party, 25,000 workers of Paris came out into the streets without delay and gave a rebuff to the fascists. Armed clashes took place between the workers and the fascists. But the defeat of the fascists was also accompanied by the fall of the Left-Bloc government. The "national unity" government headed by Gaston Doumergue came to power in France supported by the right-wing bourgeois parties and Radicals.

After the events of February 6 the Communist Party called upon the Socialist Party to organise a general political strike. On February 9, a 50,000-strong anti-fascist demonstration was held in Paris, in the course of which there were clashes with the police, and people were killed and wounded. The significance of the demonstration was that it took place under the sign of workers' and popular unity. In its wake, on February 12, there was a general political strike which was anti-fascist in nature. Four and a half million workers took part in this strike. It was also marked by the unity of action of workers belonging to different trade unions and different parties.

Thus, in the course of the rebuff to the fascist danger in France a new form of struggle, namely the workers' and popular front, was bom in France. An important part was played by the Communist Party in its elaboration and practical implementation. The conviction had also grown in

the ranks of the Socialist Party that the unity of all the anti-fascist forces must be consolidated. As a result of this, a pact was signed between the Communist Party and the Socialist Party on July 27, 1934, on unity of action in the struggle against the danger of fascism. The unification of the trade unions began. The Communist Party advanced the task of drawing the middle strata into the Popular Front as well. In September 1934, the Central Committee of the French Communist Party put forward an appeal to create a Popular Front of Freedom, Labour, and Peace against the front of reaction and fascism.

By this time, the international situation was an unfavourable one for France. The 1931 moratorium on German reparations had had a negative effect on France, above all. The danger to the integrity of France became even greater when fascism came to power in Germany. Objectively, France was faced with the need for rapprochement with the Soviet state to restrain Nazi Germany's aggression. At least part of France's ruling circles recognised this. The vanguard sections of the French working people insistently demanded it. Consequently, in November 1932, France signed a Non-Aggression Pact with the USSR.

The activation of fascism on the international arena and in the country itself stimulated the democratic forces in France to go even further in their rapprochement with the Soviet Union and other countries which feared they would be the victim of German aggression. France's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Louis Barthou, was one of those who foresaw the growing threat of fascist aggression to his country. He began to take steps to prevent it, to ensure France's security. In 1934, Barthou's assassination was organised by fascist terrorists. The new Minister of Foreign Affairs, Pierre Laval, was well known for his pro-fascist inclination. However, under the pressure exerted by the democratic public, he signed an agreement on mutual aid with the Soviet Union in May 1935. Having concluded this treaty, Laval was ready to refuse to adhere to it at any moment, should he manage to come to an agreement with Germany.

The increasingly complex nature of the international situation owing to the growing danger of fascism and war caused the anti-fascist-minded masses in France to become more active. At the municipal elections in May 1935, the left parties, including the Communists, gained great success.

The middle strata, part of the middle bourgeoisie, were increasingly inclined towards unity with the working class against the danger of fascism. The Radical Party took the decision to join the Popular Front. On the whole 48 democratic organisations united into the Popular Front in 1935. On July 14, 1935, the supporters of the Popular Front organised massive anti-fascist demonstrations in France. The emergence of the Popular Front in France acquired tremendous international significance. Profiting by the experience of the working class in France, and also in other countries, the Communist International worked out tactics for the united workers' and popular front.

The organisations of France's Popular Front came forward in 1936 with a joint programme which envisaged the nationalisation of the large banks, the reform of the tax system in favour of the workers, greater freedom of the press, political amnesty, disarmament, the dissolution of fascist organisations, and the improvement of the situation of the oppressed peoples. Clauses were included in the programme providing for a national fund to aid the unemployed, public work for them, a shorter working week, while retaining the same wages, old-age pensions, collective agreements, fair prices for agricultural produce and help in cancelling some of the debts of the small traders. The foreign policy part of the programme comprised measures to consolidate the country's security, including the strengthening of Franco-Soviet relations and the system of collective security. The programme mentioned the need to nationalise the war industry and so forth. On the whole, the programme was generally democratic, anti-fascist and opposed to war in its nature. The Popular Front decided to fight for victory at the next parliamentary elections on its basis.

The Communist Party made a thorough analysis of the processes ensuing from the development of the Popular Front movement. At the Eighth Congress of the French Communist Party in January 1936 aManifesto to the French people was adopted which outlined the policy for intensifying the struggle to combat fascism and war, for preserving and expanding democracy, and for improving the life of the working people. The French Communist Party applied great efforts to consolidate workers' and popular unity. It consistently tried to set up united trade unions. In March 1936, a Unity Congress of the Unitary General Confede-

ration of Labour and the General Confederation of Labour was held at which a united General Confederation of Labour was set up. Two Communists were elected to its leadership. The consolidation of trade union unity helped to boost the membership of the General Confederation of Labour (from one million to six million people).

A remarkable achievement of the Popular Front movement was its success at the elections to the Chamber of Deputies in April and May 1936. The front's candidates received 5,500,000 votes or 56.6 per cent of the total number of votes. The Communist Party received the support of 1,500,000 voters and sent 72 representatives (before that there were only ten) to the Chamber of Deputies. On July 7, 1936, the Socialists and Radicals formed the first Popular Front government, headed by the right-wing Socialist Léon Blum. The Communist Party proclaimed its support for the government if the latter were to implement the Popular Front programme. At the same time as the Popular Front government came to power the workers launched a strike campaign in support of its programme.

Soon after the Popular Front's victory at the elections in France democratic and social measures were put into effect. The workers got pay rises of 15 per cent on average, and the wages of minor office workers were also raised. Parliament approved the laws on paid holidays (14 days per year), on the introduction of a 40-hour working week, and on the conclusion of collective agreements. The war industry was partially nationalised and the reform of the Bank of France was effected, means were allotted for public work, and fascist organisations were banned. The situation of the peasants and artisans improved. The latter were able to obtain credits on privileged terms. All these measures were in the interests of the broad masses and were aimed at combating the danger of fascism.

However, bourgeois reaction sabotaged these measures of the Popular Front government in every possible way, created economic and financial difficulties and continued to give its support to fascist organisations. In this connection, Léon Blum's government very soon went over to capitulation. In September 1936, it devalued the franc which caused the position of the working masses to deteriorate. In March 1937, Leon Blum suggested having a "respite" in implementing the Popular Front programme, and

in June 1937, he resigned. After this, indirect taxes were increased. The offensive of the bourgeoisie on the working masses became more vigorous owing to another economic crisis which began in 1937.

The French Communist Party called upon the working class and other democratic forces to strengthen and extend the Popular Front. The suggestions made by the French Communist Party included the following: turning the Popular Front into an even wider French Front, creating a united party of the working class by unifying the Communists and Socialists, convening a congress of the Popular Front committees and electing a National Committee of the Popular Front, creating a genuinely democratic government, and furthering socio-economic transformations. The adoption of these and other suggestions made by the Communist Party would have allowed the anti-fascist and anti-war front in France to be strengthened.

However, the Socialists and Radicals did not agree with the French Communist Party's proposals. In April 1938, a new government, headed by the Radical Edouard Daladier who spoke out against the Popular Front programme, was formed. On October 10, 1938, the Radical Party announced that it was withdrawing from the Popular Front. After this, Daladier's government increased the taxes, and abolished the 40-hour working week. The entrepreneurs began to make wage cuts and speak out against collective agreements.

The working class and its communist vanguard, and many rank-and-file Socialists demanded that the Popular Front should be preserved and waged a struggle against the offensive of the bourgeoisie. On October 26, 1938, on the initiative of the General Confederation of Labour a National Day of Protest was held in France against the assault of reaction. On November 30, the Confederation staged a 24-hour general strike in which four million workers took part. The government responded to this by introducing a state of emergency. Mass-scale dismissals were started of factory and office workers, who were not to the liking of the authorities and the entrepreneurs.

Capitulatory features in the face of international reaction and fascism were also evident in France's foreign policy in this period. So, Léon Blum's government took a stand of "non-interference" with regard to events in Spain, where a counter-revolutionary revolt led by Franco had begun,

and fascist aggression by Germany and Italy had been launched against the Republic of Spain. France connived at German aggression and Germany's seizure of Austria and Czechoslovakia. France's participation in signing the Munich Agreement meant its refusal to honour the treaties with Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union. The reactionary imperialist circles in France tried to channel German-fascist aggression eastward against the Soviet state.

In spite of this, the Popular Front movement in France was of great historical and international significance. It prevented a fascist dictatorship from being established in France and laid the foundations for the anti-fascist Resistance movement during the Second World War.

SPAIN

During the First World War Spain remained neutral and kept up an advantageous trade with the warring groupings. This caused its economy to boom, increased production and capital concentration and made the monopolists wealthy. Political power was concentrated in the hands of the big landowners, the top clergy, and the financial and industrial magnates. A monarchy was preserved in Spain under King Alfonso XIII of the Bourbon dynasty. Two principal parties were active in political life, the Liberal and the Conservative Party which represented the interests of the big bourgeoisie and landowners. The middle bourgeoisie, the population of the country's national provinces (Catalonia, the Basque Country and Galicia), the petty bourgeoisie, not to mention the working masses, did not have access to political power and expressed dissatisfaction with the policy of the ruling elite. Social and national contradictions took shape in the country which could be resolved to some extent by a bourgeois-democratic revolution.

The popular masses which suffered from the increasing exploitation and rising cost of living were the pointer in this struggle. The General Union of Workers and the National Confederation of Labour took a joint decision in May 1916 on beginning a campaign against the rising cost of living. In the summer of 1917 the peasants and students joined the movement. A broad anti-monarchic front began to take shape in the country. The first nation-wide action was the

general political strike, which began on August 13, 1917. In a number of places it turned into armed clashes between the workers and the police and the army.

Under the influence of the October Socialist Revolution in Russia the revolutionary movement in Spain rose to a new level. The workers, peasants, petty bourgeoisie, intelligentsia and a student body and also the population at large in the national provinces took an active part in it. A campaign for autonomy was being waged in Catalonia and the Basque Country. As the strike movement of the workers and the peasant unrest in Spain grew, a struggle was started to prevent the ruling circles from joining the blockade and armed intervention against Russia. The workers even threatened a general strike and the French consulates in Barcelona and Valencia were wrecked. The unrest also embraced the army, including part of the officer corps which expressed dissatisfaction at the privileged position of higher-ranking officers. A revolutionary situation arose in Spain in 1918-1920.

The ideological and organisational progress made in the workers' movement, and the fighting spirit of the working masses were an important manifestation of the revolutionary upsurge in the country. The membership of the National Confederation of Labour and the General Union of Workers swelled rapidly. However, the weakness of the trade union movement consisted in the fact that it was heavily influenced by anarcho-syndicalism. The influence among the masses of the Socialist Workers' Party of Spain which had fighting spirit in the past considerably lessened. The reason for this was the inability of the party's leaders, who had by that time taken reformist positions, to guide the revolutionary struggle of the working masses. But back in 1919 a revolutionary wing began to form in the ranks of the Socialist Workers' Party of Spain, and especially in the Socialist Youth Federation which was affiliated to this party, and this wing spoke out against the reformist policy of the party's leadership. At the congress of the Socialist Youth Federation on April 15, 1920, a decision was taken to turn the Federation into the Communist Party of Spain. After this the Socialist Workers' Party witnessed an upsurge of the struggle in its ranks between the supporters and adversaries of uniting with the Communist International. At an extraordinary congress of the party in April 1921 a split

occurred. The left wing of the party left the congress and on April 13 the Spanish Communist Workers' Party was formed. Both the Communist parties joined the Comintern, and on November 7, 1921, they united into a single party, the Communist Party of Spain. The founding of the Communist Party of Spain considerably intensified the revolutionary trends in the workers' movement in Spain.

Now that there was a revolutionary upsurge, the ruling circles resorted to various methods of stunting the growth of the revolutionary movement. Besides cruel reprisals they also made certain concessions such as the introduction of an eight-hour working day from 1920, pay rises, the introduction of insurance for invalids and old-age, and banning child labour. But, when early in 1921 an economic crisis began to develop in the country, the reactionary forces again decided to launch an attack on the workers and the democratic masses and pursue a policy of establishing a military-fascist dictatorship. The conflict between the forces of reaction and democracy was accelerated by the defeat of the Spanish army in Morocco (1921), where the national liberation movement was on the upswing. The population at large in Spain demanded that the war should be brought to a halt. In the military units that were being sent to Morocco a revolt flared up in the summer of 1923. To save their dominion, the bourgeoisie and the landowner oligarchy decided to establish a military dictatorship.

On September 13, 1923, General Miguel Primo de Rivera brought about a coup d'etat, having established a military-monarchic dictatorship in the country. After the coup the cortes (the parliament) was dissolved, the Communist Party and other political parties were banned, thousands of revolutionary-minded workers and democrats were arrested and all the bourgeois-democratic freedoms were prohibited. In the period of the dictatorship favourable conditions were furnished for the development of state-monopoly capitalism. By the combined operations of the armies of Spain and France the liberation struggle of the Riffs was put down in Morocco in 1926. Broad ties began to be forged between Spain and fascist Italy.

But Primo de Rivera did not manage to stabilise the situation in Spain. Various social forces in the country opposed his dictatorship. There was unrest among the Catalonian nationalists in the summer of 1924 and also in 1926. In the

summer of 1926 unrest in the army spread in some artillery units to become an armed uprising. On June 24, 1926, part of the monarchists and the military who were defending the interests of the bourgeoisie and landowner bloc which had been governing the country before the coup d'état attempted to overthrow the dictatorship. At the same time mass demonstrations and strikes by students took place in 1928 and 1929. In January 1929 yet another attempt was made at a coup d'état. All this testified to the instability of the dictatorship which found itself in complete isolation. On June 26, 1930, Primo de Rivera was forced to resign and emigrate.

At that time an acute revolutionary crisis began to develop in Spain. The government of General Berenguer which replaced that of Primo de Rivera was forced to make concessions, agreeing to establish a semblance of a democratic regime. The rapid upshooting of new parties began in the country, and two parties bearing the name of Republican Action, and the Radical-Socialist Party appeared. The economic crisis which deeply paralysed Spain accelerated the revolutionary explosion. In 1930, a mass strike movement started in Spain and peasant fighting actions began. In August 1930 the bourgeois republican parties together with the Socialist Workers' Party held a conference at which the joint struggle against the monarchy was agreed upon and a "revolutionary committee" and a provisional government (in the underground) were formed. But the bourgeois parties were not capable of inciting the masses to struggle against the monarchy and the dictatorship.

The outcome of the elections held on April 12, 1931, set off the revolutionary explosion. The supporters of the monarchy suffered a defeat at the elections, the majority of the electorate voting for the republicans. The news about the outcome of the elections stirred up the whole country. Everywhere workers and democratically minded people held demonstrations, began to capture government institutions, and to free political prisoners. The municipalities of a number of towns proclaimed a republic. On the demand of the republicans the King Alfonso XIII abdicated on April 14, and Spain became a republic. Thus, the bourgeois-democratic revolution began in the country.

While the bourgeois and reformist parties were striving to hold back the revolution, the broad working masses conti-

nued the struggle for deep-going social and democratic transformations. Democratic rights and freedoms were proclaimed in Spain, as a result of the pressure exerted by the masses, church property was confiscated, elections to the Constituent Assembly were held, a republican Constitution was adopted, a law on agrarian reform was enacted, and Catalonia was given the status of an autonomous republic. However, these individual transformations were of an extremely restricted nature, by no means resolving the principal political, economic and national problems facing the country, and therefore they could not satisfy the masses.

Once it had come to power the republican government was subject to attacks both from the left and from the right. The anarcho-syndicalists demanded an immediate "social revolution" and organised unsuccessful armed uprisings against the government in 1932-1933. The Spanish reactionaries were dissatisfied with the overthrow of the monarchy and the loss of their positions in the country. In 1932, they staged a mutiny in support of the monarchy. The clerical-landowner parties formed their own political bloc, the Confederation of Autonomous Right Wingers, in October 1932. In 1933, the fascists united into the fascist Falange party. The elections to the cortes at the end of 1933 brought victory to the right-wing parties. The government was headed by the leader of the Radical Party, Alejandro Lerroux who immediately launched an offensive on the gains of the revolution.

In these circumstances the working class headed by the Communist Party set about fighting against reaction and in defence of the republic. In 1932 the Communist Party purged its ranks of the opportunists. The worker Jose Diaz was elected General Secretary of the Party. The Communist Party rapidly became the genuine vanguard of the Spanish proletariat. The left wing gained in strength both in the Socialist Workers' Party and in the General Union of Workers, and Largo Caballero became the leader of the latter. Conditions began to form in Spain for the setting up of a united workers' front. In 1934 workers' alliances were created, the organs of this front comprised of Socialists and Communists. Only the anarcho-syndicalists sabotaged the workers' unity.

In October 1934 the situation in Spain grew extremely

acute. In response to the growing influence of the Confederation of the Autonomous Right Wingers in the government the workers' alliances staged a general strike and called for an uprising. On October 5, big manifestations took place in many towns and cities. However, the majority of the workers who supported the Socialists were not ready for armed struggle. Only in Asturias did the strike turn into an armed uprising; there the workers' alliances declared a worker and peasant republic, drove out the government forces and set about forming the detachments of the Red Army. For two weeks the workers of Asturias repulsed the offensive of the government forces. More than three thousand people died in the battles, over seven thousand were wounded, and thirty thousand were imprisoned. The October battles, in which the insurgents suffered defeat, revealed the need to further consolidate workers' unity.

After the October battles the Communist Party appealed to the workers to call strikes and demonstrations against government repressions. In March 1935, the Communist Party put forward a proposal to create an anti-fascist Popular Front. On January 15, the anti-fascist parties and organisations agreed upon a programme for the Popular Front which included the socio-economic demands of the workers and middle strata. On February 16, 1936, elections were held to the cortes, at which the Popular Front gained impressive success. On its basis the Azana government was formed. The victory of the Popular Front was a historic achievement for the Spanish republicans and democrats.

The workers immediately set about implementing their demands. They freed the political prisoners from the prisons, took the enterprises into their own hands, introduced workers' control at them and organised detachments of workers' militia. Democratic freedoms were restored in the country, the agrarian reform was further put into effect (before June 1936 the peasants had received mere than 700,000 hectares of land), and autonomy was restored to Catalonia. At the proposal of the Communist Party, the communist and socialist unions of youth were fused into a single union of socialist youth. The Communist Party was seeking to create a single political party of the working class.

However, the republican government was rather lenient with regard to the reactionary and fascist organisations which began to prepare a military mutiny against the repub-

lie following the victory of the Popular Front and rallied round the Spanish Military Union headed by Generals Franco, Sanjurjo, and others. On July 18, 1936, under the leadership of General Franco a fascist mutiny began in Spanish Morocco, on the Canary Islands and the Balearic Islands which rapidly enveloped the whole of Spain. Almost the entire army went over to the side of the mutineers. This posed a tremendous threat to the Spanish Republic and the Popular Front government. However, the working masses set up detachments of people's militia in a short period and routed the main forces of the mutineers over a large part of the country.

At that time the fascist states of Germany and Italy came to the assistance of the Spanish fascists. To aid Franco's forces they sent huge quantities of materiel, arms, and also troops. More than 300,000 foreign officers and men fought in the ranks of Franco's forces. In conditions of the obvious export of fascist counter-revolution the Western powers—the USA, France, and Great Britain—set about pursuing a policy of "non-intervention" which meant encouraging the fascist aggressors and the actual blockade and isolation of the Spanish Republic.

Only the Soviet government declared its support for the Popular Front government in Spain. Arms and materiel, foodstuffs and medicaments, were sent to Republican Spain from the USSR and credits were granted; approximately three thousand Soviet volunteers went to fight for the achievements of the Spanish people. Democratic anti-fascist forces also came from other countries to aid the Spanish republicans. More than 42 thousand people from 54 countries fought in the national brigades in Spain. The Comintern and its sections headed the movement of solidarity with the popular forces in Spain.

The struggle against the fascist mutineers in Spain grew over into a national revolutionary war. On October 4, 1936, the Popular Front government was formed in Spain headed by the leader of the left-wing Socialists Largo Caballero. It included two representatives of the Communist Party. Caballero's government set about forming a regular army and furthered the agrarian reform. On the basis of the decree of October 7, 1936, almost 5,500,000 hectares of the landed estates and forests were divided up among the peasants and farm-hands. The Basque Country was granted

autonomy. But on the whole Caballero's government was slow and indecisive in organising a rebuff to the fascists and this allowed the mutineers to advance right up to Madrid. In this situation, the government of Largo Caballero fled the capital. Only the Communists who displayed unbending resoluteness and fighting spirit were able to unite the defenders of Madrid. On November 8, 1936, the fascist forces were halted at the walls of the capital. Franco's forces had to change their military and strategic plans and concentrate their efforts on seizing other areas of the country.

The situation of the Spanish Republic was complicated by the acute differences in the Popular Front. The left-wing Socialists headed by Largo Caballero who, once he had become Prime Minister, gradually took an anti-communist stand, strove to concentrate all the power in their hands and oust the other parties. The anarchists tried to achieve the immediate implementation of "anarcho-communism", they undermined the unity and discipline, left the front of their owrr accord and displayed arbitrariness in the rear. Seeing in the Communist Party's growing influence on the masses a threat to their own designs, both the latter and the former took up an anti-communist position. Moreover, early in May 1937, the anarchists and Trotskyites staged a rebellion in Catalonia. Since this created an obvious threat to the republic the Communists and other parties of the Popular Front resolutely demanded that Largo Caballero's government should send troops to Catalonia to put down the anarcho-Trotskyite mutiny.

On May 17, 1937, the Caballero government was replaced by the government of Juan Negrin, which was more consistent in pursuing the policy of the Popular Front. It put an end to the excesses perpetrated by the anarchists, abolished the self-styled "councils", continued to fortify the army, and waged a struggle against enemy agents in the rear. Offensive operations were launched against the fascist forces. A monopoly over foreign trade was established in the country; enterprises and banks whose owners had fled, were placed under government control, and a decree was passed on the nationalisation of industry, the railways, and ports. During the entire period that the Popular Front was in power measures to eliminate illiteracy were implemented in the Spanish Republic and access to all levels of education for workers was expanded. The Spanish Republic began to turn

into a people's democratic state.

In April 1938, Negrin's government was reorganised. The Minister of Defence, Indalecio Prieto, left it as he did not believe that the struggle would be successful and pursued a policy of capitulation. Negrin's new government in which he also occupied the post of Minister of Defence proclaimed a conscription and launched a successful offensive in the area of the River Ebro.

On the whole, however, the situation of the Spanish Republic at home and abroad continued to deteriorate. The area controlled by the mutineers expanded. There Franco's supporters took measures to consolidate their power. The Western powers increasingly went over from their policy of "non-intervention" to direct support of Franco. On February 27, 1939, Britain and France, and then on April 1, the United States officially recognised the Franco government.

At the end of 1938 Franco's forces intensified operations against the last outposts of the republicans. By February 9, 1939, the whole of Catalonia was in the hands of the fascist forces. The detachments of the republicans retreated into France where they were interned in concentration camps. In these circumstances the Communist Party made tremendous efforts to preserve the unity of the parties of the Popular Front and continue the struggle against Franco's forces. But moods in the ranks of the republicans were inclined towards defeat. Taking advantage of this the anarchists staged a mutiny in Madrid and other towns on March 6, 1939, where power was still in the hands of the republicans. Bitter fighting broke out between the detachments loyal to the cause of the Republic and the traitors. The Popular Front disintegrated. Madrid passed into the hands of Franco's supporters. On March 28-30, 1939, the fascist forces established control over the whole of Spain. A cruel fascist dictatorship reigned in the country for many a long year.

PORTUGAL

After the bourgeois revolution of 1910 Portugal was a bourgeois parliamentary republic. Being an economically backward country, dependent on Great Britain, it possessed a vast colonial empire (Angola, Mozambique, and other countries). Agriculture in which the vestiges of feudalism

were markedly preserved predominated in the country's economy. Political power was in the hands of the bourgeois Republican Party. Reformist and anarchist moods were widespread in the country's working-class movement. In 1916, under pressure from Great Britain, Portugal entered the world war which caused the material situation of the working people to deteriorate even further. According to the Versailles Peace Treaty, Portugal was allotted a small part of former German East Africa.

Under the influence of the October Revolution in Russia general strikes took place in Portugal in 1919-1921. In 1919, the railwaymen and municipal workers, metalworkers and others went on strike, and in 1920 the employees of the post-office and the telegraph and then the railwaymen again. The enlivening of the working-class movement was accompanied by the consolidation of the left wing in the working class. In March 1921 the left-wing Socialists proclaimed the foundation of the Portuguese Communist Party which set about disseminating the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, the October Revolution and spoke out in favour of solidarity with Soviet Russia which was fighting against foreign intervention.

When the First World War ended the situation in Portugal was characterised by acute features of crisis in the economy, especially in finances, and in political life. In the period from 1910 to 1925 40 governments replaced one another in the country and there were 18 coup d'etats. In the years of capitalist stabilisation an unstable situation continued in Portugal just as before. On May 28, 1926, the reactionary military staged a coup d'etat and established its own dictatorship. For a short time power was in the hands of General da Costa. But on March 25, 1928, General Carmona became President of the country who was supported by Great Britain. The country began to become a fascist one. The Constitution of 1911 was abolished in Portugal and with it the bourgeois-democratic freedoms. On April 27, 1928, Antonio de Oliveira Salazar became head of the Ministry of Finance and received emergency powers in the sphere of the economy.

The democratic circles in Portugal repeatedly made attempts to repel the dictatorship and fascism. In February 1927 republican-inclined officers and also part of the workers staged an armed uprising in Lisbon and Porto. Uprisings

flared up in 1928 and in the following years. But they were cruelly put down by the dictatorship. In the course of the struggle the inability of the Socialist Party and the anarchists to manage the anti-dictator movement became evident. At the same time the part played by the Communist Party as the most consistent force in the struggle against fascism grew. In 1929, the Communist Party underwent reorganisation. Bento Goncalves was elected General Secretary. From 1931 onwards the newspaper of the Portuguese Communist Party, *Avante!*, began to come out.

The consolidation of the dictatorship was accompanied by Portugal's increased dependence on Great Britain and its loans, the intensifying exploitation of the working people, preservation of the vestiges of feudalism in the countryside, and the heightening role of the church. The economic crisis of 1929-1933 led to the curtailment of the production of traditional Portuguese goods (canned fish, wine, and others), to a serious drop in the standard of living of the working people. In order to overcome the crisis, the authorities increased the taxes on the working masses, granted favourable credits to the big entrepreneurs and landowners and facilitated the concentration of production in the hands of a small group of monopolists. The burden of the crisis was also foisted onto the peoples of the Portuguese colonial empire.

During the crisis the country became increasingly fascist. The opposition parties were banned by law. In 1930, Salazar created a fascist party, the National Union, which was the only legal party. On July 5, 1932, he was appointed Prime Minister and became a fascist dictator for many years to come. The fascist regime was protected by the Constitution of 1933 according to which Portugal was proclaimed a "unitary corporative republic" with almost unrestricted power for the Prime Minister. Instead of the free trade unions Salazar, according to the Labour Charter of September 23, 1933 (a copy of a similar charter instituted by the Italian fascists) founded the fascist "national trade unions". The workers were deprived of the right to strike. The Catholic Church whose privileges were extended was a vital buttress of the fascist dictatorship. A ramified repressive apparatus was set up in the country, including a secret political police (PIDE), and concentration camps were organised. Prisoners were particularly cruelly treated on one of the

Cape Verde Islands in a special "lingering death camp" where Communists and other fighters against fascism were sent. After Salazar's dictatorship had been established the exploitation of the colonial peoples was intensified. Thus, according to the Colonial Act of July 8, 1930, the population of the Portuguese colonies was deprived of any kind of economic, political or cultural rights. In the colonies a system of forced labour was widely practised and manpower was bought and sold (the slave trade).

But the fascist dictatorship did not manage to completely put an end to the opposition movement and to the class struggle of the working people. In 1930-1933 a number of strikes were staged in Portugal under the leadership of the Portuguese Communist Party. The best trade union forces rallied around the Communists. The conviction of the workers of the necessity for them to unite to repel fascism grew ever stronger. In January 1934 a general strike involving 60,000 workers took place which was of an anti-fascist nature and turned into an armed uprising in a number of places. Having cruelly put this strike down, the authorities carried out repressions against the Communists. On November 11, 1935, the leaders of the Party, including Goncalves, were arrested and sent to the Tarrafal concentration camp. The police began to plant their agents in communist organisations.

But Salazar's supporters did not manage to eliminate the anti-fascist movement. This became particularly obvious in the years of the national revolutionary war in Spain. The Portuguese democrats were sympathetic towards the struggle of the Spanish republicans. In September 1936 sailors of the Portuguese Navy on three vessels in the port of Lisbon began an armed uprising as a mark of solidarity with the Spanish Republic. At the same time Portuguese anti-fascists headed for Spain where they fought in the international brigades.

Salazar's dictatorial regime could not exist without considerable support from without. Its main creditor right up to the Second World War was Great Britain which occupied a dominant position in Portugal's economy. However, in striving to consolidate its position in the country, the Salazar government agreed to establish close economic and political ties with fascist Germany and Italy. Germany almost overtook Great Britain in the volume of Portuguese imports.

The expansion of political cooperation between Portugal and the fascist countries became increasingly intensive. The Salazar government helped Franco's supporters in Spain to prepare for the mutiny against the Spanish Republic. And when Germany and Italy began armed intervention against Spain, Portugal acted as a base for the interventionists. Portugal's government recognised the dictator Franco immediately after the mutiny started, supplied his army with arms and ammunition, sent from Germany and Italy, and sent several thousand Portuguese soldiers to his aid. On March 17, 1939, Salazar and Franco signed "a pact of friendship and non-aggression".

ITALY

The Revolutionary upsurge in 1917-1920. Italy came out of the First World War victorious. However, the trials of war, the great loss of human lives had adversely affected the post-war situation in Italy. It was in debt to the United States and Great Britain.

At the same time the war had provided an impetus to Italy's industrial development. It became an agrarian-industrial state and not an agrarian state as previously. Such developed branches of industry appeared as iron-and-steel production, mechanical engineering, and chemical production. As a result of the increased concentration and centralisation of production and capital, huge monopolistic associations emerged such as Fiat (automobile construction), Breda (materiel), and others.

The end of the war brought about a sharp decline in industrial production, which had in the main been supplying the war machine. In 1920 Italy was hit by the first post-war economic crisis. The drop in production, the growth of inflation, the cutting down of the sown area in agriculture, the decrease in the wages of the workers, and mass unemployment were manifestations of the crisis in Italy.

The consequences of the war evoked a drastic aggravation of social contradictions in the country which led to a revolutionary crisis in 1918-1920. Following the example of the October Socialist Revolution in Russia, the working people of Italy waged an active struggle against the capitalists and landowners. In August 1917 workers in Turin staged a big

anti-war armed uprising. The news about the October Revolution inspired the Italian proletariat even further to struggle against imperialism. Strikes were the main form of this struggle: 292 strikes in 1918, 1,871 strikes in 1919, and 2,070 in 1920. In the course of the strike effort demands were advanced for wage rises, a shorter working day, and price cuts. With the upsurge in the working-class movement the entrepreneurs were forced to satisfy these demands of the working class in part.

In the countryside the agricultural workers actively fought for their vital interests. The poor people occupied the fallow lands on the landed estates. The government was forced to allow the peasants to keep part of the lands seized. At the same time rents were lowered and the rights of agricultural workers' trade unions were recognised.

The Italian Socialist Party in which a strong left-wing trend had taken shape headed the revolutionary movement. The party congress in September 1918 spoke in favour of the immediate conclusion of peace, of seizing power by revolution and of expropriating the capitalists. The congress condemned any kind of offensive against Soviet Russia. The Socialist Party rapidly swelled in numbers. In 1920 its membership amounted to more than 200,000 people. The General Confederation of Labour, which had a membership of more than two million, became a big mass organisation, too. However, various trends existed in the party and in the trade unions. The General Confederation of Labour was headed by the reformist D'Aragona. In the Socialist Party most of the members were centrists or maximalists (Giacinto Serrati, Constantino Lazzari, and Eugidio Gennari). The right-wing opportunists (Filippo Turati, Claudio Treves) were fairly influential and held important positions in the parliamentary faction and in the trade unions. The left wing was represented by the abstentionists (supporters of the immediate revolutionary actions who were opposed to participation in the activity of the bourgeois parliament) with Amadeo Bordiga at their head. Only the 1'Ordine Nuovo (new order) group, headed by Antonio Gramsci, took a consistently Marxist stand in the party. Thus, the Socialist Party was far from being a genuinely revolutionary proletarian party.

Several bourgeois parties were active in Italy's political life: the liberals (their representative Vittorio Orlando was

Prime Minister in 1917-1919); the republicans, the radicals and democrats. Soon after the war ended the bourgeois parties in the country underwent regrouping. In 1919 the Catholic bourgeois circles created a "people's party" ("popolari") to unite the broad masses under the banner of the Catholic religion and draw them away from the campaign for socialism. The new party insisted, in particular, on the buying up of the landed estates and handing them over to the peasants, which was a radical demand in those conditions. It set the Italian Confederation of Workers, a Catholic trade union association under its own aegis.

The most reactionary force in Italy's political life was the fascist movement which emerged after the First World War. Back in 1919 the head of the fascists Benito Mussolini, who was expelled from the Socialist Party during the war for supporting the government's aggressive policy, began to publish the newspaper *Popolo d'Italia* which disseminated unbridled chauvinist and anti-socialist propaganda.

The expansionist views of the decadent writer Gabriele D'Annunzio who headed the extreme nationalistic groups served as the ideological basis for the fascist movement. Demobilised officers, numerous representatives of the petty-bourgeois strata who had succumbed to the influence of chauvinist propaganda became the mass basis of the movement. The slogans of the fascists regarding domestic political questions were of an unprecedentedly demagogic nature. To attract the country's broad masses to their side, the fascists announced that they would introduce a system of general elections, an eight-hour working day, nationalise all military enterprises, and so forth.

Well aware of the falsehood of these slogans and the reactionary anti-socialist essence of the fascist movement, big capital in Italy furnished it with generous support.

But where the revolutionary movement was on the upswing, the bourgeois parties could still not restore their own complete influence in the country. The Liberal Francesco Nitti, who headed the government in June 1919, promised to establish an eight-hour working day, to take measures to do away with unemployment, to lower prices, and proclaimed an amnesty for political prisoners. In spite of this, the parliamentary elections in November 1919 signified great success for the Socialist Party which won almost one-third of the seats in parliament. The liberals lost their abso-

lute majority and could only form a government relying on support from the deputies of the "people's party".

In this period the movement of solidarity of the Italian working people with Soviet Russia was increasingly gaining strength. The Italian workers organised an extensive movement under the slogan "Hands off Soviet Russia! ". In the course of their strikes, meetings and demonstrations they demanded that the anti-Soviet intervention should be stopped. The railwaymen, port workers, sailors and other detachments of the working people actively joined this movement. Workers in Genoa, Naples, and other ports in Italy disrupted the departure of vessels carrying armaments and materiel to the interventionists. In July 1919 a two-day general strike of solidarity with Soviet Russia was held throughout Italy. In August 1919, the Nitti government was forced to withdraw the Italian troops from Russia. In the spring and summer of 1920 the Italian working people energetically joined the campaign against the Polish intervention in Soviet Russia.

In 1920 the class struggle in Italy became even more acute. Nation-wide general strikes began in the spring of that year throughout the country. The movement of the peasants expanded. In the course of the struggle the working masses began to pose the question of seizing power. On the initiative of the 1'Ordine Nuovo group a movement began to turn the internal factory commissions set up back in the war years, into factory councils. Antonio Gramsci who put forward this idea regarded the factory councils as the embryo of the power of the working class. In Turin, at first in the Fiat enterprises and then in many other plants factory councils were formed. Their first act was to establish workers' control. The attempt by the entrepreneurs in the spring of 1920 to dissolve the workers' councils with the help of the authorities led to a tremendous general strike which embraced not only Turin but also the whole of northern Italy. However, the reformist leaders of the Socialist Party and the General Confederation of Labour were opposed to the movement of the Turin workers. This helped the government to suppress the movement.

In the autumn the struggle again grew in acuteness. In the face of the incipient economic crisis the workers in a number of towns resolutely demanded pay rises. The workers of the metal-working industry were the first to

advance these demands. The entrepreneurs' refusal to satisfy the lawful demands of the workers led to the calling of a general strike by the metalworkers on August 20, 1920. The entrepreneurs responded to this with a lock-out. Then the workers seized the enterprises and demanded that "the direct control of the government and the workers should be established over the whole of the metal-working industry".

Workers in other towns followed in the wake of the metal workers of Milan. Workers from different branches of industry joined the movement. Factories and plants in Milan, Rome, Naples, Genoa, Turin and other towns and cities were in the hands of the Italian proletariat. The workers themselves got production going at the enterprises they occupied. Everywhere factory councils and detachments of the Red Guard were set up in the course of the struggle. The municipalities of Milan, Florence, and some other towns were under workers' control. The central authorities were in no position to put a stop to the movement. Objective conditions took shape in the country for a socialist revolution. In the words of Lenin, "things *reached the stage of a real revolution*" in Italy.[1]

But the Italian proletariat was not able to attain a victory. The leaders of the Socialist Party did not head the working-class movement. The reformists from the General Confederation of Labour strove to channel it solely into a campaign for economic demands. The head of the Italian government Giovanni Giolitti agreed to negotiations with the leaders of the General Confederation of Labour. On September 19, 1920, an agreement was signed between the entrepreneurs and the trade unions on raising the wages and putting a stop to the seizure of enterprises. The government announced that it would present a bill to parliament on workers' control of production. But this promise was not kept. On the whole, the working class in Italy suffered a defeat. After this the Italian workers' movement began to decline.

The movement to seize the enterprises revealed the incapability of the Socialist Party headed by the centrists to direct the revolutionary struggle of the working masses. The conflict among trends in the party drastically grew in

[1] V. I. Lenin, "Letter to the German and the French Workers", *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 282.

gave a vote of confidence to the new government. In the beginning the Mussolini government was a coalition government, besides the fascists it included representatives of the "people's party", and the liberals.

But the fascist nature of the government policy immediately became evident. The fascists banned the factory councils, restricted the rights of the trade unions, drove the peasants off the lands occupied by them on the landed estates, and expanded the arbitrary rule of the entrepreneurs and the big landowners. With respect to the democratic organisations and their leaders the fascists increasingly began to employ methods of undisguised violence and terror. They raided workers' clubs, and killed activists from the working class. On December 18, 1922, the fascists murdered twenty worker activists in Turin. In the wake of this, the fascist pogroms began to be extended to the members of the bourgeois parties. Thus, in November 1923 the fascists attacked the flat of the former Prime Minister, the Liberal Nitti.

The policy of terror pursued by fascism not only stimulated the Communists, but also other democratic forces, including considerable strata of some bourgeois parties, to activate the anti-fascist movement. The parliamentary elections held in April 1924 convinced them of this all the more. With the help of terroristic measures with regard to the opposition parties the fascists in a bloc with the right-wing Liberals obtained 4,300,000 votes, and the opposition only approximately 3 million votes. When the new parliament opened, the deputies of the opposition, in particular the Socialist Giacomo Matteotti, cited convincing facts of the violence and hooliganism of the fascists during the pre-election campaign. In response to this on June 10, 1924, the fascists assassinated Matteotti in a beastly manner. This act led to an acute political crisis in the country (the Matteotti crisis). Mussolini was forced to arrest those directly involved in Matteotti's murder and announced that he might resign.

In the summer of 1924, a united opposition front to fascism was formed in Italy comprised of the Communists, the Socialists, the radicals, part of the liberals, and many representatives of the "people's party". A considerable part of the opposition deputies left parliament, having set up the so-called Aventino bloc and demanding Mussolini's resignation. Joining the Aventino bloc the Communists suggested

that a general strike should be called. However, most of the bloc relied on the will of the king and did not agree with the suggestion of the Italian Communist Party. Then the communist deputies returned to parliament and staged a campaign against fascism from its platform, simultaneously organising mass demonstrations outside of parliament. In July 1924 they headed a five-hundred-thousand-strong workers' strike. But the lack of activity on the part of other opposition parties allowed the fascists to remain in power. At the end of 1924 the Aventino bloc disintegrated.

The fascists soon went over to the offensive. The mass-scale pogroms of democratic organisations, and the murders of their leaders began again. In July 1925 the fascists killed the leader of the Aventino bloc, Giovanni Amendola. Then they organised a bloody pogrom in Florence. On October 4, eminent figures in the anti-fascist movement were cruelly assassinated there. At that same time laws aimed at strengthening the fascist dictatorship were published. They envisaged the purging of the state apparatus of opposition elements, the banning of organisations not controlled by the fascists, and other measures. Mussolini was put above parliament by a special law. In 1926, Mussolini passed another series of extraordinary laws according to which all political parties and organisations except fascist ones were made illegal and dissolved, and the deputies of the opposition were deprived of their parliamentary mandates. The death penalty was restored and special tribunals were introduced to try anti-fascists. A secret political police, the OVRA, was created to combat the opposition. Thus, unrestricted terror was let loose in Italy by the fascist dictatorship.

The establishment of the unrestricted fascist dictatorship clearly revealed the weakness and indecision of the opposition and especially the pemiciousness of the reformist policy pursued by the leaders of the Socialist Party. Bordiga's erroneous policy in the Italian Communist Party also became evident: he was opposed to the tactics of the united workers' front. In this connection the Communist Party intensified the campaign for ideological and organisational consolidation of its own ranks and for correct tactics. Back in August 1924 the left-wing Socialists headed by Serrati joined the party. Then Amadeo Bordiga was removed from the leadership of the Communist Party because he kept to sectarian tactics which destined the working class to defeat.

At the Italian Communist Party congress in Lyons in January 1926 the party policy and tactics were corrected. Antonio Gramsci and Palmiro Togliatti were elected the leaders of the party. However, in this period terrible blows rained upon the party from fascism. In November 1926 Antonio Gramsci and most of the other leaders of the Communist Party were arrested. In June 1928 they were sentenced to 20-21 years in prison each. Antonio Gramsci spent almost ten years in prison and owing to the intolerable conditions there he died in a prison hospital in 1937.

The intensified exploitation of the working people in conditions of fascist terror, and the inflow of foreign loans led to an improvement of Italy's economic outlook. In 1925 the level of industrial output was 59 per cent up on the 1922 figure.

When they came to power, the fascists declared nationalistic slogans in their foreign policy. They intended to boost their expansion in the Mediterranean Sea and the Near East. In 1923, Italy attempted to occupy the Greek island of Corfu, but Great Britain was opposed to this. In January 1924 Italy came to an agreement with Yugoslavia on the latter's handing over to it the port of Fiume, which had been occupied by Italian troops not long before that. Italy's expansionist strivings spread to Albania as well which it did in fact make its own protectorate. In an attempt to find new markets Italy was interested in normalising relations with the Soviet state. It did therefore agree to establish diplomatic relations with the USSR at the beginning of 1924. The Mussolini government received great support from the Vatican. Under the Lateran Accords, Italy recognised the Vatican as a sovereign state. It pledged itself to pay the Pope a large monetary allowance. The Vatican in its turn gave Mussolini's fascist regime complete support.

Italy in the years of the world economic crisis and on the eve of the Second World War. As it was relatively weak, Italy's economy was hard hit by the world economic crisis. In the years of the crisis Italy's industrial output fell by one-third, foreign trade diminished threefold, and the country's financial system was disrupted. The 12-16 per cent drop in wages; the decreased incomes of peasants and farmhands, and the formation of a million-strong army of unemployed had a telling impact on the situation of the working people.

In the years of the crisis the fascist government took measures to aid the biggest monopolies. The Industrial Reconstruction Institute was founded which granted credits to the monopolists, bought up shares, and facilitated the compulsory reorganisation of companies into cartels. All this led to the intensified concentration and centralisation of production and capital and the growth of state-monopoly capitalism.

During the crisis the fascists introduced the so-called corporative system which was called upon to regulate by force the relations between wage labour and capital to the advantage of the latter. By the decree of 1930, a National Council of Corporations was set up which consisted of representatives of the fascist trade unions, the entrepreneurs, ministers, experts and members of the fascist party. Its task was that of controlling the economy and coordinating production relations. Twenty-two national corporations were formed under the control of the National Council and operated in the main branches of industry, regulating production norms, working conditions and resolving conflicts between the entrepreneurs and the workers. By the mid-thirties the entire population of Italy was engaged in the corporative system. The corporative system was spearheaded at suppressing the class struggle of the working people and promoting the interests of big capital. In 1933, the fascists formally proclaimed the introduction of an eight-hour working day and a forty-hour working weak, but in practice the entrepreneurs had the opportunity to impose whatever length of working day they liked. The corporative system was extended to agriculture, its task being that of solving the food problem in the interests of fascist policy. Mussolini declared the corporative system the equivalent of "social revolution", but in actual fact the purpose of this system was to distract the people at large from the revolutionary anti-fascist movement.

The consolidation of the fascist dictatorship temporarily weakened the anti-fascist movement. The bourgeois parties were dissolved voluntarily. Many political leaders, including the reformists, renounced the struggle. The Communist Party found itself in a difficult position as its leaders were imprisoned. The situation was further aggravated by the fact that a right-wing opportunist trend became evident in the Italian Communist Party headed by Angelo Tasca. After an

acute struggle within the party he was expelled from the party. The leading nucleus of the party was formed with Palmiro Togliatti and Luigi Longo at its head, and spoke out in favour of a more active effort in the country in the conditions of a fascist regime. In 1930 the Socialist Party headed by Pietro Nenni came into being again and also favoured renewing the effort against fascism and for unity of action with the Communists. Individual petty-bourgeois émigré anti-fascist groups also made attempts to activate their campaign, uniting in Paris into the movement *Giutizia e libertd* (Justice and Freedom).

The spontaneous movement of the working masses also grew in Italy during the crisis. In 1929 and 1930, the workers organised a number of strikes and held demonstrations. On May 1, 1930, short strikes and rallies took place in Italian cities. Trade union groups headed by Communists emerged at a number of enterprises. The appeal of the Communist Party for unity of action increasingly found a positive response. In August 1934 the representatives of the Italian Communist Party and the Italian Socialist Party signed a pact on unity of action. However, in conditions of the bloody fascist terror the mass-scale anti-fascist movement could not manage to get on its feet.

The economic crisis intensified the striving of fascist Italy for foreign expansion. In his speeches Mussolini appealed to the Italians to turn the Mediterranean Sea into an "Italian lake". The building of a navy was accelerated in Italy, including battleships, and the output of combat planes was increased. In 1934, Mussolini announced the beginning of an "epoch of armaments" and passed a law on militarisation of the nation. In that same year for the purpose of preventing Hitler from carrying out the plan for the seizure ("anschlüss") of Austria, Mussolini concentrated Italian forces on the Austrian frontier. At that time he thought that it would be extremely dangerous for Italy to be Germany's immediate neighbour.

Plans for the annexation of Ethiopia held an important place in the aggressive aspirations of Italian fascism. In January 1935 Mussolini signed an agreement with France which meant in practice its consent to the seizure of Ethiopia by Italy. On October 3, 1935, without declaring war, Mussolini with a 600-thousand-strong Italian army invaded Ethiopia. By May 1936, Ethiopia, which had put up heroic

resistance, had been occupied by the Italian fascist forces. Soon after this, Italian fascism began intervention against Spain, helping the Spanish fascists to crush the republic. Thus, the scale of Italian fascism's aggressive operations grew.

In the second half of the 1930s there was an increasing rapprochement between fascist Italy and Hitler Germany. In October 1936 an agreement was signed by the two countries on political cooperation. Mussolini described this agreement as the "axis" around which the whole of Europe would unite (hence "the Berlin-Rome axis"). A new step in consolidating the alliance of the fascist states was the joining by Italy of the "anti-Comintem pact" between Germany and Japan in November 1937. In December 1937 Italy left the League of Nations.

In her alliance with Germany, however, Italy played the role of the junior partner increasingly dependent on German fascism. When Germany seized Austria in 1938, Mussolini no longer protested, although the deed was done without his approval. Subsequently fascist Italy took an active part in the Munich agreement, rendering Hitler aid in partitioning Czechoslovakia. In its turn, Italy occupied Albania in April 1939. On the eve of the Second World War, Italy and Germany concluded the "steel pact" on May 22, 1939, which was a military alliance of these two powers for the purpose of an aggressive war.

As Italy's foreign policy became more and more aggressive, fascism was increasingly imposed on Italy. Particular attention was paid by Mussolini to expanding the mass base of fascism. For this purpose, in 1937 it was decided to unite all the youth and children's organisations into a single organisation Italian Lictor Youth which operated under the slogans of the fascist party. Civil servants, and all other categories of the population, including housewives, were drawn into fascist organisations. On January 19, 1939, parliament was finally dissolved. In its place a Chamber of Corporations, appointed from above, was set up. The Fascist Grand Council, the leading body in the fascist party, began to play the leading role in governing the state.

By 1937 industrial production in Italy had reached the same level as before the crisis. The fascist government began to pursue the economic policy of autarchy intensively in preparing for war, aimed at providing the country with

strategic raw materials and foodstuffs in case of war. The fascists demagogically launched the "battles for bread, coal, oil, and electricity" in Italy. Militarisation of the entire economy began to be intensified. The policy of autarchy placed a heavy burden on the shoulders of the working people, and brought the big monopolists colossal profits.

The intensification of Italian fascism's aggressiveness was actively resisted by the Communist Party. The Italian Communists spoke out against Italy's aggressive war in Ethiopia and in defence of the Spanish Republic. Three thousand three hundred Italian anti-fascists, mainly Communists, fought in the international brigades on the side of the Spanish Republic. In 1937, the. Communist and the Socialist Party again signed a pact of unity of action. In spite of the enormous difficulties and losses, the Communist Party retained a link with the anti-fascists inside Italy. Thus, the foundations were laid for eliminating the fascist regime in the country. In August 1939 the conference of Italian Communists was held in Paris and attended by party members not only from such big workers' centres as Milan and Turin but also from other towns in the country. The conference noted that the party organisations were working successfully to tell people about the danger of a new world war being unleashed and that anti-fascist moods were current among increasing strata of the population, especially among young people who were dissatisfied with the aggressive militaristic policy pursued by the fascist government which was striving to unleash an imperialist war along with the rulers of Hitler Germany.

BELGIUM

During the First World War Belgium was the arena of fierce battles which brought considerable disaster to the population of that country. The German occupation had an even more fatal empact on the country's economy and the situation of the Belgian working people. During the war more than 40,000 Belgian soldiers died, more than 100,000 houses were destroyed in the country, almost half of the railway network was made unusable, many industrial enterprises were ruined, and great damage was done to agriculture. At the end of the war the resistance to the invaders

began to grow. Anti-war and anti-imperialist actions were spurred on by the news of the victory of a socialist revolution in Russia. However, the leaders of the Belgian Workers' Party Emile Vandervelde and others took a social-chauvinist stand in support of their own bourgeoisie in carrying "the war through to complete victory".

Germany's defeat in the war made Belgium one of the victorious states. According to the Versailles Treaty, it received some reparations from Germany, besides the German district of Eupen-et-Malmédy. Belgium was handed a mandate on some of the former German colonies in Africa. It became the junior partner of France and Great Britain in post-war world affairs. On September 7, 1920, a military convention spearheaded against Germany was concluded between Belgium and France. In 1922 a similar agreement was signed with Great Britain. In January 1923, Belgium took part in the occupation of Germany's Ruhr area. On the whole, its foreign policy positions were consolidated.

After the war a mass-scale workers' movement gained strength in the country. In the course of the strikes the workers managed to achieve the shortening of the working day to 8 hours, 60-100 per cent pay rises, and so forth. The leaders of the Belgian Workers' Party also advanced a number of demands: universal suffrage for all citizens over the age of twenty-one, abolition of criminal prosecution for calling strikes, the extension of right to call strikes, and so on. On May 9, 1919, a new election law was passed in Belgium which extended the suffrage rights of citizens. At the 1919 elections the Belgian Workers' Party took second place and received four ministerial portfolios. The Belgian parliament passed a number of laws proposed by the Belgian Workers' Party. Of vital significance among them was the law establishing an eight-hour working day and a forty-eight-hour working week. But the policy pursued by the leaders of the Belgian Workers' Party was not a consistent one. In the conditions of an incipient offensive of the bourgeoisie at the next parliamentary elections in November 1921, the Belgian Workers' Party lost part of the votes.

The post-war upsurge in the workers' movement was also marked by the foundation of the Communist Party. To begin with, in 1919 a Flemish Communist Group emerged and then at the beginning of 1920 a Walloon Communist Group. In August 1920 they united, forming the Belgian

Communist Party which became a member of the Comintern. The party played an important role in the Belgian working people's struggle for their interests and in support of the young Soviet state against the foreign interventionists. Simultaneously the left wing of the Belgian Workers' Party grew in strength. In 1919 the organisation Friends of the Exploited emerged in it. In 1921, it left the Belgian Workers' Party and proclaimed itself a Communist Party. With the help of the Comintern both parties merged into a single organisation that same year. The ruling circles in the country immediately began to persecute the Communists. In 1923 all the leaders of the Communist Party were arrested and charged with "a plot against state security". Under the pressure exerted by a mass movement the court aquitted the party leaders. The prestige of the Communist Party not only did not decrease but, on the contrary, grew considerably. In 1925, the party got two of its delegates elected at the parliamentary elections.

In the years of capitalist stabilisation the part played by the Belgian Workers' Party in political life was enhanced. After the 1925 elections at which the party gained considerable success, five of its representatives occupied ministerial posts. Emile Vandervelde became Minister of Foreign Affairs. Together with the clericals who headed the coalition governments in 1925-1927 the Socialists pursued a policy of stabilising the country's economy, above all at the expense of the working people. In this period new taxes were introduced in Belgium and the prices of necessities were raised, and wages were cut. Besides this, Belgium resorted to foreign loans. As a result, it managed to balance the state budget, to stabilise the currency, and to increase output in a number of industries.

In these years the working class strove to offer resistance to the offensive of capital. In 1927, the miners of the Ourth valley went on strike. Their struggle lasted for two and a half years and was finally crowned with success. In 1928 workers went on strike in many towns and cities in the country. A campaign was being waged in the Communist Party against Trotskyism, the supporters of which had been expelled from the party in 1928.

In its foreign policy Belgium pursued a course of closer ties with Great Britain and the USA. The ruling circles in the country continued to pursue an anti-Soviet policy.

In 1930, signs of an economic crisis were observed in Belgium: coal extraction declined. The crisis affected the metallurgical industry, mechanical engineering, the textile, glass and other branches of production. The volume of output in 1932 was only 37 per cent of the 1929 level. Unemployment, the ruin of the peasants and the pay cuts were all manifestations of the crisis. In the years of the crisis the bourgeoisie began an onslaught on the workers in an attempt not only to lower their standard of living but also to encroach on their democratic rights; fascist organisations appeared in the country.

The strike campaign of the workers became extremely acute. Thus in the course of the strikes of the miners, steelmakers and other workers in 1939 bloody clashes occurred with the army, many workers being killed and hundreds arrested. In spite of this the strike movement continued to rise.

In search of a way out of the crisis the country's ruling circles put forward the "de Man plan". The Socialist Hendrik de Man proposed decreasing unemployment by assigning entrepreneurs additional state subsidies, etatising private banks by buying up their shares, decreasing the length of the working day, and so forth. All these suggestions were aimed at strengthening state-monopoly capitalism. However, the "de Man plan" was still not implemented.

When the crisis ended, industrial production developed slowly and did not reach the 1929 level even by the beginning of the Second World War, while unemployment had assumed unprecedented proportions by 1935. In these circumstances the class struggle intensified, and the masses began to resist the fascist onslaught.

The growth of the danger of fascism and war had an impact on the situation in the country and on the policy of Belgian government. In 1935, Belgium finally recognised the USSR and established diplomatic relations with it. At the parliamentary elections in 1936 polarisation of the political forces increased. On the one hand, the Communists received more votes, and, on the other hand, the fascist party of the rexists also managed to gain the support of a growing number of voters, who had been deceived by its demagogy. The government of the clerical Paul van Zeeland was a coalition one consisting of clericals, Socialists, and Liberals. Under the pretext of absolute neutrality, it withdrew from the alliance

with France and set about a rapprochement with fascist Germany. This inspired the local fascists, who even made an attempt at a coup d'etat in 1936. With the extremely active participation of the Communists the working class frustrated this attempt. The Communist Party advanced the slogan of setting up a broad anti-fascist Popular Front in the country. Numerous committees of the Popular Front mushroomed in localities, consisting of Communists, Socialists, Catholics, and trade union members. In 1936 the youth organisations of the Communist Party and Workers' Party merged to form the United Young Socialist Guard. The Communist Party proposed founding a United Workers' Party with the Belgian Workers' Party, but the right-wing leaders of the Belgian Workers' Party rejected the idea of workers' and popular unity.

On the eve of the war, in May 1938, a government was formed in Belgium headed by the Socialist Paul-Henri Spaak. It continued to pursue the home and foreign policy of the clerical governments which called forth the dissatisfaction of the working people. At the elections in April 1939 the Workers' Party lost the support of many of its voters. A new government was formed headed by the clerical Hubert Pierlot. Just like the previous government, it did nothing to ensure Belgium's security in the face of the imminent fascist aggression.

THE NETHERLANDS

In the years of the First World War the Netherlands were neutral and carried on trade with the warring states which was of advantage to themselves, the Dutch capitalists and bankers making huge profits.. But the broad strata of the population experienced considerable privation especially because of the food shortage, the rising prices and inflation. The profound dissatisfaction with the policy pursued by the ruling circles grew as a result. Under the influence of the October Socialist Revolution this dissatisfaction found expression in an upswing in the revolutionary movement in the country. At the large industrial enterprises mass-scale rallies of solidarity with Soviet Russia took place. In a number of towns and cities workers' councils and soldiers' unions emerged. Expressing their sympathy and support for revolu-

tionary Russia, the workers of the Netherlands simultaneously advanced their own demands of an economic and political nature. In October 1918 soldiers from the military camps in Harskamp, demanding demobilisation, were involved in riots. Soon after the beginning of the November Revolution in Germany a voice resounded among the workers in Amsterdam in favour of establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. Armed clashes occurred between the workers and the police.

The left wing grew stronger in the workers' movement. In April 1919 on the basis of the Social-Democratic Party (Tribunists) the Communist Party of the Netherlands was formed which became a member of the Comintern. Its foundation was of great significance for the activation of the class struggle of the Dutch proletariat. In 1919, there were 622 strikes in the country. On July 21, 1919, the port workers in Amsterdam and Rotterdam staged a general strike of solidarity with Soviet Russia.

Owing to the increasing vigour of the revolutionary movement, the ruling circles were forced to agree to some reforms. The government of the Catholics headed by Ruys de Beerenbrouck in 1919 came out with a new law on a forty-five-hour working week, on the banning of teenage labour (under 14 years), on the introduction of suffrage for women (from 23 years of age), and so on. In passing these laws, the Catholics were supported by the leaders of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party who believed that such reforms could prevent the revolutionary explosion in the country.

Soon after this (in the summer of 1920), the bourgeoisie began an offensive on the working class. The government managed to get the parliament to pass a law against revolutionary activity. The authorities were given the right to resort to repressions against participants in the workers' actions, and against trade union and Communist Party leaders. Worker activists began to be arrested and thrown into prison. When the economic crisis started in September 1920, many of the gains of the working class in the Netherlands were eliminated. The attempts of the workers to respond to the onslaught of capital by strikes in 1921-1923 ended in failure.

The partial stabilisation of capitalism in the Netherlands was achieved to a considerable extent due to the exploitation of oppressed peoples, primarily the population of Indonesia.

In the mid-1920s shipbuilding and metallurgy began to develop, the positions of the Netherlands in international trade, especially in rubber, tin and other raw materials, began to strengthen. The wages of the upper crust of the working class rose slightly. At the same time the bulk of the working people experienced difficulties owing to the government's policy aimed at lowering wages and increasing the working day and also due to the growing unemployment.

The right-wing leaders of the Social-Democrats pursued a policy of class cooperation, which had a pernicious effect on the vital interests of most working people. "The infantile disorder of left-wing communism" was manifest in the Communist Party for a long time which did not promote the success of the workers' movement either. In 1926, at the Congress of the Communist Party the "leftists" were expelled from the Party, and in 1927 the Trotskyites as well. All this helped to turn the Communist Party of the Netherlands into a Marxist-Leninist party.

In the sphere of foreign policy the government of the Netherlands pursued an anti-Soviet policy at that time, refusing to recognise the USSR.

In 1930, an economic crisis began in the Netherlands. It primarily affected the light industry, shipbuilding, and enterprises of the radio and electrical industries. The volume of industrial output had fallen by 38 per cent by the beginning of 1932 and exports had dropped to 36 per cent of the 1929 level. Agriculture was also badly hit by the crisis. A huge army of unemployed (every third worker lost his job) emerged in the country. Taxes rose, the price of necessities grew and wages fell by 30-40 per cent.

The working class responded to the ills of the crisis by intensifying the strike efforts. In November 1931 a general strike was started by the textile workers in Twente, the centre of the country's textile industry, and lasted four months. In the following year workers in Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Groningen, and other towns went on strike. The most important event in this period was the mutiny in February 1933 on one of the largest vessels of the Netherlands' navy in Indonesia, the battleship *De Zeven Provinciën* (The Seven Provinces). The sailors' mutiny was supported by solidarity strikes both in Indonesia and in the Netherlands. The Communists were in the front ranks of the participants of these actions. The authorities dealt cruelly with the rebel

sailors, bombing the battleship from the air. In the spring of 1933 a campaign was organised to free the arrested sailors with the participation of the Communist Party of the Netherlands.

At the parliamentary elections in April 1933 the Anti-Revolutionary Party gained success whose leader, Hendrik Colijn, headed the government. The new government continued the onslaught on the vital interests of the working masses. In spite of the measures implemented it took the Netherlands a long time to pull itself out of the crisis. Unemployment swelled even more under the new government. At that time fascist reaction supported by the German Nazis became more active. The fascist party the National-Socialist Movement headed by Anton Mussert organised pogroms of the premises of the Communist Party and other progressive organisations.

The working class expressed its dissatisfaction with the anti-popular policy pursued by the Colijn government. In July 1934, armed clashes between the unemployed and the police and the army occurred in the streets of Amsterdam and Rotterdam. On the initiative of the Communist Party signatures were collected under a petition condemning the government's policy (more than one and a half million signatures were collected). The government responded to this by intensifying the repressions, especially against the Communists. To oppose the repressive policy of the government and also combat the increasing fascist danger the democratic forces created the Union of Struggle Against Fascism. The activity of the union helped to frustrate the plans for a rapprochement between Dutch reaction and the German fascists.

The government of the Netherlands paid great attention to fortifying its positions in Indonesia. Keeping its colonial empire in tow with difficulty the Dutch bourgeoisie was forced to make concessions to other powers, and announced an "open doors" policy in Indonesia. But this led to the increased influence of the monopolists of the USA, Japan and Great Britain on Indonesia's economy. With their policy of neutrality the ruling circles of the Netherlands facilitated the expansion of German fascist aggression. They connived at the fascist aggressors in Spain. In 1937 the Netherlands suggested sanctioning Italy's seizure of Ethiopia. Just as before the government of the Netherlands refused to recog-

nise the Soviet state. It doomed its country to isolation and helped to turn it into one of the victims of the fascist invaders.

In the pre-war years only the Communist Party actively spoke out in defence of the working masses and the national interests of the country's people. From 1930 to 1940 its membership grew tenfold. On the eve of Hitler's invasion the Communist Party of the Netherlands was in close contact with the working class and with all the progressive forces among the Dutch people and therefore right from the very first days of fascist occupation it was able to organise and head the liberative Resistance Movement.

Chapter 5

The Countries of Central Europe

GERMANY

Germany in the period of revolutionary storm. The November Revolution of 1918. Germany was the main force in the Quadruple Alliance which was defeated in the First World War. Its rout promoted the particularly serious exacerbation of all the contradictions in Germany. Moreover, state-monopoly capitalism developed rapidly in the country facilitating the objective prerequisites for a socialist revolution. The aggravation of the social contradictions was connected with the sharp drop in the standard of living of the German working people. During the war the taxes rose fivefold and the working day was twelve to fourteen hours. Not only the position of the workers worsened but a considerable part of the peasantry was ruined and pauperised. The sown area in the country diminished by half. The introduction of general labour conscription caused the working people even greater suffering. The majority of Germany's population was tired of war and wished it to be ended as soon as possible. All this created a basis for drawing the broad masses into the anti-war and revolutionary movement.

The upswinging revolution in Russia had a direct impact on the German people. Fraternisation on the Russian-German front instigated the German soldiers to protest against the war and those forces which had started it. In April 1917 at arms factories in Berlin and Leipzig strikes flared up as a reflection of the February Revolution (1917) in Russia. In July and August 1917 sailors of the German navy mutinied.

The crisis within the Social-Democratic Party of Germany intensified.

Disappointment in the policy pursued by the social-chauvinist leaders of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany caused many members to leave the party. In April 1917, adherents of the centrist trend left the party en masse and set up a separate Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany. This party was headed by the leaders of centrism, Karl Kautsky, Hugo Haase and Wilhelm Dittmann, who favoured Marxism only in words but pursued their previous opportunist policy in deeds. Objectively the foundation of the Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany was aimed at preventing the emergence of a Communist Party. The left-wing Social-Democrats (Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Franz Mehring, and others), who had united into the Die Internationale (the International, later renamed the Spartacusbund [the Spartacus Union]) back in 1916 were still members of the Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany at that time. Having made a great contribution to the development of the revolutionary, internationalist trend in the working class, the members of the Spartacus Group had not yet completely accepted the ideas of Leninism, in particular the idea of creating an independent Communist Party. However, this idea increasingly won over their minds and hearts.

The Great October Socialist Revolution made a tremendous impression on the working people of Germany. Under its direct impact a powerful upswing in the revolutionary movement began in that country. Initially, this was manifest in the increasing frequency of large anti-war demonstrations. In November 1917 the workers of Berlin staged demonstrations at which they expressed their sympathy for Soviet Russia and demanded peace. In January 1918, on the appeal of the Spartacists and other left-wing Socialists more than one million workers in Germany joined in the large-scale political strikes, demanding that peace should be concluded with Soviet Russia and the Kaiser's government should be overthrown. The advanced workers protested against the plundering conditions of the Brest-Litovsk Peace Treaty offered to Soviet Russia. They supported the slogan of the October Socialist Revolution, peace without annexation and indemnities. Following the example of the Russian workers the German workers began to set up Soviets (councils) of

Workers' Deputies. In the summer and autumn of 1918 big anti-war rallies were held in the army, and soldiers started to organise their own Soviets (councils).

In these circumstances, the left-wing Social-Democrats began to call ever more intensively for the overthrow of the imperialist government and decided to break off with the centrist trend organisationally. On October 7, 1918, an All-German Conference of the Spartacus Group was held with the participation of the left-wing Social-Democrats from Bremen. In the programme of people's revolution adopted at the conference the following demands were advanced: the overthrow of the monarchy, the immediate cessation of war, the revolutionary attainment of democratic rights and freedoms, the elimination of German imperialism and militarism, and the creation of conditions for a change over from bourgeois-democratic to socialist revolution.

In the autumn of 1918 the military defeat of the German bloc finally became obvious. By the beginning of October 1918 a revolutionary situation had ripened in the country. On November 3, a bourgeois-democratic revolution started in Germany with the mutiny of the sailors in Kiel. At the same time as the sailors, the workers of Kiel staged a general strike. The Soviet (Council) of the Workers' and Sailors' Deputies set up as a result assumed power in the city. The revolutionary actions rapidly enveloped Hamburg, Bremen, Munich, and other towns and centres in the country. On November 9, a general strike started in Berlin which developed into an uprising, in which hundreds of thousands of soldiers and workers took part, occupying the most important strategic points in the German capital. As a result, Kaiser Wilhelm II fled, and the monarchy was overthrown, the leader of the left-wing Socialists, Karl Liebknecht, proclaimed Germany a socialist republic in his speech. But the right-wing leaders of social-democracy called Germany "a free German republic".

The main motive force of the November revolution of 1918 was the working class. On its initiative workers' and soldiers' councils mushroomed in many towns in the hands of which real power was concentrated. The councils established control over management and production at enterprises. The workers got martial law in the country abolished, introduced freedom of speech, meetings, coalitions, granted rights to women, established an 8-hour working day, extend-

ed the labour-protection laws, and so forth.

However, the insufficient experience of revolutionary struggle, the absence of a Communist Party as the vanguard guiding force, and the split in the working class did not allow it to achieve a socialist revolution and establish its proletarian power. The leadership in most of the Soviets (councils) was in the hands of the right-wing Social-Democrats and centrists. In Berlin they formed a government, the Rat der Volksbeauftragten (the Council of People's Representatives) headed by the leader of the right-wing Social-Democrats, Friedrich Ebert. This government did nothing more than implementing individual bourgeois-democratic measures, and did not abolish the domination of the landowners and big bourgeoisie. Moreover, the new authorities entered into a secret alliance with the German military for the purpose of crushing the revolutionary movement.

In the international arena the Ebert government was forced to take into account Germany's defeat in the war. On November 11, German representatives concluded an armistice with the countries of the Entente. Germany completely capitulated but its army was retained for the struggle against the revolutionary forces and the intervention against Soviet Russia. The Council of People's Representatives, supported by the Entente, refused to establish diplomatic relations between Germany and Soviet Russia. Moreover, it refused to accept a trainload of foodstuffs sent from the Soviet Republic for the starving German population.

The German bourgeoisie and the junkers approved of the efforts by the right-wing Social-Democrats to save the capitalist system in the country. At the same time, they were not preparing to hand political power over to them completely. The process of reorganisation and restructuring of the bourgeois parties began. At the end of 1918 a German National People's Party expressing the interests of the monopolists and landowners came into being. A German Democratic Party, a German People's Party, and a Christian Democratic People's Party also appeared. All these were in favour of defending the exploiter system and demanded the abolition of the councils (Soviets).

The right-wing Social-Democrats began preparations for handing power over from the councils to the bourgeois parliament. The First All-German Congress of Councils, convened on November 16, 1919, in Berlin, consisted in its ma-

jority of right-wing Social-Democrats who pulled through the decision to hold elections to the National Assembly in order to pass the supreme power in the country over to it. After this, the activity of the councils was to come to an end. On November 16, the Spartacists held a mass workers' demonstration in which 250,000 Berlin workers took part and demanded that all power should be handed over to the councils. But they could not change the situation. So the main question of revolution, the question of power, was decided in favour of the bourgeoisie.

The revolutionary struggle in Germany clearly showed that the working class could not attain victory in the struggle for power without a strong Communist Party. The left-wing Socialists ultimately became convinced of the need to separate from the centrist leaders of the Independents both ideologically and organisationally. From the beginning of the revolution the Spartacists took measures to achieve ideological and organisational unity among the left-wing forces. They began to publish the newspaper *Die Rote Fahne* (The Red Banner), formed their own group into the Spartacusbund (the Spartacus Union) with its own central leadership and its own membership cards and clearly determined its own strategy and tactics in the revolution. On December 14, 1918, they published the programme document, "What Does the Spartacus Union Want?", which became a kind of platform for uniting left-wing Socialists into a Communist Party. The striving to create a party was also displayed by the left-wing Socialists in Bremen, Hamburg, Dresden, and other towns. At the end of November 1918 they united into a group called the Internationalist Communists of Germany. On December 24, the conference of this organisation spoke in favour of convening a founding congress of the Communist Party together with the members of the Spartacus Union.

The founding congress of the Communist Party of Germany was held from December 30,1918, to January 1,1919. In accordance with the report of Karl Liebknecht, the congress took a decision for the members of the Spartacus Union to leave the Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany and found the Communist Party of Germany. The congress unanimously approved the programme of the Communist Party (speaker Rosa Luxemburg). The task of carrying out a socialist revolution and establishing the dictator-

ship of the proletariat was proclaimed in the programme. The Communist Party announced its solidarity with Soviet Russia.

The formation of the Communist Party of Germany was a fundamental turning point in the history of the German workers' movement and of the entire German people. However, the young Communist Party did make some mistakes. Thus, the congress of the Communist Party of Germany spoke in favour of boycotting the elections to the National Assembly, refusing to work in the reformist trade unions, and approved the decision on the complete autonomy of the local party organisations; nothing was mentioned in the party's programme about the allotment of land to the petty peasantry from the confiscated landed estates. The party was to do a great deal of work to overcome these mistakes.

The young Communist Party of Germany was immediately plunged into the maelstrom of the acute class struggle. At the beginning of January 1919 the counter-revolutionary forces assumed the offensive. For this purpose they managed to get the chief of the Berlin police, the left-wing Independent Robert Eichhorn who enjoyed the support of the workers, removed from his post. The Berlin proletariat responded to this provocation with a mighty demonstration and a general strike. In the course of this action a revolutionary committee was formed from the Independent Social-Democrats and Communists. The committee called for the overthrow of the right-wing Social-Democratic government, but the proper conditions for this did not exist. The Communist Party did not yet have any influence over the decisive strata of the proletariat and could not unite them in the struggle against counter-revolution. The leaders of the Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany capitulated and betrayed the workers. As a result, the actions of the Berlin proletariat were cruelly put down. The bloody reprisals against the workers were headed by the right-wing Social-Democrat Gustav Noske. On January 15, 1919, Noske's accomplices arrested and brutally killed the leaders of the German proletariat Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. The Communist Party was forced to go underground.

On January 19, 1919, in a highly reactionary atmosphere elections to the National Assembly were held in Germany at which the bourgeois parties received the majority. Thus

as a result of the betrayal by the right-wing Social-Democrats, the irresoluteness and cowardice of the leaders of the Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany, the weakness and lack of experience of the Communist Party, supreme power in Germany passed into the hands of the bourgeois National Assembly. The November Revolution came to an end, leaving the foundations of imperialism's economic and political dominion intact. In its nature it was a bourgeois-democratic revolution staged to a certain extent by proletarian means and methods. But in spite of its incompleteness, the revolution was of great international significance. It dealt a blow at German and international imperialism, facilitated the victory of Soviet Russia over foreign intervention and internal counter-revolution and helped to promote the revolutionary movement in Western Europe and accelerated the foundation of the Communist International.

The revolutionary movement in Germany continued after the defeat of the workers in the January battles of 1919. In the spring of 1919 a large wave of strikes and armed conflicts swept the country. Hundreds of thousands of workers joined the general strike by the miners of the Ruhr at the end of February, the general strike in Central Germany and Thuringia at the end of February and the beginning of March, the general strike in Berlin and the strike at the coal mines in Upper Silesia early in March and other actions. During these strikes the workers managed to achieve an improvement in their condition, demanded disarmament, and the dissolution of the counter-revolutionary detachments, spoke in favour of the nationalisation of production and the establishment of relations with Soviet Russia.

The German proletariat tried to further the revolution and go over to a socialist stage in it. The attempts of the workers in a number of places to establish Soviet, proletarian power testifies to this. On January 10, 1919, the workers of Bremen proclaimed a Soviet Republic which existed until February 4. At the end of February the power of the Soviets (councils) was established in Braunschweig for a short while.

The struggle for Soviet power in Bavaria was a vivid page in the revolutionary movement of the German workers. Here at the beginning of the November Revolution the republican government came to power headed by the

Independent Kurt Eisner, which was not, however, in a position to satisfy the demands of the working people. Reaction wanted to take advantage of this, having organised a counter-revolutionary putsch in Munich, the capital of Bavaria, on April 13, 1919. But the Munich proletariat foiled the plans of reaction and not only offered resistance to the counter-revolutionaries, but also proclaimed a Soviet Republic in Bavaria. The Soviet Republic existed in Bavaria from April 13 to May 1, headed by the government of Communists and Independents. The head of the government was the Communist Eugen Levine.

The Bavarian Soviet government immediately set about putting into effect a number of vital revolutionary measures. It introduced workers' control at enterprises, began nationalising industry and banks, established order in the distribution of foodstuffs and other consumer goods, instituted a revolutionary tribunal, disarmed the bourgeoisie and set up a Red Army. All these measures undermined the dominion of the bourgeoisie. The Bavarian Soviet Republic greeted Soviet Russia and Soviet Hungary. In reply, on April 27, Lenin wrote a message of greetings to the Bavarian Soviet Republic. In it he set the Bavarian Communists the fundamental questions of revolutionary transformations.

Some of the measures mentioned in Lenin's message were implemented in Bavaria. However, the Bavarian Soviet government did not resolve the peasant question, did not confiscate the landed estates, and did not even distribute part of them among the farmhands and the poor. This was one of the big mistakes made by the Bavarian Communists. Another serious error was the refusal to convene an all-Bavarian congress of Soviets (councils) which would have furnished the Soviet government with the necessary support of the workers. The Soviet government drew support from factory committees elected back before the revolution. The majority of their members were right-wing Social-Democrats and independents and in the final count they expressed a lack of confidence in the Communists who were in the government. The fact that the Communists left the government weakened the republic.

German counter-revolution concentrated great forces on putting down the Soviet power in Bavaria. The detachments of the Bavarian Red Army waged battles for almost a fortnight against the counter-revolutionary forces who outnum-

bered them many times over, and on May 1 the counter-revolutionary units seized Munich and dealt cruelly with the Bavarian revolutionaries. The workers of other industrial centres in Germany were not able to organise assistance to the Bavarian revolutionaries. The Soviet Republic in Bavaria was defeated but its experience was highly instructive for the revolutionary movement.

After the defeat of the Bavarian Soviet Republic there was a decline in the revolutionary movement in Germany. The bourgeoisie managed to fortify its positions and consolidate its power in the country. This was facilitated by the signing of the peace treaty between the countries of the Entente and Germany in Versailles in June 1919. According to the treaty, Germany lost 13 per cent of its territory and 11 per cent of its population. Its colonies and navy went to the victors. The strength of the German army was restricted. The country had to pay huge reparations. The Versailles Treaty intensified exploitation of the German people by foreign capital, and restricted the sovereignty of Germany. At the same time, it allowed German imperialism and militarism to preserve its power and represented a complot between international reaction and German imperialism against the revolutionary movement in Germany and Soviet Russia.

In July 31, 1919, the German Constituent National Assembly, which had assembled in Weimar, adopted the Constitution which legalised the bourgeois system in Germany. According to the Weimar Constitution, Germany became a bourgeois parliamentary republic. The Constitution proclaimed civil freedoms, and introduced universal suffrage. At the same time, the president received great authority and this was then used against the working class. In spite of the fact that the Constitution was of a bourgeois nature, its adoption was a step forward compared with Germany's pre-war Constitution.

Having consolidated its power, the German bourgeoisie started an onslaught on the working class and the democratic forces. Inflation in the country intensified, and the prices of foodstuffs and industrial goods rose. The entrepreneurs exploited the workers to an ever greater extent, lengthening the working day. Early in 1920 by a special law the Reichstag (Parliament) deprived the factory committees of many rights regarding the defence of workers' interests.

When the workers gathered near the Reichstag for a protest demonstration, the police opened fire on them killing forty-two people and wounding more than a hundred others.

The most reactionary circles of the bourgeoisie attempted to abolish even those small democratic achievements that were reflected in the Constitution. In 1919 a fascist party emerged in Germany and other counter-revolutionary organisations were set up which played an evil role in German and world history. In March 1920 the reactionary forces planned to stage a coup d'etat. The "voluntary corps" and the forces of the Reichswehr (the army) occupied Berlin on the night of March 12-13, dissolved the Social-Democratic government and placed in power a reactionary government headed by the big landowner Kapp. Even those curtailed achievements which the working class and the other democratic forces had attained during the November Revolution were jeopardised.

When they learned of the coup d'etat, the German workers unanimously rose in struggle against the reactionary conspirators. The Communists, workers from the Social-Democratic and other parties, and non-party people fought in a united front. Approximately 12 million factory and office workers took part in the general strike which began on March 13 and paralysed the country for a few days. Detachments of revolutionary forces were set up in a number of places. In the Ruhr province and other industrial regions armed struggle ensued. As a result of this resistance on the part of the workers, the counter-revolutionary putsch was done away with. The Kapp government fled from Berlin.

In the summer of 1920 the German workers launched a massive movement of solidarity with Soviet Russia in connection with Poland's attack on the latter. With the extremely active participation of the Communist Party the German proletariat opposed arms deliveries to the Polish aggressors. The German Communists operated among the dockers and sailors inciting them to refuse to load and transport materiel for the White Poles. The military trains from France to Poland carrying arms were held up by workers on the territory of Germany. The workers of Ludwigshafen, Mannheim, the port of Danzig, Berlin, Erfurt, Chemnitz, and Stuttgart joined in the effort. On the initiative of Ernst Thalmann a control post was set up on the Kiel Canal which did not allow vessels carrying arms to the interventionists to

pass. The German proletariat did thereby render important assistance to revolutionary Russia in its fight to neutralise the attack of the White Poles.

In the meantime the process of differentiation in the workers' organisations in Germany continued. Back in October 1919 at the Second Congress of the Communist Party where decisions condemning sectarian tactics were taken, some members of the party (the Hamburg group), who took a leftist, anarcho-syndicalist stand, left the party and founded the so-called Communist Workers' Party of Germany. In a number of his works Lenin revealed the mistakes made by the German "left" Communists and thereby greatly helped in developing the communist movement in Germany ideologically and organisationally.

Tbe process of differentiation affected the Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany as well. Most of the party was increasingly convinced of the need to renounce centrism and go over to communist positions. However, the leaders of the party, Arthur Crispien and Wilhelm Dittmann were opposed to their rapprochement with the Communist Party of Germany and the Comintern. The struggle between the left and right wings of the Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany achieved a critical point at the congress of the party in October 1920 at Halle. In spite of the opposition of the centrist leaders, two-thirds of those attending the congress supported the suggestion made by the left wing on joining the Comintern. After this, the right-wing independents left the congress and created their own party which subsequently joined the Social-Democratic Party.

The Halle Congress of the Independent Social-Democratic Party, of Germany eliminated the impediments to the revolutionary workers in Germany organising a united party. On December 4, 1920, in Berlin at the congress of unification of Communists and the majority of the Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany a decision was taken to create a United Communist Party of Germany, which would number 300,000 members. The founding of the United Communist Party of Germany was of great significance for the German and international workers' movement.

The United Communist Party actively set about guiding the mass workers' movement, but in a difficult situation. In the meanwhile the revival and some expansion of industrial

production, which began in 1920 with the help of foreign credits, continued in Germany. On this basis the German monopolistic bourgeoisie consolidated its economic and political dominion. At the same time, the condition of the working masses in Germany continued to deteriorate. The prices of consumer goods grew, taxes increased, and many workers found themselves jobless. Championing the interests of the working people the Communists worked for unity of action among all the detachments of the working class. An important merit of the Communist Party of Germany was the development of the tactics of a united workers' front. However, the party's weakness consisted in the fact that a strong Marxist-Leninist leading nucleus had not yet taken shape in it. In February 1921 a leftist grouping (Heinrich Brandler and August Thalheimer) had taken over the leadership of the party and this had serious negative consequences for the country's workers' and communist movement.

In the spring of 1921 the class struggle again exacerbated in Germany. Germany's reactionary forces decided to provoke the workers to premature action. On March 18, 1921, on the orders of the president of the Prussian police, the right-wing Social-Democrat Gersing, numerous detachments of police entered the enterprises in Central Germany, where there was strong communist influence, under the pretext of "struggling with criminal elements". This action greatly irritated the working class. On the appeal of the Communists the workers of Manfeld called a strike and demanded that the police should withdraw and workers' control be established over production. Soon the whole of Central Germany was affected by strikes which turned into armed conflicts with the police and the army. The campaign spread to Berlin, Hamburg, the Ruhr and other regions of the country. However, in the March battles the workers suffered defeat. Objective conditions for an armed uprising did not exist. The lack of unity among the working class, the betrayal by the right-wing Social-Democrats, the mistakes made by the "left" leaders of the Communist Party of Germany, who had advanced the "theory of offensive", aggravated the defeat of the working class. The lessons learnt from the March battles became the subject of heated discussions in the German and international communist movement.

In 1921, Germany began to pay reparations. This imme-

diately upset its financial situation. Germany hastened to request the countries of the Entente to postpone reparation payments and to grant it credits but these were refused. After that the government headed by one of the leaders of the Catholic Party, Karl Wirth, accelerated the normalisation of economic and political relations with Soviet Russia, thus hoping to improve his country's financial and economic position by means of German-Soviet trade. The outcome of this was the conclusion of the German-Soviet treaty at Rap allo in April 1922.

Germany's refusal to pay next installment on reparations resulted in occupation of the Ruhr basin and the Rhine province by France and Belgium on January 11, 1923. Consequently an extremely acute economic and political crisis ensued in Germany. The German government headed at the time by the leader of the People's Party, Wilhelm Cuno, announced the tactics of "passive resistance" and called upon the workers to refuse to extract and transport coal for the invaders of the Ruhr. This placed all the hardships of the occupation on the shoulders of the working class. Tens of thousands of workers found themselves jobless or on short time. The starving workers staged riots and the unemployed-strikes and demonstrations. In these circumstances the Communist Party of Germany headed the struggle against the German and French imperialists who were to blame for the disasters that beset the workers of Germany. It called upon the working masses to strengthen the united front of the working class, to struggle for a workers' government, to unite the forces of the German and French proletariat, to attain a revolutionary outcome to the crisis. However, the right-wing leaders of German social-democracy rejected the tactics proposed by the Communist Party and called for support for the Cuno government and its policy.

In the spring of 1923 the Communist Party launched a mass movement against the foreign military intervention, against the anti-national, reactionary policy of the Cuno government. The miners and metallurgists of the Ruhr province and Silesia, the Silesian farmhands, and Berlin metalworkers staged big strikes. Hundreds of thousands of workers showed their readiness to support the line taken by the Communists for a united front against reaction. In a number of places such organs of a united front came into being as

revolutionary production councils, proletarian hundreds, committees of control and committees of unemployed. The influence of Communists in the trade unions grew. On August 12-14, 1923, on the basis of the tactics of a united front a three-day general strike was staged which swept away the Cuno government.

In the autumn of 1923 a revolutionary situation arose in Germany. The new government (Gustav Stresemann) with the participation of right-wing Social-Democrats intensified the repressions against the working class. Martial law was introduced in the country. At the same time a decision was taken to end "the passive resistance". With the help of these measures the government hoped to prevent the revolutionary explosion. However, the popular masses did not wish to live in the old manner. Their condition continued to worsen. The atmosphere in the country became so tense that a revolutionary explosion was inevitable. In these conditions under pressure from the masses and many members of the Communist Party Brandler's leadership of the party was forced to begin preparations for an armed uprising. But in the face of gathering revolution Brandler and his supporters became caught up in the train of events and did not ensure the necessary preparations for an uprising.

In the meantime, under the pressure of the revolutionary movement of the masses conditions arose for overthrowing the bourgeois government. Early in October 1923 workers' governments representing a coalition of left-wing Social-Democrats and Communists were formed in Saxony and Thuringia. These governments could have intensified the revolutionary onslaught throughout Germany. They had the opportunity to arm the masses and wage a struggle against counter-revolution. However, the workers' governments of Saxony and Thuringia failed to use these opportunities. The left-wing Social-Democrats, who were members of them, hesitated, while the Communist members of the governments pursued a conciliatory policy in the wake of the Social-Democrats. At the end of October 1923 units of the Reichswehr drove the workers' governments out.

The height of the revolutionary crisis in Germany in 1923 was the armed uprising of the workers of Hamburg organised by the Communists with Ernst Thälmann at their head. The uprising began on October 22 and lasted for three days. Detachments of workers seized the police stations, disarmed

the police in a number of places, erected barricades, and waged armed battles with the army. But the uprising of the Hamburg workers was an isolated action. Brandler's leadership of the Communist Party failed to give them support, cancelling the previously adopted decision on insurrection. Seeing the complete isolation of the insurgents, Ernst Thalmann and other leaders of the uprising decided to end it.

Soon after this the fascist movement became more active in Germany. Back in January 1919, the fascists organised themselves into the National-Socialist Party, launched a campaign of social demagogy and chauvinist propaganda, demanding that the Versailles Treaty should no longer be honoured. They thereby strove to attract the masses at large to their side. In November 1923 at a fascist rally in one of the Munich beer-bars it was decided to make an attempt at a coup d'état. Announcing that the government of Germany had been overthrown, the Nazis proclaimed their leader Adolf Hitler dictator and intended to begin a "march" on Berlin. But this beer-bar putsch was rapidly and easily put down by the authorities. Thus a period of acute class battles came to an end in Germany. Owing mainly to the weakness of the subjective factor of revolution, the working class in Germany could not achieve success at that time in abolishing the bourgeois system and establishing its own power.

Germany in the period of capitalist stabilisation. Relative stabilisation of capitalism was achieved in Germany largely with the help of foreign, mainly American capital.

In 1924-1929 the USA, as well as some other imperialist powers, granted Germany 21,000 million marks in the form of credits, loans and capital investments. Using foreign capital, the German monopolists reorganised industry, including the war industry. Capital and production were concentrated and centralised apace. Such monopolistic associations as IG Farbenindustrie (a chemical concern), Stahltrust and others appeared in the country. In 1930 the number of big cartels was 2,100. The rehabilitation of the German economy was largely achieved by exploiting the working class and other strata of working people. Instead of an eight-hour day the workers did in fact have to work nine to twelve hours per day. They also lost some other social gains.

The right-wing bourgeois parties consolidated their po-

sitions in the political life of the country. The election in April 1925 of Field Marshal Paul von Hindenburg as President of the German Republic fortified the positions of the reactionary, militaristic circles. The country rapidly began to be remilitarised. The strength of the Reichswehr increased to 350,000 men, paramilitary unions emerged such as Stahlhelm, Werwolf, and others which had a membership of more than three million. The ruling circles in Germany worked up a programme for rearming the German army and building a navy. Revanchism and racialism were propagandised on an enormous scale.

The partial stabilisation of capitalism and some improvement in the material position of individual categories of workers helped to enliven the opportunist ideology of class cooperation. In 1925 the trade union reformists put forward the theory of "economic democracy". In accordance with this theory, supervising councils comprised of entrepreneurs and representatives of the reformist trade unions and factory committees were to exercise control over the operation of capitalist enterprises, promote the peaceful settlement of labour conflicts and prevent strikes. The reformist theories were reflected in the Heidelberg Programme of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany adopted in 1925. In this programme it was noted that the change over to socialism in Germany should occur not as the result of class struggle and revolution, but gradually by concentrating capital and production which would, as it were, lead by itself to the socialisation of private property. The propagation of opportunist theories distracted the workers from the class struggle and helped to consolidate the positions of big capital.

However, the bourgeoisie and its supporters could not completely prevent strike campaigns and other mass actions on the part of the workers. The workers struggled for the reintroduction of the eight-hour working day, for the improvement of working conditions, and to combat reaction and militarism. The metalworkers of Berlin and Leipzig, the railwaymen of South and Central Germany joined in the strike movement. In May 1924 a big strike of miners led by the Communists was staged. But in the second half of the 1920s the strike movement began to slow down. This allowed the ruling circles to intensify their onslaught against the interests of the working class. In 1927, a ten-hour working day was legalised.

In the years of partial stabilisation of capitalism the Communist Party of Germany waged an active struggle to unite the working class to repel the bourgeois offensive. At the same time the Bolshevisation of the party's ranks was under way. In April 1924 the right-wing opportunists Brandler and Thalheimer were removed from the leadership of the Communist Party. Then in October 1925 the left-wing opportunist group of Ruth Fischer, Adolf Maslow, and others who opposed the tactics of a united workers' front were removed from their leading posts. The Marxist-Leninists headed by Ernst Thälmann began to lead the party. Wilhelm Pieck, Fritz Heckert, and Walter Ulbricht were also elected to the leadership of the Communist Party.

The Communist Party of Germany applied tremendous efforts to win the masses over to its side. To prevent the fascist elements from frustrating workers' measures, in 1924 the Communist Party founded the Ro ter Frontkämpferbund (the Union of Red Front Fighters) with a membership of 100,000 workers. This was a revolutionary workers' self-defence organisation. It was organised on a military principle and performed the function of protecting workers' meetings and demonstrations. Most of its members were non-party workers. From February 1925 Ernst Thälmann was the chairman of the Union's headquarters.

The Communist Party of Germany took an active part in all the mass movements in those years. When in 1925 the Prussian government decided to pay compensation to the former princes for their property confiscated from them during the November Revolution, the Communist Party launched a campaign of protest, suggesting that the means obtained from confiscated property of the princes should be used to extend aid to the unemployed and the poor peasants. The Communists managed to insist on a referendum being held on this question and united with the Social-Democrats and trade union leaders. In the course of the referendum held on June 20, 1926, 14,500,000 people voted in favour of the Communist Party's proposal. Although it did not gain the majority, the Communist Party considerably increased its influence among the masses.

The Communist Party paid great attention to uniting all the anti-monopoly strata. In December 1926, on the initiative of the Communists a congress of working people was convened which was attended by representatives of the

working class, the most indigent peasantry, the unemployed, and the petty bourgeoisie. They were either affiliated to the Communists or to the Social-Democrats or were non-party people. The congress passed a resolution calling upon the workers to unite in the name of a successful struggle for their vital interests. Work among the trade unions held an important place in the activity of the Communist Party. It took a decision pledging that every Communist would become a member of the trade union, would carry on work there, and create party factions. But the reformist leaders expelled the Communists from the trade unions. This led to the formation of revolutionary trade union opposition which campaigned for the restoration of trade union unity.

As the revanchist trends in the country's right-wing circles gained strength the Communist Party of Germany became ever more active in its anti-military activity among the masses. In 1928 the Communists sponsored the mass movement of protest against the government's decision to build a battleship. The many-sided activity of the party boosted its influence in the masses. At the election to the Reichstag in May 1928 more than three million people voted for the Communist Party.

The growth of mass actions on the part of the working people and the increased influence of the Communist Party alarmed Germany's ruling circles who had set about intensifying repressions against the workers' movement. In 1929, the authorities ordered that troops should disperse the May Day demonstration of the workers in Berlin. As a result, 32 people were killed and 235 wounded. The angry workers responded with numerous strikes and barricade battles in the workers' district of Berlin, Wedding.

At the end of the 1920s the fascist organisations became considerably more active, encouraged by monopoly capital in Germany. With the help of social demagogy, the fascists rapidly extended their influence to the petty-bourgeois strata, and also to the backward part of the working class. Germany's big bourgeoisie increasingly tended to reject parliamentary methods of government and to hand power over to the fascists.

The establishment of the fascist dictatorship in Germany and the emergence of the main hotbed of the Second World War. The world economic crisis of 1929-1933 hit the Ger-

man economy particularly hard and profoundly. This may be explained first and foremost by its considerable dependence on foreign capital. In 1932 the level of industrial production in the country fell by 40 per cent compared with 1929. The following facts testify to the difficult situation of the workers: in 1932 there were eight million completely and partially unemployed in the country; the income of factory and office workers decreased by 42 per cent; hundreds of thousands of peasant households were ruined; thousands of artisans and traders also suffered the same lot.

The aggravation of the class contradictions ensuing from the crisis led to acute class conflicts: the strikes of workers, unrest on the part of the unemployed and those who had gone bankrupt in the middle strata. In the years of the crisis there were more than two thousand strikes in Germany. In October 1930 the Berlin metalworkers went on strike. The miners of the Ruhr called a strike in January 1931. Farm workers were also involved in the strike campaign. Broad strata of the German population demanded that the ruling circles should take measures to get out of the crisis and improve living conditions.

In the years of the crisis radical changes occurred in the alignment of the political forces in the country. The working masses were disappointed with the policy pursued by the ruling parties, bourgeois and reformist alike. Some of them rendered support to the Communist Party; but considerable strata of the population, especially the petty bourgeoisie, were under the influence of fascist demagogy. The new balance of the political forces was already observable during the election to the Reichstag in September 1930, where representatives of the National-Socialist (fascist) Party received the greatest increase in votes, 6,500,000 of the electorate voting for them, compared with 810,000 in 1928. The number of votes received by the Social-Democrats fell somewhat: from 9 million to 8,500,000. Almost 4,600,000 people voted for the Communists compared with 3,200,000 in 1928. The election results testified to the rapidly gathering danger of the fascists coming to power.

Realising that it was impossible for them to preserve their domination with the help of bourgeois democracy, the biggest financial magnates in Germany began to count on establishing a fascist dictatorship in the country. Such magnates of capital as Hugo Stinnes, Fritz Thyssen, the owners

of the coal mines in the Ruhr and many other monopoly groups granted the Nazi Party huge sums to launch its activity. The fascists reorganised their party, fortified the auxiliary organisations, the storm and guards detachments. Resorting to unprincipled social demagogy, taking advantage of the nationalistic prejudices of the masses who were dissatisfied with the rapacious Versailles Treaty, the fascists rapidly managed to boost their influence.

Seeing the gathering fascist threat, the Communist Party concentrated its main efforts on creating a united anti-fascist front. In August 1930, it published "The Programme of Social and National Emancipation of the German People", which contained proposals for a radical improvement in the life of the German people, set the task of achieving the nationalisation of big capitalist property, abolishing the landed estates and abrogating the Versailles Treaty. The programme envisaged the introduction of a seven-hour working day, wage increases, the handing over of the landed estates to the peasants, and the elimination of unemployment. The Communists called for the preservation of peace and the establishment of close friendship with the Soviet Union.

The Communist Party strove to draw the peasant masses into active struggle against fascism. In May 1931, it adopted "The Programme of Aid to the Peasants" at the root of which lay the demand for expropriation of the landed estates without compensation and the handing over of them to the working peasantry. This programme proposed that the taxes levied on the most indigent peasantry should be abolished, the taxes imposed on the middle peasants should be decreased, the peasants' debts should be cancelled and farm workers should be given employment. All these documents were imbued with the tremendous concern of the Communist Party about the fate of the country and its people. However, they were largely orientated towards socialist measures, whereas emphasis should have been laid on the need to defend democracy from fascism. Nevertheless, these documents provided the basis for the unity of the working class and of all the democratic forces.

But the right-wing leaders of the Social-Democratic Party and the trade unions continued to pursue a splitting policy in the workers' and democratic movement. Renouncing unity of action with the Communists, they advanced the opportunist theory of "the lesser evil" which was used at the

presidential election in March 1932. At the election the Social-Democrats stood in opposition to the fascist party's candidate (Hitler), and also to the Communist Party's candidate (Ernst Thälmann), supporting the candidature of the reactionary Field Marshal Hindenburg, who was elected president. After the election Hindenburg entrusted with the task of forming the government the reactionary, Franz von Papen, who cleared the way for the fascist party to take over power.

In the second half of 1932, the reactionary circles intensified their onslaught on the democratic and vital interests of the working people, preparing for a fascist coup d'état. On July 20, Papen dissolved the government in Prussia which was headed by the Social-Democrats. The workers were ready to respond with militant actions but the Social-Democrats feared to do this. At the same time, the Communist Party actively began to set up committees of an anti-fascist front. In the autumn of 1932 the workers protested against the extraordinary decrees of von Papen. In November 1932 a strike of municipal transport workers was staged in Berlin which assumed a political character. The influence of the fascist party began to decline and that of the Communist Party to grow. At the election to the Reichstag in November 1932, the Communists received approximately six million votes.

In these circumstances, the reactionary circles decided to speed up the establishment of the fascist dictatorship. On January 30, 1933, President Hindenburg of Germany appointed Hitler Reichskanzler (the head of government). Thus, a fascist terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary and chauvinistic sections of financial capital was established in Germany. Fascism could come to power in Germany primarily owing to the support rendered to it by German as well as foreign, in particular American, financial capital. The reason for the easy establishment of the fascist regime was also the weakness of the working class and the split in it, for which the Social-Democrats were largely to blame. The Communist Party was still not strong enough to attract to its side the majority of the working class and other anti-fascist forces to save democracy.

Immediately after the establishment of the fascist dictatorship the Communist Party appealed to all workers, the Social-Democratic Party and the trade unions to stage a gen-

eral strike and create a united front against fascism. However, this time, too, the reformists refused to act jointly with the Communists. This allowed the fascists to remain in power and fortify their dictatorship. For this purpose they resorted to provocations and mass terror against their political opponents. On the night of February 28, 1933, the fascists arranged for the Reichstag to be set on -fire, falsely blaming the Communists for this act. Simultaneously ten thousand people were arrested, among them the Bulgarian Communist Georgi Dimitrov who was in Germany at that time. A dirty trial was held for him and some German Communists in Leipzig in September 1933, which failed disgracefully, however, thanks to the courage, persistence and brilliant skill of Georgi Dimitrov. The court was compelled to acquit Georgi Dimitrov.

Soon the fascists officially banned the Communist Party, the Social-Democratic Party, the trade unions, and other workers' and democratic organisations. In a short period the number of anti-fascists in prison had reached sixty to seventy thousand. Among those arrested was the leader of the Communist Party of Germany Ernst Thalmann. The bourgeois parties dissolved themselves. On August 1, 1934, after the death of President Hindenburg, Hitler was announced the "life-long Reichskanzler and Führer". The whole of political life in the country was reorganised to suit the fascists. The workers were compulsorily united into the Deutsche Arbeitsfront (The German Labour Front). According to the law "On National Labour", the entrepreneurs had unlimited power over the workers. A law was passed for the peasants "On Inherited Farms" which consolidated the kulak stratum in the countryside. Labour conscription was introduced for young people. An apparatus of terror and violence was organised: the Gestapo (the secret police), the storm detachments (SA), the guards detachments (SS), the security service (SD). The whole country was turned into a military camp, a bridgehead and the main hotbed of world war.

The fascist dictatorship was established in the period when the height of the economic crisis had subsided somewhat. The economy began to revive helped by its switching to the war footing. The Nazis stimulated the growing over of monopoly capital into state-monopoly capital. They united all the industrial and financial companies, transport,

trade and artisans enterprises into sectoral and territorial groups, placing in charge of them "führers" from among the big capitalists.

Under the fascist regime the exploitation of the working people grew sharply. The working day was lengthened to 12-14 hours; the unemployed were sent to do forced low-paid labour. The policy of fascism in the countryside helped to cause the mass bankruptcy of the peasants (approximately one and a half million peasants were ruined within a period of six years). The huge burden of military spending was laid on the shoulders of the working people.

Once in power, the fascists even more increasingly propagandised chauvinism and racialism. According to their racialist theory, the Germans belonged to the highest, "Aryan" race, and the rest of the nations to lower races. The highest race, fascist propaganda affirmed, was called upon to rule over the whole of mankind and introduce a new order in the world. This new order was to be established by seizing and enslaving other lands and peoples. This is how the aggressive policy of German fascism was substantiated. In a short period the fascist government had placed the whole of the country on a military basis. In 1933-1939 military expenditure grew tenfold. Up-to-date factories were built to turn out tanks, combat aircraft, guns and so forth. A mass army began to be built up. In March 1935 conscription was introduced. All this was in violation of the articles of the Versailles Treaty. But the Western powers, seeing in Nazi Germany a rapidly strengthening potential foe of the Soviet Union, were not going to oppose the remilitarisation of Germany.

The German military strategists worked out a programme of the fight for German fascism's world domination. From the mid-1930s the Hitler government set about putting it into effect. Nazi Germany occupied the demilitarised zone on the Rhine in 1936, concluded the anti-Comintern pact with Japan and Italy (1936, 1937), joined in the intervention against the Republican Spain (1936-1939), seized Austria (1938), and the Czech lands (1939). It set itself the aim of establishing its rule over the whole of Europe and starting a military campaign eastwards, against the USSR. German fascism posed a serious threat to the whole of mankind.

In conditions of extremely cruel terror created in the country by fascism it was exceptionally difficult to combat

it. The strikes and trade union campaigns practically came to an end. The Social-Democrats almost completely gave up their activities. The Communist Party had been bled white by the extremely cruel repressions, but deep-going underground it continued to come out against the fascist dictatorship. In the mid-1930s, drawing on the decision of the Comintern, it worked out new tactics. At the party conference in Brussels in October 1935 the "Manifesto to the German Working People" was adopted in which the task of creating an anti-fascist popular front was advanced. The conference orientated the Communists towards work among the mass fascist organisations. Implementing the decisions of the conference, in exceptionally hard conditions the Communists circulated banned newspapers and leaflets, staged strikes, organised sabotage, and set up underground cells together with the Social-Democrats.

The Communist Party energetically exposed the aggressive predatory policy pursued by German fascism. At the party conference in Berne in January 1939 the Communists and all the German people were set the task of preventing Germany from unleashing a world war. A programme was worked out at the conference for forming a democratic German republic by overthrowing the fascist regime. After the conference a group of Communists was sent to Germany to organise the central leadership of the party underground. However, the German people did not manage to destroy the fascist dictatorship with their own forces. Nevertheless, the courageous struggle of the Communists and other anti-fascists against nazism was a heroic page in the country's history.

AUSTRIA

The defeats which Austria-Hungary suffered in the First World War caused the further exacerbation of class and national contradictions. The country's economy was in the state of decline. The broad working masses experienced poverty and need, and their dissatisfaction with Austria-Hungary's participation in the war grew. The peace programme advanced by the October Socialist Revolution found extremely active support among the working people. Rallies and demonstrations swept the entire country. On

November 11, 1917, tens of thousands of Viennese joined in the demonstration "A Day of Peace in Vienna". Class and national campaigns were launched as well as anti-war action. Soviets (councils) began to be set up in a number of places in the country. The workers staged militant strikes. In the course of the general political strike in January 1918, the workers demanded the immediate conclusion of peace. The mutiny of the sailors in the Bay of Kotor (February 1918) was also of an anti-war nature.

In the autumn of 1918, when Austria-Hungary and its allies had finally been defeated in the war, a revolutionary situation was taking shape in the country. In October 1918 uprisings flared up in a number of areas as a result of which the monarchy of Austria-Hungary disintegrated into the independent republics of Austria, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia. Part of Austria-Hungary's territory went to the neighbouring states of Romania and Poland. A larger part of the Yugoslavian lands of former Austria-Hungary were united with Serbia and Montenegro; thus, Yugoslavia emerged, which was called the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes until 1929.

At the demonstration in Vienna on October 30, 1918, the workers of Austria demanded that a republic should be proclaimed. This day is considered to be the beginning of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Austria. After the actions of the workers the first government of Austria was formed headed by the Social-Democrat Karl Renner. On November 11, the monarch of Austria-Hungary, Charles I, abdicated. On the next day the Provisional National Assembly, consisting of deputies of the former parliament elected from the Austrian länder proclaimed Austria a republic. In a number of towns the workers established their own control over production and supplies, began to form detachments of the Red Guard, and spontaneously were drawn into staging a socialist revolution. But the leaders of Austrian social-democracy, who had seized the leadership of the workers' movement, did not allow the bourgeois-democratic revolution to grow over into a socialist one.

Disappointed with the reformism of their leaders, the vanguard part of the working class, the left-wing Social-Democrats, decided to set up a new, really proletarian party. On November 3, 1918, a group of left-wing Social-

Democrats held a conference at which the founding of the Communist Party of Austria was proclaimed. The Austrian Communists began to publish their own newspaper *Weckruf* (The Appeal). A Union of Communist Proletarian Youth also came into being at the same time as the Communist Party. However, as a result of the severe persecution on the part of the authorities, the party had an extremely small membership and still did not have firm ties with the working masses. It was weak ideologically and organisationally. Nevertheless, the foundation of the Communist Party was of great significance for the further development of the workers' movement in Austria and the unification of all the revolutionary forces. At the First Congress of the Communist Party of Austria on February 9, 1919, a decision was taken to send a representative of the party to an international communist conference in Moscow and to join in the founding of the Comintern.

In the early post-war years Austria's economic situation was an extremely difficult one both as a result of the war and owing to the many years of domination of the monarchic regime. The Social-Democratic government could not manage to revive the economy. On June 10, 1920, the government resigned. On October 1, 1920, the Constituent Assembly adopted a Constitution under which Austria was proclaimed a democratic republic where a two-chamber parliament was elected, and democratic freedoms were introduced. At the election to parliament on October 17, 1920, the Christian-Social Party, the biggest party of the Austrian bourgeoisie, gained the majority.

The bourgeois government began to work to abolish the social gains of the workers and encourage the development of the fascist movement. With the help of the police it put down the big workers' strike in Vienna which began on December 1, 1921. Adherents of "unification" with Germany appeared among the members of the Christian-Social Party.

Austria got out of its post-war difficulties with the help of foreign loans, mainly British and American ones. However, in the period of capitalist stabilisation the social contradictions in Austria still remained extremely acute. The governments of the bourgeois parties pursued

a policy of capitalist "rationalisation", which had a serious effect upon the living standards of the workers (there were 200,000-300,000 unemployed).

The Social-Democratic Party which remained in opposition pursued a reformist, conciliatory policy. True, at that time in Vienna, where the Social-Democrats had a majority in the municipality, they promoted housing construction in an attempt to retain their influence among the workers, set up armed self-defence squads to combat the fascists (Szhutzbund), and demagogically proclaimed left-wing slogans and even introduced a point about the dictatorship of the proletariat into their party programme in 1926. But they made no attempt at all to organise a militant rebuff to the reactionary policy of the bourgeoisie. As far as the Communist Party was concerned, just as before it remained a small party and rent by internal strife as well. In 1924, Johann Koplenig was elected to the post of General Secretary of the Communist Party of Austria, and this accelerated the consolidation of the party ideologically and organisationally. The struggle within the party both against the "left-wing" sectarians and also against the right-wing opportunists, who were striving to subjugate the Communist Party to the reformist leaders of social-democracy, intensified. In 1927 the left-wing and right-wing factionalists were expelled from the ranks of the Communist Party.

By the time capitalist stabilisation ended in Austria the situation there had drastically deteriorated. Fascists were murdering workers' activists more and more frequently. In the little town of Schattendorf during a workers' demonstration the fascists killed two and wounded seven workers. News of this swept the whole of working Austria. When on July 14, 1927, the bourgeois court proclaimed the fascist killers not guilty spontaneous strikes began at enterprises in Vienna. On July 15, 100,000 workers staged an anti-fascist demonstration in the course of which there were armed clashes with the police. On the night of July 17 a general twenty-four-hour strike was announced. The striving of the workers to defeat reaction was extremely great but the leaders of the Social-Democratic Party called upon the workers to put an end to their effort.

Soon Austria was hit by an economic crisis during which

the output of a number of industries steeply declined and every third worker in the country found himself without a job. The fascist threat grew in Austria in the years of the crisis. Back in December 1929 the Constitution was revised as a result of which the powers of the president were extended and the rights of parliament curtailed. The fascist organisations, the Heimwehr (the pro-Italian fascists) and the Nazis (the pro-German fascists), began to strive for power. In March 1933 the Dollfuss government, drawing support from the bourgeois parties and the Heimwehr, dissolved parliament, abolished democratic freedoms and proclaimed an authoritarian system of government in Austria based on the example of Italian fascism. The self-defence squads were soon disbanded, the Communist Party was banned and a decree was issued on the foundation of concentration camps. Austria was approaching the regime of the fascist dictatorship.

The Communist Party came forward with a proposal for a general strike aimed at overthrowing the dictator Dollfuss. The working class was ready for any decisive action to combat fascism. On February 12, 1934, in the town of Linz, the members of the self-defence squads offered an armed rebuff to the police who were intending to confiscate arms and arrest the heads of the defence squads. Following this, the workers of Vienna and other towns in Austria rose in armed struggle. Up till February 18 bloody clashes between the workers and the army and the Heimwehr detachments continued. But the balance of forces weighed heavily on the side of reaction. Moreover, the workers did not have a military leadership. The right-wing leaders of social-democracy were not capable of organising the armed struggle of the workers. On suppressing the actions of the proletariat, reaction went over to bloody repressions. Thousands of workers were thrown into concentration camps. Eleven people were hanged. The armed battles of the Austrian proletariat were of great significance in the fight against fascism. As noted in the Comintern's statement the workers of Austria "set the first example of armed uprising against fascism in Europe".

After the February battles fascism in Austria continued its onslaught. In May 1934 a fascist Constitution was adopted which did in fact deprive the country's citizens

of their political rights. The activity of the trade unions and Social-Democratic Party was banned. The fascist dictatorship became firmly ensconced in Austria.

However, Hitler Germany was dissatisfied with the increasing influence of Italian fascism in Austria. Moreover, Dollfuss had banned the pro-German National-Socialist Party. In March 1934 Austria and Hungary signed protocols in accordance with which they decided to agree their foreign policy operations with Italy. In the face of these events Germany set about preparing a coup d'état in Austria and overthrowing Dollfuss. In July 1934 during the attempts at this coup d'état Dollfuss was fatally wounded. Kurt von Schuschnigg headed the government in his place.

Under pressure from Hitler Germany, Austria began to move away from Italy. In July 1936 a treaty was signed with Germany according to which Austrian foreign policy was subject to the control of Germany. At the same time the penetration of German capital into the Austrian economy was intensified. In February 1938 Germany tendered an ultimatum to Schuschnigg's government, demanding the setting free of the arrested National-Socialists and proposing a representative of the National-Socialists for the post of Minister of the Interior. Then, at Hitler's demand, Schuschnigg resigned. On March 11, 1938, German Nazi troops entered Austria. Austria's new chancellor Arthur Seiss-Inquart announced on March 13 that Austria had been annexed to Germany. Austria ceased to exist as an independent state, being the first victim of German aggression in Europe.

SWITZERLAND

Being a neutral country, during the First World War Switzerland carried on trade with the warring countries which was extremely profitable for the bourgeoisie. At the same time, as a result of the rising cost of living and the shortage of foodstuffs the material situation of the broad masses considerably deteriorated. At the end of 1918 the price of foodstuffs had doubled compared with 1914. Wages of civil servants had decreased, unemployment had appeared in those branches of the economy

which were not connected with deliveries to the warring countries. All this served as the basis for the mass dissatisfaction of the working people who, inspired by the October Socialist Revolution, heightened their campaign to improve their own situation. The end of 1917 and the beginning of 1918 were marked by strikes, demonstrations, and workers' rallies, and clashes with the police and the army. In the course of these semi-spontaneous actions the workers advanced both economic and political demands. Together with the international proletariat the Swiss working class expressed its solidarity with the revolutionary struggle which had started in Russia.

In the conditions of revolutionary upsurge the ideological and organisational weakness of the Swiss proletariat became evident. There was a strong reformist wing in the Social-Democratic Party of Switzerland which did everything it could to hinder the revolutionary struggle. At the same time, a considerable group of left-wingers emerged whose views and convictions had been influenced by the activity of Lenin during the years he spent in emigration in Switzerland. The growth of left-wing moods in the Social-Democratic Party was reflected in the foundation in the town of Olten in February 1918 of an action committee consisting of representatives of the party and trade unions. The Olten Committee demanded of the government price control, the introduction of an eight-hour working day and wage increases. Since the government refused to accept these demands, the Olten Committee held a general workers' congress at the end of July 1918 which threatened to call a general strike in the country and called upon the soldiers not to act against the strikers. Then, the authorities began an energetic anti-worker campaign and also expelled the mission of Soviet Russia from Switzerland, charging it with handing over money to the Olten Committee. The situation in the country drastically worsened. On November 9, 1918, on the appeal of the Olten Committee, the workers in the biggest centres in Switzerland held a general 24-hour strike. In Zurich troops and police attacked the striking workers killing and wounding several people. In the history of the workers' movement in Switzerland this strike was the biggest class action.

With the workers' movement on the rise the left-wing Social-Democrats spoke out in favour of uniting the party with the Communist International. This question was discussed at congresses of the Social-Democratic Party in August 1919 and in December 1920 and was also put to a referendum of all the party members. Owing to the efforts and machinations of the right-wingers and centrists the party rejected the proposal to become a member of the Comintern. In March 1921, the left-wing Social-Democrats and communist groups set up the Communist Party of Switzerland which became a member of the Comintern. The Communist Party was in the vanguard of the campaign to defend the interests of the working people and demanded that the government should normalise relations with Soviet Russia.

After the First World War Switzerland began to play a noticeable role in international relations. International organisations had long been operating on its territory: the International Committee of the Red Cross (since 1863), the Universal Postal Union (since 1874). In 1919 Switzerland became the seat of the League of Nations, the International Labour Organisation, the League of Red Cross Societies, and some others. Switzerland entered the League of Nations with some reservations. Taking into account its status as a neutral state, the Council of the League of Nations freed it of any possible participation in military sanctions against an aggressor. In the period between the wars several important international conferences were held in Switzerland.

However, with regard to the Soviet state the government of Switzerland pursued a hostile policy. It offered refuge • to Russian White emigrés, who were involved in active anti-Soviet operations together with international and Swiss reaction. On May 10, 1923, a White Guard assassinated the Soviet plenipotentiary Vatslav Vorovsky. Being well aware of the attempts of anti-Soviet elements in the country the Swiss government did not take any measures to ensure the security of Soviet diplomats, and after the murder it refused to recognise its own responsibility for this act. Moreover, Vorovsky's assassin was proclaimed not guilty by a Swiss court. As a mark of protest on June 20, 1923, the Soviet government announced a boycott of Switzerland, refusing in particular to attend

international conferences there. It was not until 1927 when the Swiss government satisfied the Soviet demands that the conflict came to an end.

In the second half of the 1920s a certain upswing in the economy was observed in Switzerland which was followed by the economic crisis of 1929-1933. In the years of the crisis 2,500 enterprises and banks went bankrupt. A seventy-thousand-strong army of unemployed emerged in the country. Thousands of peasants were ruined. To get out of the crisis, the government resorted to such measures as wage freezes and the devaluation of the franc. All this placed a heavy burden on the working people. The latter demanded the organisation of public works, wage rises and aid to the peasants, and so forth. In Basel, Zurich, and Geneva the workers staged strikes in support of their demands. These strikes were headed by the Communist Party of Switzerland. By mid-1936 the Communist Party had freed itself of opportunist elements and consolidated its unity.

The aggravation of the social contradictions was used by the fascist elements, followers of the German and Italian fascists, to intensify their propaganda. The Swiss government banned anti-fascist actions without hindering the activity of the fascists and their organisations. On November 9, 1932, the troops shot on a popular anti-fascist demonstration in Geneva. In the second half of the 1930s the anti-fascist movement gained in strength. The Communists and left-wing Social-Democrats agreed upon unity of action. In 1938, they gave a rebuff to the fascists who were trying to seize power in Zurich and Basel. Seven hundred members of the Communist Party of Switzerland fought against fascist reaction in Spain. In 1939, the Communist Party demanded that fascist organisations should be banned in the country and measures taken to defend the country against possible fascist aggression. However, just as before the authorities connived at fascist organisations and persecuted Communists. On November 27, 1940, the Communist Party of Switzerland was banned.

On the eve of the Second World War an upsurge began in Switzerland's economic development. Many enterprises in the country, especially those connected with the war industry, worked at a full load, fulfilling orders

for the fascist states. Switzerland was increasingly drawn into Germany's sphere of influence. It pursued an unfriendly policy with regard to the Soviet Union, especially in 1934 when it voted against the USSR being accepted as a member of the League of Nations. At the same time, Switzerland connived at the acts of fascist aggression in Europe, Africa, and Asia and refused to join in economic sanctions against the aggressor. Finally, in December 1939 Switzerland actively supported the policy of the British and French imperialists which was aimed at expelling the USSR from the Council of the League of Nations.

Chapter 6

The Countries of Northern Europe

DENMARK

As a result of the First World War the economic situation in Denmark deteriorated and the social contradictions were aggravated. While the bourgeoisie was growing rich on military speculation the workers were hit by wage cuts, tax rises, unemployment and housing shortages. Inspired by the victory of the October Revolution in Russia and the slogan "Peace for the Peoples, Factories for the Workers, and Land for the Peasants" proclaimed by the worker and peasant Soviet government, the working class in Denmark came out ever more resolutely against war, and in defence of its own vital interests. On February 11, 1918, a spontaneous movement of unemployed flared up which took the form of storming the labour exchange in Copenhagen. In a number of places demonstrations were held to protest against speculation and the rising cost of living. In the summer and autumn of 1918 strikes became ever more frequent. Among the demands advanced by the workers were those for the introduction of an eight-hour working day. The leaders of the Social-Democratic Party of Denmark came forward in these circumstances with a proposal for a reform. At a conference in November 1918, they adopted an appeal in which an 18-point demand was formulated. The workers introduced an eight-hour working day and managed to get wage rises (in 1920 wages were almost fourfold those in 1914).

As the mass workers' movement gained in vigour, the revolutionary and the reformist wing began to be demarcated within the movement. In the spring of 1918 the left wing of the Social-Democratic Party left the party and set up the Socialist Workers' Party of Denmark, which became a member of the Comintern in 1919. In October 1919 the left wing of the Young League of the Social-Democratic Party of Denmark united with the Socialist Workers' Party to form the Left Socialist Party of Denmark. In November 1920 the left Socialists approved the 21 conditions of membership of the Comintern and formed the Communist Party of Denmark. That was a vital outcome of the upswing in the workers' movement in the country in the early post-war years.

However, the Social-Democrats retained their dominant positions in the workers' movement doing everything they could to restrain the revolutionary enthusiasm of the workers. Moreover, the bourgeoisie, blowing up the so-called Schleswig-Holstein question, distracted the popular masses from revolutionary demands. The nationalistic circles in Denmark demanded that the entire territory of Schleswig (seized by Germany in 1864) should be annexed to Denmark, although the population in the southern part of it was predominantly German. In the spring of 1920 the king of Denmark Christian X exceeding his powers compelled the Danish government to resign at the demand of the nationalists, since it did not wish to annex the southern part of Schleswig to Denmark. This act came to be known as "the Easter coup d'etat". The workers came out with demands for a general strike against the king's illegal action. Although the leaders of the Social-Democratic Party and the trade unions did not decide to resort to such a method, the king and the nationalists had to step down. The date was set for the election to the Rigsdag (parliament) for April 26, 1920. At these elections the Venstre Party of the agrarian bourgeoisie obtained the majority. Its leader Niels Neergaard formed a new government.

The government of the Venstre Party acted in the interests of "free enterprise", made an onslaught on the gains of the working class, primarily on the eight-hour working day; wages were cut. In 1922 an economic crisis was observed in Denmark. The Venstre Party was incapable

of pulling the country out of it. In 1924 it handed over power to the bloc of Social-Democrats and Radicals.

In April 1924 the first Social-Democratic government in history was formed in Denmark headed by Thorwald Stauning. Within the country it took measures to help finances to recover, to overcome the economic crisis, primarily at the expense of the workers. In its foreign policy a positive phenomenon was Denmark's recognition of the Soviet state in June 1924.

In conditions of capitalist stabilisation an acute conflict flared up between the entrepreneurs and the workers in Denmark. In connection with the fact that in the autumn of 1924 the entrepreneurs carried out a massive revision of the collective agreements, seeking greater benefits for themselves by worsening the condition of the workers, the angry workers began a general strike on March 18, 1925. In response the entrepreneurs announced a general lock-out on April 21. As a result of the perfidious course taken by the right-wing leaders of the Social-Democratic Party and the reformist upper crust of the trade unions, on June 5, after two months of unequal struggle, the workers were forced to agree to compromises which were extremely unfavourable for them. In the course of the struggle the right Social-Democrats proved unwilling to defend the interests of the workers. At the election to Rigsdag in December 1926 the Social-Democrats suffered defeat.

The government was headed by representatives of the Venstre Party, Madsen and Mygdal, who pursued a policy corresponding to the interests of the agrarians. An offensive on the economic and political rights of the workers was launched. In 1929 an anti-worker law was passed in Denmark under which prison sentences were meted out for participation in strikes. Venstre's policy called forth dissatisfaction not only among the workers but among the industrial bourgeoisie. In 1929, at the next election, Venstre suffered defeat. After this the bloc of Social-Democrats and Radicals (the Stauning-Munch government) was in power for ten years.

At the end of 1931 Denmark was affected by the world economic crisis which hit shipbuilding, the textile, cement and other industries. There was mass unemployment (200,000 people) in the country. The situation in agricul-

ture worsened. In the face of the mounting class struggle, in 1933 the government passed a temporary law banning strikes and lock-outs. This evoked dissatisfaction among the industrial bourgeoisie which was about to announce a lock-out to lower wages. The bloc of Social-Democrats and Radicals split up. Then, in January 1933, the Social-Democrats agreed to compromise with the Venstre Party, which gave great economic advantages to the agrarian bourgeoisie and worked out a joint economic and social policy which was pursued until the beginning of the Second World War. In May 1933, the Social-Democrats introduced some social reforms, in particular on social security, which were upheld by the agrarians.

After the fascists had come to power in Germany a fascist movement began to gather strength in Denmark as well. In Schleswig the German Nazi Party demanded the secession of this area from Denmark. In other parts of the country the fascist movement involved part of the kulaks and the conservative young people. In the face of the fascist threat, the Communist Party of Denmark came out in favour of unity with the Social-Democrats, to support them in the 1936 elections. The elections brought the Social-Democrats and Radicals an impressive victory. The commission to revise the Constitution began working for the purpose of extending suffrage and establishing a single-chamber parliament (i.e. eliminating the reactionary upper chamber). But the revision of the Constitution never took place. The referendum held in May 1939 did not provide the number of votes needed to implement this measure.

On the eve of the war German and internal fascism exerted increasing pressure on Denmark's home and foreign policy. The Stauning government agreed to make concessions to the fascists, especially in the sphere of foreign relations. So, Denmark voted against the condemnation of Germany by the League of Nations for its unrestrained rearmament, did not take part in the sanctions against it and opposed the foundation of a Scandinavian defensive alliance. In May 1939, a non-aggression pact was signed by Denmark and Germany. But this short-sighted policy did not save Denmark from Hitler's aggression.

NORWAY

On the eve of the First World War Norway was an agrarian country with predominantly small farms, a developed forestry and fishing. The main branch of agriculture was dairy cattle breeding. In industry progress was made in railway transport, wood-working, mining, chemical production and the paper and textile industries.

During the First World War Norway remained neutral. This situation was extremely advantageous to the Norwegian bourgeoisie who made profits from trade with both the warring groupings. Capitalist development accelerated, the big bourgeoisie* swelled, and an industrial working class finally took shape. Industrial development led to the emergence of new industries such as the electrochemical, electrometallurgical, and other branches. Monopoly capital gathered strength in the country and new banks and savings banks were set up. Before the war Norway had a foreign debt of 1,000 million kroner (1913). After the war (1919) it had already become a creditor with 1,310 million kroner owed to it. However, Norway was not free of foreign influence. True, the positions of German capital in the country had been shaken but the positions of British capital remained firm just as before. Concomitant with this American capital began to penetrate into Norway's economy.

In the Norwegian countryside the kulaks gained an ever firmer foothold, concentrating in their hands 63 per cent of the arable land. The marketing of agricultural produce came under the control of the kulaks. All this testified to the growth of capitalism in agriculture as well.

The huge profits obtained by the Norwegian bourgeoisie allowed them to allot part of the means to bribe the upper crust of the working class. The wages of some of the highly qualified workers were raised. However, on the whole the condition of the working masses at large remained a difficult one. The growth in the cost of necessities evoked particular irritation among the people. The unskilled workers, petty office workers, and the semi-proletarian strata in the towns and villages were the first to be affected by the rise in food prices. Proceeding from this, a campaign of protest against rising prices began in Norway in 1916-1917. In May 1917, the Norwegian trade unions demanded

that the government take measures to combat rising prices. In support of this demand the proletariat of Norway staged the first general strike in the country's history on June 6, 1917.

Owing to the aggravation of the class contradictions the Workers' Party of Norway which had come into being in 1887 also became more active. Many trade union organisations in Norway which had a membership of 94,000 in 1917, were collective members of this party. During the war the ideological struggle in the Workers' Party became more acute. The right-wing opportunists (Sverre Iversen and others), who headed the party, pursued a reformist policy. The left wing (Kyrre Grepp, Egede Nissen) opposed them, actively campaigning against the imperialist war. There was also a centrist group in the party headed by the leader of the trade union opposition Martin Tranmel.

The Great October Socialist Revolution caused radical changes to be made in the workers' movement in Norway. Under its impact it entered a period of upswing. At the end of 1917 the veteran of the Norwegian workers' movement Egede Nissen visited Soviet Russia. He met with Lenin and other leaders of the Soviet Republic. "I saw," Nissen wrote subsequently, "how the Russian comrades worked both day and night. I spoke with Lenin and I can definitely tell you that the great creation of the revolution will never fail. It will grow and become stronger."

The Great October Socialist Revolution drew the attention of a considerable part of the Norwegian proletariat, the fishermen, and petty peasantry, who actively opposed the imperialist intervention against Soviet Russia and the White terror in Finland. Taking the example of the workers in Russia, in 1918 the Norwegian working people began to create their own councils (Soviets) of workers' and soldiers' deputies (in Oslo, Stavanger, and elsewhere) which waged a campaign for an eight-hour working day, to combat the rising cost of living, and to establish trade relations with the Soviet Republic. The emergence of the councils (Soviets) testified to the growth of the ideological and political level of the Norwegian workers' movement. However, the absence of a Marxist leadership caused the councils to be weak. They were headed by both left-wing Social-Democrats and anarcho-

syndicalist elements. The right-wing leaders of the Norwegian Workers' Party were hostile to the councils (Soviets) and put considerable effort into eliminating them.

The height of the revolutionary upsurge in Norway had been reached by 1918. Mass meetings were held in big towns and militant strikes were staged at the factories and plants. The workers tried to attain an eight-hour working day. Essentially a revolutionary situation took shape in the country. However, the movement of the popular masses remained without a leading force. The reformist leaders of the trade unions appealed to the masses not to allow extreme revolutionary actions, and frightened the people with the possible threat of intervention by the imperialists of the Entente. As a result, the masses became disorganised and the bourgeoisie had the opportunity to gather its forces and crush the revolutionary actions.

The upsurge in the revolutionary movement promoted the left-wing trend in the workers' movement. At the Congress of the Workers' Party from March 29 through April 1, 1918, the reformists suffered defeat. The congress expressed its solidarity with the October Socialist Revolution. The left-wing elements headed by Kyrre Grepp were elected to the leadership of the party. But the centrists and syndicalists were among the leaders as well. Therefore, the differences persisted in the party. By mid-1919 the Workers' Party had grown to 100,000 members. At the congress of the party on July 7-9, 1919, a decision was taken on joining the Communist International. The congress spoke in favour of socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, and councils (Soviets) of workers', peasants' and soldiers' deputies.

On July 21, 1919, the Workers' Party staged a one-day general strike in support of Soviet Russia and Soviet Hungary. Many strikes to protest foreign intervention against Russia took place in 1920. As a result of the upsurge in the mass workers' movement, the working people of Norway got a law passed on an eight-hour working day and gained other economic concessions from the bourgeoisie.

In 1920-1922 the country was in the grip of an economic crisis which was of a serious nature owing to Norway's dependence on foreign capital. The Knudsen government (1915-1920) did not restrict imports of foreign

goods after the war. The influx of these goods caused inflation and led to a decline in the exchange rate of the Norwegian krone. At the same time as the credit and monetary system was upset the crisis was manifest in industry and agriculture, causing approximately 57,000 workers to be jobless. The middle and petty peasantry and also the workers were forced to incur debts. The deterioration in the working people's condition caused the class struggle to flare up even further. The number of strikers increased from 25,000 in 1919 to 154,400 in 1921. On December 1, 1920, a strike flared up on almost all the railways in the country; everywhere the strikers demanded that living and working conditions should be improved.

The entrepreneurs took advantage of the new economic situation ensuing from the economic crisis to make an onslaught on the gains of the working class. They began to cut wages, and use lock-outs against strikes. For instance, the entrepreneurs responded with a lock-out to the extremely big strike which flared up in the summer of 1921. Owing to the unfavourable situation the strike campaign began to wane. Reaction revived in the sphere of politics. The conservative government of Halvorsen which had come to power in July 1920 pursued a blatantly anti-worker policy.

In 1920, the Liberal Party Venstre split up. Some of its members, who represented the interests of the big landowners and kulaks, founded the peasant party Bunne-parti. A rapprochement occurred between the peasant and the conservative (H0yre) party.

The struggle between the left wing, the centrists and the right wing was becoming increasingly acute in the Workers' Party at this time. The right-wing members refused to recognise the 21 conditions of membership of the Comintern. In 1920 they left the party and soon formed the Social-Democratic Party. At the Congress of the Norwegian Workers' Party in 1921 most of its delegates supported Grepp, approving the conditions of membership of the Comintern but refusing to rename the party a communist one. The question of collective membership in the party gave rise to disputes at the congress, and most of the delegates voted in favour of retaining it.

After the death of Kyrre Grepp in January 1922, the leadership of the party was taken over by centrist elements headed by Martin Tranmel. His supporters under the guise of left-wing slogans and statements of loyalty to the ideas of the Comintern, did in fact reject the principle of democratic centralism, protesting against the tactics of a united workers' front, against the slogan of a worker and peasant government. They refused to implement the decisions and recommendations of the Comintern, and in 1923 at an extraordinary congress of the party put through a resolution on the party's withdrawal from the Comintern. Then, the minority of the Workers' Party who were true to Marxist-Leninist principles, founded the Communist Party of Norway which had a membership of 15,000. Ideologically and organisationally the Communist Party was still weak, part of its members suffered from the "left-wing disorder of sectarianism", refusing to join in the parliamentary struggle, and opposing the unity of action of the working class. The centrist policy pursued by the leadership of the Workers' Party was a great impediment to the growth of the communist movement. Thus, in leaving the Comintern, the leaders of the Workers' Party made out that the party recognised the principles of the Comintern. This method caused a confusion in the ranks of part of the revolutionary-inclined workers who remained in the Workers' Party and did not become members of the Communist Party.

The split in the workers' movement in Norway, the existence of three parties (the Communist, the Workers', and the Social-Democratic Party) undermined the class struggle of the Norwegian proletariat. From 1923 the entrepreneurs began to stage mass lock-outs for the purpose of cutting wages. Nevertheless, thousands of workers joined in the dogged strike campaign. The seven-month-long strike by the metalworkers which began at the end of October 1924 was a particularly big one. The entrepreneurs directed a strong blow at the trade unions of the metalworkers and unskilled workers of the heavy industry where revolutionary moods were considerable. In organising lock-outs, the bourgeoisie placed orders, for example, in the field of shipbuilding, with foreign firms in order to crush the left-wing trade unions by doing so. The workers were unsuccessful in the strikes

of 1923-1924. The reasons for this were the rift in the workers' movement, the lack of unity of action, the reformist tactics of the workers' leaders, and the absence of an alliance between the working class and the peasantry.

In 1924-1929, capitalist stabilisation set in Norway. With the aid of capitalist "rationalisation", increased labour intensification and also with the support of foreign credits, above all those extended by Britain and the USA, some expansion of output was achieved in the chemical, wood-working and electrical industries.

However, the stabilisation of capitalism in Norway was of an unstable nature. The metalworking, engineering, and shipbuilding industries, in which foreign capital had no interest, fell into decline. The chronic crisis in agriculture and fishing testified to the unstable nature of stabilisation. In connection with the continuing concentration of land in the hands of the kulaks, for instance, the impoverishment of the most indigent peasantry grew at a rapid pace. In 1929, 166,000 poor households with up to two hectares of land comprised 56 per cent of all the peasant farms and possessed only 11 per cent of the land, while 21,000 kulak farms comprising only seven per cent of all the farms, possessed 48 per cent of the land. The pauperisation of the most indigent peasantry exacerbated the agrarian crisis in Norway and made the country's economy extremely sensitive to the vicissitudes in the market.

In the period of partial stabilisation the Norwegian bourgeoisie continued to use lock-outs extensively and introduced exceptional laws and compulsory arbitration. The .condition of the working masses was increasingly grave. The workers' wages were cut by 30-40 per cent, and at times unemployment affected more than a quarter of all the organised workers. Consequently, the class struggle in the country again became ever more acute. Moods in favour of unity of action in the working class gained strength. At the congress of trade unions in 1925 a resolution appealing for them to join the Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Committee was unanimously approved. At this time the Communist Party had outlined a series of measures to establish unity of action on the spot, and also supported the idea of setting up a United Workers'

Party, while retaining the political and organisational independence of the Communists. This was an attempt to form a united workers' front embracing the trade unions and all the mass political organisations of the working class.

However, the reformists did all they could to hinder the establishment of a united workers' movement on a revolutionary basis. Most of the Norwegian proletariat continued to give support to the leaders of the Workers' Party and trade unions who occupied reformist or centrist positions. The split in the workers' movement allowed the bourgeoisie to pursue their policy of stabilisation freely at the expense of the working class. Ivar Lykke's conservative government (1926-1928) came out with anti-worker projects, managed to get a law passed on prison sentences for instigating to strike, and also a law defending strikebreakers.

The leaders of the Workers' and Socialist parties who opposed unity of action with the Communists began negotiations in the beginning of spring 1926 on the merging of their parties on a reformist basis. The congress of unification held in January 1927 led to the merging of the Social-Democratic and the Workers' Party into a United Workers' Party. The unification of the Workers' and Social-Democratic parties occurred on condition that the Social-Democrats should give up membership of the Socialist International but the Norwegian trade unions should join the Amsterdam International. The association of the right Social-Democrats with the centrists and Tranmelists (named after Martin Tranmel, one of the centrist leaders in the Workers' Party) allowed the United Workers' Party to come out with a common platform at the parliamentary elections in the autumn of 1927 and have 59 deputies out of 150 elected to the Storting. In January 1928 the first "workers' government" under Christopher Homsrud was formed in Norway which was in power for only about three weeks.

In the period when the congress of unification of the Social-Democratic and the Workers' Party was convened some Communists came out with liquidationist proposals. They believed it possible to become members of the Workers' Party at the expense of dissolving the Communist Party. In 1928 the right-wing opportunists

were expelled from the party. But the leadership of the Communist Party was in the hands of left-wing sectarian elements. At the Third Congress of the Communist Party in February 1929 the left-wing opportunists managed to get a resolution adopted aimed at opposing any kind of alliances or agreements with the Workers' Party. These tactics led to the Communist Party splitting away from the workers' masses.

The leaders of the Workers' Party did not attempt to campaign for the demands of the workers regarding wage rises, therefore they left the government for the opposition. In 1928-1931, the government of Norway was headed by the Liberal Party Venstre. The head of government was the big shipowner Johan Ludwig Mowinckel.

In the autumn of 1930 an economic crisis began in Norway. The volume of industrial output in 1932 fell by 38 per cent. Foreign trade decreased by 37-40 per cent. Vessels with a total cargo capacity of 1,400,000 tonne were laid up. Forty-seven large banks went bankrupt. The crisis affected agriculture, forestry, and fishing. The number of unemployed reached 200,000. In the years of the crisis the workers' wages fell by 20 per cent. Incomes in agriculture declined by a factor of 2 to 3.

During the crisis the bourgeoisie launched an offensive on the economic and democratic rights of the working class. Drawing support from the reactionary organisations and reformists, the bourgeoisie decided to cut wages by 10-20 per cent. For this purpose, it announced a general lock-out in March 1931 which lasted till September. Eighty-six thousand workers found themselves without job. Coming into contact with the leaders of the Workers' Party and the trade unions, the Communist Party suggested appealing to the working class to rise in defence of their class brothers. But the reformists resolutely opposed this suggestion. Nevertheless, in a number of places armed clashes did in fact occur between the workers and the police. In Menstad the struggle took on an especially severe character. But the bourgeoisie took advantage of the split in the workers' movement and lowered the wages of many workers by 8 per cent.

In the years of the crisis conditions were created for a drawing closer together of the working class and the peasantry. The peasants supported the workers' slogan

"Bread and Work". In this situation, the ruling circles in Norway agreed to create (in the summer of 1931) a government of representatives of the Peasant Party (Bunneparti). The point of this consisted in the striving to hinder the setting up of a workers' and peasants' front. The Kolstad-Hundseid Cabinet (1931-1933) opposed the workers' movement. It announced that the strike movement must come to an end if the economic situation in the country was to be stabilised.

In the period of economic crisis in Norway the fascist and semi-fascist organisations which had come into being at the end of the 1920s began to revive. Such organisations as Samfunnsvemet, Norske Lottaer, and Leidangj had an undisguised militarised nature. In 1931, a fascist party appeared in Norway headed by Vidkun Quisling. This party preached hostility to the Soviet Union and the communist movement, and came out with aggressive plans under the false slogan of Northern popular renaissance. In 1931-1933 Quisling, the leader of the party, held the post of War Minister and used troops to suppress the workers' movement.

The Kolstad-Hundseid Cabinet attempted to distract the popular masses from the class struggle by military adventure. In 1931-1932, Quisling made an attempt to occupy East Greenland which belonged to Denmark. Like the German fascists, Quisling put forward the idea of expanding "living space", promising to furnish the Norwegians with new regions for fishing and hunting. However, Quisling's undertaking ended in failure. An international court compelled Norway to return the captured territories to Denmark and pay that country compensation.

The policy of the Kolstad-Hundseid Cabinet within the country and in the international arena had been compromised in the eyes of the broad popular masses. At the same time the positions of the fascist movement had been undermined. The strong democratic traditions of the Norwegian people, the effort of the working class and the Communist Party to combat fascism impeded its further growth.

On October 16, 1933, the regular parliamentary elections took place in Norway which brought considerable success to the candidates of the Workers' Party who re-

ceived 500,000 votes. This victory was explained both by the disappointment of the masses with the policy of the bourgeois parties in the period of crisis as well as by the programme of the Workers' Party supported by the broad strata of the working people (allocation of 55 million kroner to combat unemployment, a cut in the debts of the peasants, reduction of the working day to six or seven hours, and so on). In the course of the elections the Communist Party was not able to counter the programme of the Norwegian Workers' Party with its concrete platform, to explain to the masses that the leadership of the Norwegian Workers' Party was not capable of putting into effect the positive demands in the programme. The Communist Party did not mobilise the masses to campaign for these demands to be implemented and was unsuccessful at the elections.

After the elections the leaders of the Workers' Party preferred to remain in the opposition just as before. The leaders of the party did not wish to form a government for they could not fulfil their own pre-election promises. Therefore, the government was formed by a representative of the Venstre Party Johan Ludwig Mowinckel. This government was in power in 1933-1935.

At the end of the economic crisis the struggle between right-wing and left-wing tendencies in the workers' movement in Norway became ever more acute. At the congress of the Workers' Party in 1933 the right-wing circles managed to get a new programme adopted and rejected the old programme with a series of revolutionary demands. The socialist slogans were replaced by typically reformist ones: the introduction of "organised capitalism", and a corporate system. The congress forbade party members to have contacts with the Communists and even to join such organisations as the Society of the Friends of the Soviet Union, and the International Workers' Relief.

The right-wing opportunists tried to subjugate the Communist Party to their influence as well. They strove to turn the party into an appendage of the Workers' Party, but the Marxist elements in the party resolutely opposed the right-wing members. In February 1934 the conference of the Communist Party was held which laid the foundation for the extensive discussion on the key problems in party work. The leadership of the party was re-

newed, and Adam Egede Nissen became its president. The Communist Party set about overcoming its mistakes and omissions.

In the first half of 1935 Norway began to pull itself out of the economic crisis. The improved state of the world economy, the arms race, the demand for pulp, non-ferrous metals, chemical products and the increase in international cargo transportation breathed new life into the Norwegian economy. However, in some industries, agriculture and fishing the slump continued just as before.

As the economy was in a better state, the Workers' Party decided to head the government. In March 1935, the representative of the Workers' Party Johan Nygaardsvold formed a government. An agreement was reached between the Workers' and the Peasant Party on economic measures to erase the results of the crisis. The "workers' government" raised the prices of agricultural produce, thereby assisting the kulaks. The government subsidies were given to the entrepreneurs. The policy of the "workers' government" did not alleviate the condition of the broad working masses. Although the government had also organised social work, unemployment had diminished extremely slowly. The "workers' government" could not offer a rebuff to Quisling's fascist party. The fascists set up their own militant squads, the Hirdener.

The Communist Party tried to get the policy of the "workers' government" changed and create a united front against fascism and the bourgeois parties. The Fifth Congress of the Communist Party (April 9-12, 1936) was held under the sign of a campaign for a united front. The congress elected E. Lovlien General Secretary of the party. Proceeding from the resolutions of the 7th Comintern Congress, the congress sent a letter to the Workers' Party containing a proposal to begin negotiations on the organisational unity of both parties and spoke out in favour of united action with the Workers' Party at the next parliamentary elections. The striving to create a united mass political party of the proletariat evoked great sympathy in the ranks of the Norwegian proletariat. The leaders of the Workers' Party were forced to agree to negotiations with the Communists on the organisational unity of both parties. These negotiations started on July 8, 1937, but

were soon ended by representatives of the Workers' Party. By that time the right-wing Social-Democrats had taken over the party's leadership, who insisted on its becoming a member of the Socialist International and were opposed to any kind of agreement with the Communists. The membership of the Norwegian Workers' Party in the Socialist International meant its ultimate slipping down into social-reformism. The party's programme was also altered in the spirit of reformism in 1939.

At the end of 1937 signs of a new economic crisis became evident in Norway. The number of unemployed swelled again, reaching 80,000. The workers vindicated their own standard of living in a dogged strike campaign. In 1937 the transport, forestry, and farm workers staged big strikes. As a rule, these strikes were "wild-cat" strikes, i. e. organised against the wishes of the trade union leaders. The government and the entrepreneurs tried to put down the workers' strike actions.

In this period Norway's international situation deteriorated. The threat of German fascist aggression hung over the country. Copying the foreign policy of Great Britain, the "workers' government" pursued the so-called "policy of non-interference". It rejected the idea put forward by the Soviet government on organising a collective rebuff to the aggressor. Like the other Scandinavian countries, Norway refused to employ economic sanctions against the aggressor. This testified to their conniving at the aggressor. In April 1938 a conference of representatives of Scandinavian countries was held in Oslo at which the policy of non-participation in all the actions committed in Europe against the fascist states was approved. Agreeing to this policy, the ruling circles of Norway hoped that their country would manage to remain on the side-lines of the military operations and that it could take advantage of its position for profitable economic contacts. This was a short-sighted policy of imaginary neutrality.

The Norwegian Communists waged an energetic campaign to combat the threat of a Second World War. They put forward a proposal to set up a broad anti-fascist front in the Scandinavian countries. They actively spoke out in defence of Spain, exposed the foreign policy of the "workers' government", and revealed the threat that it posed to the country's independence. In 1937-1938 they

proposed setting up a defensive alliance of the Scandinavian countries (Norway, Sweden, and Denmark) to repel the fascist aggressor. But the reformist leaders of the Workers' Party rejected their proposal. On the eve of the Second World War Norway found itself disarmed and unprepared to repulse German fascist aggression, for which its ruling circles were to blame.

On the very eve of the Second World War Norway's economic situation improved. This was the direct outcome of the military measures in Europe. The "workers' government" drawing support from the improved economic situation attempted to justify their home and foreign policy. However, the broad popular masses increasingly expressed their dissatisfaction with the government's policy. In this connection, in the summer of 1939 a change was introduced into the Constitution which postponed the elections to the Storting for a year. The ruling circles were afraid to hold the next elections in the face of the growing discontent of the masses. Subsequent events showed that the ruling circles of Norway were directly responsible for their short-sighted policy facilitating the German fascist occupation of the country.

SWEDEN

During the First World War Sweden retained its neutrality. This allowed the entrepreneurs to provide themselves with big superprofits. During the war itself the steel-smelting, engineering, ship-building, and metal-working industries were boosted considerably. Branches of the light industry, especially the sugar and cotton industries also grew. Cattle breeding and tobacco production developed intensively in agriculture. The big forest massifs in Sweden favoured the development of the timber industry. When the war ended, Sweden became a relatively highly developed industrial-agrarian country. Thirty-five per cent of the able-bodied population were employed in industry. In 1920, the working class numbered approximately 462,000 (out of a population of six million). In agriculture the able-bodied population numbered 44 per cent, and in trade 15.2 per cent, and others amounted to 5.8 per cent.

A small share of the superprofits obtained by the Swedish big bourgeoisie during the war also went to the top stratum of the workers. At that time the bulk of the working people was adversely affected by the rising cost of living and the food shortages. According to official data, the cost of living had risen by 66 per cent in 1917 compared with 1914. The growth of the class contradictions intensified the delimitation in the workers' movement. The reformist leaders of the Social-Democratic Party and the Association of Trade Unions of Sweden pursued a policy of civil peace, and attempted to stop left-wing moods from growing. In spite of this, the left wing in the social-democratic movement gained in strength and flourished. From April 1917 spontaneous demonstrations began in Sweden in the course of which crowds of hungry people raided the bakeries. Riots also took place among the conscripts. The government hastened to lower food prices.

The mass workers' movement upset the policy of civil peace and accelerated the split in the Social-Democratic Party. At the congress in February 1917 the right-wing members were able to gain a majority and tendered the left-wing members an ultimatum demanding their unconditional subordination to the reformist leadership. The left-wing members refused to accept the ultimatum and decided to convene their own party congress.

Through the Bolshevik representative Alexandra Kollontai who was in Sweden, Lenin tried to help the left Social-Democrats to organise themselves into a party of a new type. In a letter to Alexandra Kollontai in March 1917 he wrote: "We must (all of us, the Left in Sweden and those who can get in touch with them) unite, bend every effort, help—for the moment in the life of the Swedish party, the Swedish *and Scandinavian* labour movement is a *decisive* one".[1] In April 1917, Lenin in transit to Russia stopped off in Sweden for a short time and had meetings with the left Social-Democrats.

The Founding Congress of the Left Social-Democratic Party of Sweden was held on May 13-16, 1917. The outcome of it was the organisation of the left wing of social-

[1] V. I. Lenin, "To Alexandra Kollontai", *Collected Works*, Vol. 35, Moscow, 1976,p. 291.

democracy into an independent party. The Communist Party takes its beginnings from this Congress. In the new party, however, there was a considerable stratum of centrist and pacifist elements, which was substantially reflected in the party programme, policy and tactics. The main part of the programme and the rules of the party were compiled by the adversary of Marxism, Carl Lindhagen, who was opposed to the dictatorship of the proletariat, revolutionary violence, and did not recognise party discipline. Carl Höglund and other leaders of the party occupied a conciliatory position with regard to the opportunist elements. This testifies to the fact that the party had a long and complicated path to traverse before it was to become a genuinely communist organisation.

The Left Social-Democratic Party was the organiser of the biggest and most militant actions of the working masses. On June 6, 1917, the left Social-Democrats joined in a huge demonstration of workers in front of the Riksdag in Stockholm. The demonstration which ended in a clash with the police, promoted the development of a mass movement throughout the country..

Under the impact of the October Socialist Revolution, the class struggle acquired even greater scale. The Left Social-Democratic Party published an appeal: "Let us hasten to assist our heroic comrades! Organise rallies everywhere for an immediate armistice and a just peace! Uphold the peaceful propositions of the Russian socialist government! Work together with the trade unions, teetotallers' societies, the socialist organisations and cells, the workers' Soviets (councils) and all those who desire peace on the basis of the programme advanced by the Russian revolutionary government! Get to work! " Resolutions were taken at workers' meetings with demands to put an end to indirect assistance to anti-Soviet intervention and to establish economic relations with Soviet Russia. The party press of the Left Social-Democrats revealed the slander .of the reformists regarding the Russian revolution and Bolshevism. Among the vanguard workers the slogan "Power to the Soviets" enjoyed popularity.

In the autumn of 1917 the workers' parties had gained an imposing victory at the elections to the Riksdag. The Left Social-Democratic Party obtained 60,000 votes, and right social-democracy, 230,000 votes. The leader of the

right Social-Democrats Karl Hjalmar Branting became a member of the new government. Under the pressure of the proletariat's class struggle, the Swedish bourgeoisie rejected plans for intervention against the Finnish revolution and the Soviet Republic. The ruling circles were also forced to satisfy some of the economic and political demands of the workers such as an eight-hour working day, universal suffrage, shorter military service, and wage increases. This was a major gain for the Swedish workers.

With the mass movement on the upgrade, the influence of the Left Social-Democratic Party was growing considerably. Its members travelled round the country, propagandised party ideas, spoke at May Day and other rallies, took part in elections to local organs of government, organised protests against the visit of the henchman of the Finnish revolution Carl Mannerheim to Sweden, published quite a large amount of party literature in the form of pamphlets, leaflets, newspapers, and so forth. In March 1919 the representative of the Left Social-Democratic Party Otto Grimlund attended the First Comintern Congress and supported the proposal that an international communist organisation should be instituted. At the party congress in June 1919 the resolution to join the Communist International was adopted by the majority of votes. The resolution adopted rejected reformism and set the task of struggling for the dictatorship of the proletariat and for a Soviet system. "The Left Social-Democratic Party," it said in the resolution, "is revolutionary both in its goals and in the means it uses. It considers extraparliamentary direct action on the part of the working masses the way to achieving political power for the purpose of building socialism. It warns the working class against bourgeois-democratic and reformist illusions." The decisions of the congress played quite an important part in asserting communist principles in the Left Social-Democratic Party. Some members of the party, including one member of the party council A. Andersson, did not agree with these decisions and left the party.

In accordance with the decisions of the congress the Social-Democrats campaigned more for support for Soviet Russia. The Swedish working people protested against the mobilising of volunteers for the intervention against Estonia. They threatened the government that they them-

selves would begin to rally volunteers to assist the Soviet working people. Money and medicaments for the sick and wounded were sent to Russia several times. In July 1919 demonstrations and strikes were held in Sweden in support of Soviet Russia and Soviet Hungary. The defence by the left Social-Democrats of the interests of the working people of Sweden and of the whole world boosted their authority among the population.

In 1920-1921 the economic situation in Sweden deteriorated owing to the post-war economic crisis. At the end of May 1921 there were some 90,000 completely unemployed and 100,000 partially unemployed people in Sweden. The strike campaign acquired a wide scope. In 1920, 140,000 people joined in strikes and the total time lost through strikes was 9 million working days, while in 1919 the number of strikers was 81,000, and the total time lost through strikes, 2,300,000 working days.

From March through October 1920 the first Social-Democratic government of Branting was in power in Sweden. This government did not hold a parliamentary majority. Nevertheless, Branting was in favour of a demagogic programme of reforms. He promised to cut taxes, to improve living conditions, and to nationalise industry. However, the bourgeois majority in parliament rejected these proposals. Branting's debut in foreign policy was also a failure. His attempt to annex the Aland Isles, which were part of Finland, was unsuccessful. The inability of Branting's government to implement any kind of major measures undermined its influence among the workers and the petty bourgeoisie. In October 1920 the Branting government was replaced by the non-party cabinet of Louis Gerhard de Geer which later formed the government of Conservatives headed by von Sydow. The operations of the Branting government did not alleviate the lot of the working people but helped to preserve parliamentary illusions and distract them from the revolutionary struggle. The reformist elements in the Left Social-Democratic Party revived. At the party congress in 1921, the group of opportunists opposed the approval of the membership conditions to the Comintern. The centrists headed by Carl Höglund spoke out against the point on the arming of the proletariat and on renaming the party a communist one. But most of those who attended the

congress approved the conditions of membership of the Comintern after which the group of undisguised opportunists left the ranks of the party, and Hbglund and other centrists intensified the struggle within the party for the purpose of changing the party's policy and making it break with the Comintern.

In November 1921, Branting's second government came to power. With the help of the right Social-Democrats the Swedish bourgeoisie managed to curtail the upsurge of the workers' movement and launch an onslaught on the proletariat. The purpose of the class battles of the proletariat in 1917-1921 consisted in the striving to abolish the semi-feudal vestiges and carry out some political and social reforms within the framework of capitalist society. The Swedish proletariat could not gain success in its struggle for a socialist system, owing to the perfidious reformist policy of the right Social-Democrats and the fact that the workers did not have a strong Marxist-Leninist party.

The partial stabilisation of capitalism began in Sweden somewhat earlier than in the number of other countries. With the help of German and American capital the iron-ore, engineering, pulp-and-paper and war industries were modernised. In 1925 the level of industrial production had reached the pre-war figures and then overtaken them. The dependence of the Swedish economy on exports consolidated the positions of foreign capital in the country. The British imperialists attributed great importance to utilising Sweden for their own anti-Soviet plans.

Except for the short period 1923-1924 the Social-Democratic Party headed the government from 1921 to 1926 and its home and foreign policy corresponded to the interests of capital. It completely supported capitalist rationalisation, transferring all its burdens onto the working masses. At the same time the leaders of social-democracy also resorted to manoeuvres. In 1923-1924, for instance, they left the government supposedly owing to the refusal of the bourgeois parties to raise unemployment benefits. Later they also tried to create the semblance of their disagreement and even struggle with the bourgeois parties on questions of workers' policy, thereby striving to consolidate their position in the working class and also to divert the proletariat from the struggle

for its vital needs.

In the years of stabilisation the ruling circles widely propagandised "mondism", instilled in the workers the idea that along with the bourgeoisie they were interested in the country's prosperity. The bourgeois governments of Ekman (1926-1928) and Lindman (1928-1930) were particularly active in this respect getting laws passed on state arbitration in conflicts between labour and capital.

In the period of capitalist stabilisation the right Social-Democrats intensified the dissemination of reformist ideology. They described their own party as "a democratic people's party", representing the interests of the "whole people". Being members of the government, the reformists announced that it was their purpose to defend the vital interests of the workers and the capitalists as well. The conditions of the partial stabilisation of capitalism, a certain improvement in the material level of the workers, the decline in the strike movement, favoured the spread of reformism in workers' organisations.

In the years of the partial stabilisation of capitalism there was a lull in the activity of the workers' movement in Sweden. There were almost four times less strikes in 1929 compared with 1925 and almost twelve times less strikers.

During capitalist stabilisation the Communists participated in the major actions of the working masses, in the strikes, in the campaigns against the expansion of the navy, in the defence of Sacco and Vanzetti, against the plans for fresh anti-Soviet intervention, and in the actions against the strikebreakers. The Communists took part in the preelection campaign, appealing for the unity of the trade union movement. However, the successful actions of the Communists were hindered by the lack of unity within the party where there was acute struggle with the opportunist elements.

After the Fourth Comintern Congress Carl Hbglund and Strom blatantly spoke out against the principled decisions of the Comintern on democratic centralism, on the united front and so forth. The Fifth Comintern Congress and the Fourth Enlarged Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International paid great attention to the Swedish question and outlined the tasks for Bolshevising the Swedish Communist Party. But Hbg-

lund and his supporters did not agree with the decisions of the Comintern and in 1924 they left the party. As a referendum showed, most of the Communist Party members remained loyal to Marxist principles and the Comintern policy.

At the end of the period of partial stabilisation of capitalism the leaders of the Communist Party (Samuelson, Kilborn) capitulated before the reformists and openly went over to the positions of right-wing opportunism. The right-wing members were opposed to the decisions of the 6th Comintern Congress, regarded the partial stabilisation of capitalism as a long and stable one, put forward the thesis of the "exclusiveness" of the development of Swedish capitalism and denied its imperialistic and militaristic nature. The opportunists essentially propagandised the theory of Sweden's neutrality in the war being prepared by international imperialism against the USSR. The activity of the opportunists caused great harm to the communist movement in Sweden.

In the summer of 1929 the Tenth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International examined the situation in the Swedish Communist Party and sent an open letter to all Swedish Communists in which the tasks were put forward of overcoming the threat from the right. The opportunists came out with slanderous assertions with regard to the Executive Committee of the Communist International and refused to change their anti-party line. On October 9, 1929, they were removed from party work. Then the Kilborn group took charge of the central organ of the party and organised an attack on the premises of the party's Central Committee. An attempt was made to break up the party's grass-roots organisations. Soon the supporters of Kilborn held their own congress and founded an opportunist party called the Socialist Party. Thus the right-wing opportunists caused a split in the Communist Party and did harm to the communist and workers' movement in Sweden.

On November 30 through December 2, 1929, the congress of the Communist Party was held which considered the results of the struggle with the right-wing opportunists. And although by the time of the congress the party had slightly over 7,500 members, the significance of the congress was very great. The congress dissociated itself from

the right-wing errors and set the task of correcting the party's policy. However, right-wing opportunist moods were still present in the party and left sectarian trends were observed, which circumstance impeded a large-scale campaign. At the end of the partial stabilisation the workers' movement in Sweden was seriously enfeebled owing to the reformism of the right Social-Democrats as well as the split in the communist movement.

At the end of 1929 the price of shares fell in Sweden. This was the first sign of the country's being drawn into the world economic crisis. In 1930 the Land Bank went bankrupt and exports of timber, paper, matches, machines, and steel began to decline. However, a sharp decrease in industrial production was only observed in 1931. The crisis reached its height at the beginning of 1932 when the mighty match concern of Ivar Kreuger collapsed, which had controlled the iron-ore, pulp-and-paper, and telephone industries and almost the entire world output of matches. The concern's bankruptcy caused many petty-bourgeois shareholders to go bust and ruined a number of less significant firms. A profound crisis also broke out in agriculture. Thus, Sweden was hit by the economic crisis, although to a lesser extent than other countries. The reformist theory of the "exclusiveness" of Swedish capitalism was completely repudiated by actual happenings.

The Swedish bourgeoisie strove to transfer the entire burden of the economic crisis onto the shoulders of the working class, the peasantry and the petty-bourgeois strata. Many workers lost their jobs, others had their wages cut drastically. Unemployment affected approximately 250,000-300,000 people or 50 per cent of the entire working class. The workers joined in a dogged struggle for their economic and political rights. Strikes in protest against wage cuts became militant, with Communists active in them. In 1930 the workers of 16 paper factories went on strike. A strike of protest by 2,000 building workers against the strikebreakers was also staged. On March 6, 1930, the Communist Party organised a 40,000-strong demonstration of protest against the persecution of the Communists. In the first half of 1931, 34,000 textile workers went on strike.

The strike by 1,000 workers at the paper factory in

Marma headed by the Communists lasted for several months. It was supported by the workers of the pulp factories in the Adalen district and by the workers in Lund. The strikers in the Adalen district drove out the strikebreakers. Then the government sent large military units there which fired on the demonstration of ten thousand strikers killing five people. After the demonstration had been fired upon, the strike took on an even more massive scale and embraced 100,000 people. At the appeal of the Communists a general strike was staged in Adalen, Sundsvall, Norland and other districts. More than 30,000 workers went on strike in Stockholm. Thanks to the friendly and resolute action, the workers got the military units withdrawn from Adalen and the strikebreakers removed.

With the help of the troops and the police, with the support of the reformists the ruling circles in Sweden strove to restrain the growing class struggle. But in the spring of 1932 new strike battles occurred in the metal industry, at paper factories and at sawmills and timber plants. The movement of the unemployed also underwent a revival. The Communist Party did, moreover, organise a mass campaign for an amnesty for the workers sentenced in connection with the events in Adalen.

In the years of the crisis the authority of the Communist Party again began to grow. But the Communist Party still could not overcome its deep-rooted isolation from the masses at large. The Social-Democrats and trade union officials did everything they could to drive the Communists out of the mass workers' organisations. In 1932, the reformists instigated a split of the miners in Norbotten, the union of the sawmill workers in Svartvik, and the union of the paper workers in Kramfors and Ulvik. The splitting activity of the right Social-Democrats weakened the force of the workers' movement and promoted the bourgeois offensive on the rights of the proletariat. However, the Swedish workers partly managed to repell the onslaught of capitalism and retain their standard of living to a greater extent than the workers in other capitalist countries.

In the years of the crisis the bourgeoisie began to encourage the reactionary forces increasingly and prepare for war. From the summer of 1930 an undisguised campaign was unleashed in the press against the USSR. The

strategic plans for attacking the Soviet state were frankly discussed in the newspapers. The Swedish monopolists rendered financial aid to the reactionaries in the Baltic states inciting them to organise anti-Soviet provocations. Several national-socialist groups headed by German fascists were operating in the country. Moreover, the reactionary forces had created the so-called right-wing front which organised militant squads and demanded the banning of the Communist Party. Thus, the danger of fascism and war in Sweden intensified.

The working masses actively opposed the growth of reaction. At the parliamentary elections in 1932 they caused the right bourgeois parties to suffer defeat. The greatest number of votes, more than one million (41.8 per cent) was obtained by the Social-Democratic Party, which put forward a programme of campaign against the crisis and for democratic development in the country, advertising it as "northern socialism".

In September 1932 the Social-Democrats formed a government headed by Hansson which implemented a series of measures to help the country's economic situation to recover, but it did not justify the hopes of the workers for a substantial improvement in their material level. The government banned imports of cereals and this resulted in a rise in bread prices. The poor peasants who were mostly engaged in cattle rearing and purchased grain and fodder only suffered from this measure. The growth in the prices of agricultural produce also hit the budget of workers' families. The government intensified its efforts to combat the unemployment but the consequences of unemployment were laid on the shoulders of the working class.

This policy provoked resistance on the part of the working masses. The attempts of the entrepreneurs to cut wages also met with a rebuff from the working class. At the beginning of 1933 the shipowners refused to honour a tariff agreement with the sailors and demanded a 20-per cent cut in wages. The trade union officials and Social-Democratic government approved the sailors' wage cuts and also the decrease in civil servants' pay. However, the Communists appealed to the sailors to strike and they were successful. The sailors' pay was only cut by 4 per cent. The sailors did not attain complete victory owing

to the perfidy of the reformist leaders. After this strike the leadership of the trade union association in Sweden took a decision to expel Communists from the trade unions.

In 1934 a strike was staged at the Strebel metal works in Vestervin, which was also aimed against wage cuts for the workers. The government proclaimed this strike illegal and took measures to break through the blockade of the factory organised by the workers. Unemployed metalworkers began to be recruited as strikebreakers. But the unemployed, despite the threat of being deprived of the benefits, refused to become strikebreakers. As a result, in Stockholm alone more than one thousand unemployed metalworkers were deprived of allowances. That was how the Social-Democrats dealt with the class action of the proletariat.

In their foreign policy the Social-Democrats were orientated to extending ties with fascist Germany. Germany had built a big aircraft factory in Sweden and modernised a works to produce tanks. The bulk of Sweden's iron ore exports went to Germany. The fascist leaders Göring and von Papen made visits to Sweden. The arms race in the leading imperialist countries created a favourable economic situation for the development of Swedish industry. It was no accident that the representatives of Sweden at the Geneva Disarmament Conference demanded that fascist Germany should be granted a freedom to arm itself. In 1934 production in Sweden exceeded the 1928 level.

The Social-Democratic government did not hinder the activity of the reactionary organisations. In the Conservative. Party a fascist wing had openly taken shape, which acted as an independent national party. Many officers were engaged in the Swedish-German association before which one of the leaders of the fascist Reich, Hess, appeared in May 1935. Literature from fascist Germany was freely imported and circulated in Sweden. Conniving at the fascist elements, Hansson's government simultaneously took measures to suppress the workers' movement. The police was reinforced for this purpose in particular. Thus, the Social-Democratic government did not express the interests of the working class but pursued a typically bourgeois policy.

The Social-Democrats resolutely opposed the setting up of an anti-fascist front. In his speech on April 19, 1933, Hansson announced that it was the unanimous opinion of the Social-Democratic Party that Bolshevism should be crushed and that in actual fact none could hinder the spread of Bolshevism better than social-democracy. On October 24, 1934, the leaders of the Social-Democratic Party officially decreed rejection of any kind of cooperation at all with the Comintern or any of its sections. At the Socialist Workers' International the representatives of the Swedish Social-Democrats, Ström and Höglund, opposed the proposal of the Comintern on unity of action. The right Social-Democrats thereby strove to deepen the split between the Swedish and the international workers' movement.

The Communist Party of Sweden counterposed the splitting policy of the Social-Democrats to the tactics of a united anti-fascist front. But the Communists were not sufficiently skillful to achieve substantial success on this path. They did not always determine correctly, for which reason, on what questions, in defence of which demands a united front could be established. The Communist Party organised several sections of the Society of Friends of the USSR, created the Union of Red Front Workers, and began to conduct an anti-military campaign in the Army and the Navy and disseminate propaganda among foreign sailors. The day the trial of Georgi Dimitrov began in Leipzig the Communist Party staged an 8,000-strong demonstration in Stockholm. But a one-sided guideline for absolute criticism of the social-democratic policy increasingly prevailed in the party and this was particularly manifest during the election campaigns. During the pre-election campaign the Social-Democrats put forward the slogans of struggle against militarisation, against fascist organisations, against bourgeois anti-trade union legislation, in favour of insurance against unemployment, for good old-age pensions, and so forth, which were upheld by the masses at large. They could therefore be included in the platform of a united workers' front.

After the 7th Comintern Congress the Swedish Communists became more skillful in attaining unity of action. Referring to the decision of the Socialist Workers' International and the Amsterdam International of Trade

Unions on holding anti-war demonstrations to protest Italy's attack on Ethiopia, the Communist Party appealed to the local social-democratic and trade union organisations to organise combined actions. General demonstrations were held in Stockholm, Göteborg and many other industrial centres. Resolutions in favour of unified actions were adopted in some trade unions. Under the pressure exerted by the masses the Swedish government joined in the sanctions against Italy although it did not in fact implement them.

In April 1936 the congress of the Communist Party of Sweden took place which concentrated on further measures to establish a united front. The congress spoke out in favour of the unity of all the workers' parties at the coming parliamentary elections. The Social-Democrats rejected this proposal, but the Socialist Party approved the unity with the Communists at the elections. The elections in 1936 brought an imposing victory to the workers' parties. The Social-Democrats again formed their own government. The Communist Party announced that it supported the measures taken by the government which corresponded to the interests of working masses. On the eve of the war, the right Social-Democrats sabotaged the unity of action of the working class just as before. In foreign policy they proclaimed "neutrality" and non-affiliation to any kind of bloc but in actual fact they facilitated the strengthening of the German aggressors.

The working class struggled against the danger of fascism and war. The Swedish workers championed the defence of the Spanish Republic during the civil war in Spain. There were approximately 300 local committees of aid to Spain in Sweden. Representatives of the Swedish workers fought in the international brigades for the freedom of the Spanish people. At the beginning of 1939, the Swedish press reported that the president of the Stockholm municipality had made an appeal to the municipalities of other countries to have the patronage of the towns in Republican Spain and take upon themselves the supplying of them with foodstuffs, clothing, medicaments and so forth. Stockholm decided to become the patron of Madrid.

But the workers of Sweden could not prevent the Social-Democratic government from sabotaging the setting up

of a system of collective security against the aggressor. This was explained by the considerable influence among them of reformist and pacifist illusions. The weakness of the Communist Party and its isolation from the broad masses served as an impediment to the active involvement of the working class and all the popular forces in a united front of struggle against fascism and war.

FINLAND

Before 1917 Finland was part of the Russian Empire, although it possessed extensive autonomy. The Finnish workers fought with the Russian proletariat against tsarism, the landowners and the capitalists. After the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Russia in February 1917 the Finnish working class with the support of Russian revolutionaries managed to establish an eight-hour working day, wage rises and restriction of speculation.

At that time the Finnish bourgeoisie attempted with the help of right Social-Democrats to prevent revolution developing in Finland. In the spring of 1917 it began to set up armed detachments, the Schiitzkorps, to struggle against its own working class and launched an anti-Russian propaganda campaign. But the influence of the October Revolution on the Finnish working people could not be restrained by it. On November 13, 1917, the workers of Finland began a general strike in the course of which their own organs of power were set up in the localities. However, the leaders of social-democracy managed to get the strike ended.

On November 26, 1917, the bourgeois government of Pehr Evind Svinhufvud was formed which took a hostile stand with regard to the revolution in Russia and in spite of the decree of the Finnish Sejm (parliament) on July 18, 1917, on Finland's autonomy within Soviet Russia it demanded Finland's immediate secession. It appealed to Sweden, Germany and other countries with a request to recognise Finland as an independent state. However, the Swedish and German governments made it a definite condition of the recognition of Finland's independence that the Soviet government should be in agreement. On December 31, 1917, the All-Russia Central Executive

Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of the RSFSR passed a decree on granting the Finnish Republic independence. On January 4, 1918, the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, Lenin, received the Finnish delegation headed by Svinhufvud in Petrograd and handed them the decree. Thus a new page opened in the history of Finland.

The Finnish bourgeoisie took advantage of the country's independence to intensify its struggle against the revolutionary movement. The Schiitzkorps were made legal and a decision was taken on dissolving the detachments of Red Guards set up by the Finnish workers. In Germany Finnish reactionaries began to buy arms. On January 19, 1917, clashes occurred in Finland between the Red Guards and the reactionary detachments. On January 22, 1918, a workers' revolution started in Finland. Finland was proclaimed a socialist workers' republic, and on January 28 a government of workers was formed, the Council of People's Authorised Representatives.

In response to this the Finnish bourgeoisie unleashed a bloody civil war in the country. The German interventionists came to the aid of Finnish reaction. By the beginning of May 1918 the revolution in Finland had been put down. Finnish reaction, which has come to power, worked hand in glove with German imperialism, and after the victory of the revolution in November 1918 in Germany, with the imperialists of the Entente. A campaign of White Terror was launched in the country. Forty thousand people were executed, and ninety thousand were thrown into prison and concentration camps. The counter-revolutionary government of Finland broke off diplomatic relations with the Soviet state and began to pursue a hostile, interventionist policy with regard to it.

At the elections to the Sejm in March 1919 the Social-Democratic Party was highly successful, obtaining 80 seats out of 200. In July 1919, the Sejm elected Kaarlo Stahlberg President of Finland. Under him the White Finnish forces continued to invade Soviet Russia for the purpose of seizing Karelia from it. It was not until October 14, 1920, that a peace treaty was signed between Finland and the RSFSR in Tartu. From November 1921 through March 1922 the White Finnish forces again tried to seize Karelia but they were repelled by the units of the Red

Anny. On June 1, 1922, Finland and the RSFSR signed a frontier agreement.

After the workers' revolution had been suppressed, conditions for the class struggle of the Finnish proletariat were extremely difficult. But even in these conditions, in August 29, 1918, the Communist Party of Finland, which operated underground, came into being. At the end of 1918 the activity of the Social-Democratic Party revived. The leaders of right social-democracy headed by Vainb Tanner pursued a policy of cooperation with the bourgeoisie. However, a considerable part of the members of the Social-Democratic Party, representatives of the workers, opposed this conciliatory policy. By the beginning of May 1920 a legal revolutionary party, the Socialist Workers' Party of Finland, which became a member of the Comintern, was set up by left-wing workers. Its authority and influence rapidly grew. In 1923 the bourgeoisie crushed the Socialist Workers' Party of Finland, arresting its leading party workers and killing its leader, Yrjb Makelin. The trial of the party lasted for two years. On March 16, 1925, it was proclaimed illegal. All this dealt a telling blow at the Finnish workers' movement.

Political instability prevailed in Finland throughout the first half of the 1920s. One government replaced another. This was the outcome not only of exacerbated class antagonism between the bourgeoisie and the masses of the working people but also of the contradictions existing between the middle agrarian bourgeoisie (the kulaks) and big capital. In December 1926, the Social-Democratic government of Vainb Tanner came to power in the country which tried to create a situation of "class peace" in Finland. At that time the Soviet-Finnish differences again became acute. The working class did not wish to support the policy pursued by social-democracy, as evidenced in particular by the 6-month strike by 10,000 metalworkers in 1927. Tanner's government did not manage to stay in power and in 1927 it was replaced by the government of the agrarian Juho Sunila.

At the end of 1928 Finland was hit by an economic crisis. Such leading sectors of its economy as the woodworking industry and agriculture could not compete on the world market. Great unemployment (126,000 in 1930),

the drop in wages (by 40-50 per cent) gave rise to long and persistent strikes by the workers. Conditions for a new revolutionary upsurge began to be created in the country.

At that time reaction embarked on the path of founding fascist organisations. In Finland it organised the so-called Lapuan movement. In the little town of Lapua in the middle of November 1929 the members of the Schiitzkorps organised a reprisal against those who attended a meeting of progressive workers' youth. On December 1, 1929, the reactionary elements in Lapua (mainly the rural bourgeoisie), inspired by the bourgeois coalition party, advanced a demand to start a nation-wide anti-communist campaign and break up the Communist Party and all other left-wing workers' organisations.

In March 1930, pogroms of workers' organisations instigated by the Lapuans swept the country. On July 7, they began a march on Helsinki. At the elections to the Sejm on October 1, 1930, the reactionary forces were extremely successful. The new Sejm passed extraordinary laws aimed at banning the activity of progressive organisations. The anti-Soviet campaign sharply intensified in the country. The Lapuans put forward the slogans of seizing the Soviet territory as far as the Urals and even as far as the river Yenisei in Siberia. A boycott of Soviet goods began. Armed provocations on the Soviet-Finnish frontier started once more. At the presidential election in 1931, under the pressure of reaction, Svinhufvud was elected President of the country. In February 1932 the Lapuans attempted to stage a military fascist coup d'etat. But this attempt failed and soon the Lapuan movement declined. The fascist party, the Patriotic Peoples' Movement, emerged on its basis.

In connection with the growth of the might and prestige of the USSR the Finnish ruling circles were forced to subdue their anti-Soviet stand. In January 1932 they signed a non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union and in 1934 they prolonged it for ten years.

From December 1932 to September 1936 the coalition government of the right bourgeois parties headed by T. M. Kivimaki was in power in Finland. It promoted the consolidation of the positions of big capital, and cruelly persecuted the Communist Party and its members. On

November 6, 1934, the arrest of the head of the Communist Party of Finland, Toivo Antikainen, was announced and his trial began. The court sentenced Antikainen to life imprisonment, later commuted to eight years forced labour. But Finnish reaction did not manage to crush the Finnish Communist Party.

The Finnish government's increasing orientation on Hitler Germany, and the development of economic ties with it caused the anxiety of both foreign (British and American) capital as well as of the Finnish petty commercial and agrarian bourgeoisie, as a result of which the Kivimäki government fell.

At the end of the 193Qs the Soviet government tried to take measures to normalise the Soviet-Finnish relations. In February 1937 Soviet-Finnish negotiations took place in Moscow between the ministers of foreign affairs. In spring 1938 the Soviet government proposed that the Finnish government should work out joint measures for fortifying the security of the north-western frontiers of the USSR, should conclude a mutual aid treaty in case of German aggression, should it be launched via the territory of Finland. But this proposal was rejected by the Finnish side. In the spring of 1939 the Soviet government addressed a request to Finland to lease several small islands (or exchange them for the corresponding Soviet territories) with an overall area of 48.5 square kilometres which were of great importance to the USSR for repelling the imminent aggression of Germany. But Finland, which was supported by Germany and Great Britain, refused to cooperate with the USSR. The Western powers rendered aid to Finland in arming itself and in creating military fortifications on the frontier with the USSR. Intensive ideological preparations for war against the USSR began in Finland. The slogan of creating "Great Finland" as far as the Urals resounded. So, the Finnish reactionaries, supported by foreign reaction, pushed their country into war against the Soviet Union.

Chapter 7

The Countries of East and South-East Europe

POLAND

As a result of the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia and the defeat of Germany and Austria-Hungary in the First World War the Polish state gained its independence. The decree of the Soviet government of August 29, 1918, proclaimed the right of the Polish people to found an independent state. "All treaties and acts," it is stated in the decree, "concluded by the government of the former Russian Empire with the governments of the Kingdom of Prussia and of the Austro-Hungarian Empire with regard to the partitioning of Poland, are hereby made null and void once and for ever in view of the fact that they are in contradiction to the principle of the self-determination of nations and the revolutionary legal consciousness of the Russian people, who recognise the inalienable right of the Polish people to independence and unity."

Having received its independence and following the example of the October Revolution, the Polish people, primarily the working class, waged a struggle for social emancipation. This struggle was guided by the Social-Democratic Party of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania and by the left wing of the Polish Socialist Party. On December 16, 1918, they united into the Communist Workers' Party of Poland. The young Communist Party proclaimed

slogans of struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat, for Soviets, and for a union with Soviet Russia. In a number of places the workers began to set up Red Guard detachments and elect Soviets of workers' deputies. But unity was lacking in the ranks of the working class. The right-wing leaders of the Polish Socialist Party caused a split in the workers' movement, and set up their own Soviets thereby helping the bourgeoisie and the landowners to counter the revolutionary forces.

Foreign imperialism rendered support to Polish reaction in crushing the revolutionary movement and in establishing the power of the landowners and the bourgeoisie. The dictatorship of the bourgeois nationalists headed by Josef Pilsudski was established in the country. On January 26, 1919, elections to the Constituent Seym which fortified the bourgeois and landowner dictatorship were held on the territory of the former Kingdom of Poland and West Galicia. The Communists made a mistake in not taking part in these elections. The elected Seym adopted a "little" Constitution which made the dictatorship of Pilsudski legal. This was followed by cruel reprisals against the Communist Party and the vanguard workers, the dispersing of and firing at demonstrations, and the suppressing of strikes. In the summer of 1919 the Soviets in the country were abolished. By the efforts of Polish reaction supported by the imperialists of the USA, Great Britain and France, Poland became an anti-Soviet bridgehead.

The Versailles Peace Treaty determined the western frontiers of Poland, including in it Poznan, a small part of Pomerania, the Danzig corridor, part of Teschen Silesia, but did not establish the country's eastern frontiers. This was done purposely to push Poland eastwards against the Soviet state and take away from it its western lands. Active preparation of the Polish army began for participation in anti-Soviet intervention. The United States sent 20,000 machine-guns to Poland, more than 200 tanks, over 300 aircraft, ammunition and uniforms, sufficient for an army of more than one million. In a short time an army of almost 600,000 was formed in Poland. The Polish army under General Haller, which had been formed in France, was sent to Poland.

Inspired by the support of the imperialist powers, the

Polish rulers cherished extensive plans to seize the lands of Soviet Russia, the Ukraine and Byelorussia, and to restore the power of the landowners and the capitalists in Soviet Russia. Back in 1919, Pilsudski's troops invaded Soviet territory and occupied considerable areas in Byelorussia and the Ukraine. The Soviet government proposed that negotiations should begin with Poland on a peace settlement. But the Polish government, instigated by the Entente, began a new interventionist campaign against the Soviet state on April 25, 1920. The vanguard workers in Poland headed by the Communists resolutely opposed the anti-Soviet intervention of the country's ruling circles. On May 1, 1920, big demonstrations of solidarity with Soviet Russia were held in Poland. In response to this the Polish government passed extraordinary laws providing for the death sentence for participants in anti-government actions.

The Red Army defeated the White Poles. Pilsudski's troops were driven back to Warsaw. In the second half of 1920 the Polish Communists created a provisional revolutionary committee of Poland in Belostok which began to perform the functions of a dictatorship of the proletariat. But the withdrawal of the Red Army from Warsaw and also internal causes did not allow the revolutionary committee to consolidate its positions and soon it ceased to exist. Being without the forces to continue its intervention, the bourgeois and landowner government of Poland agreed to an armistice with Soviet Russia on October 12, 1920, and on March 18, 1921, a Soviet-Polish Peace Treaty was signed according to which Poland retained the Western Ukraine and Western Byelorussia seized by it previously.

After the war ended Poland's economy was in a pitiful plight. The big industrial enterprises were in the hands of foreign monopolies. Strong feudal vestiges persisted in agriculture. The situation of the workers and peasants was an exceptionally indigent one. The national oppression of 30 per cent of the non-Polish population, mainly Ukrainians and Byelorussians, aggravated the condition of the working people.

The exacerbation of the social and national contradictions caused the ruling circles in Poland to effect several democratic reforms. On March 17, 1921, a new Consti-

tution was approved, which introduced universal suffrage and other democratic rights for its citizens. It also contained articles on social security, labour protection, and the allotment of plots of land to the peasants. But all these clauses brought no real improvement to the lot of the broad masses of the population.

Inflation increased in the country, the number of unemployed grew, wages fell by 50 per cent and the taxes levied on the peasants increased. Owing to this the class and national struggle became more acute. In the Western Ukraine and Western Byelorussia a rebel movement developed under the guidance of the Communists. The strike struggle gained in strength. Jn the autumn of 1923 a serious political crisis swept Poland. In Upper Silesia the miners and metalworkers staged big strikes. At the end of October the railwaymen called a general strike. On November 6, the workers of Krakow staged a demonstration which turned into an uprising. For a short time power in the town was in the hands of the working people. Only with the help of a considerable number of troops did the authorities manage to put down the Krakow uprising.

The Polish bourgeoisie did not manage to attain the stabilisation of capitalism, and the economic crisis continued from 1924 to 1926. Coal extraction fell drastically, and also the output of steel, a big state debt was formed, the cost of living rose, the peasants and petty bourgeoisie were brought to ruin and unemployment swelled. Seeking a way out of the crisis, the ruling circles resorted to new loans from the Western powers handing over to them mines and oil-fields. But all this did not allow Poland to get out of its economic difficulties.

Conditions began to take shape in the country for a new revolutionary explosion. The Communist Party was growing stronger ideologically and organisationally. At the Third Congress in March 1925 the party was named the Communist Party of Poland. To prevent an upswing of the revolutionary movement in Poland, local and foreign reaction began to encourage the development of the fascist movement. Pilsudski and his supporters widely propagated social demagogy in the country to ensure themselves the support of the popular masses. Deceived by promises that the country would recover morally (“sanacjia”), that the

government would be honest, that there would be genuine extra-Seym democracy, that the peasants would receive land they managed to attract to their side part of the workers and the petty bourgeoisie. On May 12, 1926, Pilsudski and his supporters established a reactionary "sanacjia" regime in the country. They changed the Constitution, strengthening the power of the president and limiting the rights of the legislative bodies. Pilsudski did in fact become a dictator. The bourgeoisie and the landowners intensified their exploitation of the workers and the peasants and national oppression. The anti-Soviet line in Poland's foreign policy became more pronounced. On June 7, 1927, the Soviet Ambassador Pyotr Voikov was assassinated in Warsaw. The Fourth Congress of the Communist Party of Poland (September 1927) made an in-depth analysis of the essence of Pilsudski's coup d'état and outlined the tasks involved in combating his regime.

In spite of foreign aid, Pilsudski did not manage to bring about any kind of lengthy recovery of the Polish economy. In 1929 Poland was one of the first countries to be drawn into the world economic crisis. Agriculture was seriously hit by the crisis. Eight to nine million peasants were among the "redundant people". Following this, the crisis hit industry and finances extremely hard. In 1932 Poland's foreign debt was five times as great as the annual state budget. Foreign capital increasingly subordinated the economy and policy of Poland to its interests. Practically Poland could not overcome its economic decline up to the end of the 1930s.

The worker and peasant movement in Poland gained in strength during the crisis. Along with the strikes, large-scale peasant actions took place in the Volyn area and in the Krakow province. The Communist Party headed the strike movement of the workers, the actions by the unemployed and the peasants.

To restrain the rising revolutionary movement the bourgeoisie and the landowners took measures to boost their authority. In 1935, reaction managed to adopt a new Constitution, which subordinated the Seym and the Senate to the President and eliminated civil rights. The Constitution envisaged the introduction of martial law in the country should the situation worsen. The Com-

munist Party described this Constitution as a fascist one and appealed for the elections arranged for September 1935 to be boycotted.

In the second half of the 1930s large-scale actions taken by workers and peasants continued in Poland. The workers of Krakow, Lvov, and Czestochowa organised large demonstrations in March 1936. There was unrest in most of the provinces, and in these circumstances the authority and influence of the Communist Party grew.

In its foreign policy the Polish government, blinded by its anti-Sovietism, more and more persistently pushed the country into the embraces of international reaction. In January 1934 it concluded a non-aggression pact with Nazi Germany which helped to promote the aggressiveness of German fascism. In November 1938, as a result of a conspiracy between the Polish government and Hitler, Poland annexed the Tesin province of Czechoslovakia. The ruling circles in Poland were opposed to the setting up of a system of collective security, assisted Germany in seizing Austria and Czechoslovakia, rejected all Soviet proposals on joint action against the threat of Hitler's aggression, and ignored the threat to Poland, hoping that their inspirers, the imperialists of Great Britain and France, would come to their aid. But the latter, cherishing plans of spearheading the aggression of Hitler Germany eastwards, towards the Soviet Union, did not intend to impede its advance in that direction and did not seriously think of helping Poland. When Hitler Germany attacked Poland on September 1, 1939, it rapidly captured its main economic and political centres. The Polish army was many times weaker than Hitler's forces both in numbers and materiel. Moreover, the Polish military command had not prepared the army at all to repulse the aggressor. Because of all this, it could not withstand the blow. The rulers of Poland left the country to the winds of fate and fled abroad. In spite of the spontaneous heroic resistance and courage of the Polish people, bourgeois and landowner Poland ceased to exist as an independent state. The result of the reactionary anti-popular policy of Poland's ruling clique and of the provocational anti-Soviet course of the imperialist powers had extremely serious consequences for the Polish people.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Prior to attaining its independence Czechoslovakia was part of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. The population of the Czech and Slovak lands was opposed to joining in the war. The October Revolution in Russia inspired the national and patriotic forces of the Czechs and Slovaks to struggle for self-determination. In the course of the general strike in January 1918 slogans in favour of national and state independence of Czechoslovakia were advanced. In addition to this, the advanced workers demanded a socialist revolution, and expropriation of the private enterprises, banks, and landed estates. These goals were proclaimed at rallies and demonstrations on May 1, 1918. The task of staging a socialist revolution was also advanced at the Czechoslovak Communist Section under the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) which had come into being in Moscow in May 1918.

The Czech and Slovak bourgeoisie, drawing support from the countries of the Entente worked out measures to seize power in the future state. With this purpose in mind its parties in the summer of 1919 set up a National Czechoslovak Committee which also included the Social-Democrats. In an attempt to boost their influence among the working masses, the Social-Democrats and Socialists formed a Socialist Council of their own representatives on this committee which, taking into account the moods of the masses, spoke out in favour of the founding of a Czechoslovak independent state on socialist lines.

In October 1918, the Austro-Hungarian Empire which had suffered defeat in the war concluded an armistice with the countries of the Entente. This news provided an impetus for mass manifestations on the part of the working people, of all the national forces of the Czechs and Slovaks in favour of peace, the founding of a Czechoslovak state, and the implementation of deep-going socio-economic and political transformations. On October 28, 1918, the National Czechoslovak Committee announced the foundation of the Czechoslovak republic. Somewhat later the Committee proclaimed itself the Provisional National Assembly. Tomas Masaryk, one of the leaders of the bourgeoisie, was elected the first president of the republic. The government was headed by the leader of the National-Democratic Par-

ty Karel Kramář. Although the government included Social-Democrats and Socialists, it was of a bourgeois nature. Nevertheless, the founding of an independent Czechoslovak republic was an important outcome of the revolutionary liberation struggle of the Czechs and Slovaks, heralding a new period in their historical development.

As revolutionary activity heightened, the government of Czechoslovakia was forced to satisfy a number of important demands made by the working people. In December 1918 a law was passed in the country on an eight-hour working day, universal suffrage was introduced at elections to local authorities, and state insurance against unemployment, sickness and disablement was granted. In April 1919 a law was passed on carrying out a limited agrarian reform. But the working masses were not satisfied by these concessions from the bourgeoisie. They demanded extensive "socialisation". At the elections to the local organs of government in June 1919 the Social-Democrats gained considerable success compared with the National Democrats. Their leader Vlastimil Tusar headed the new coalition government (Social-Democrats, Agrarians, National-Socialists).

After this the working people managed to obtain a number of concessions: wage rises for civil servants, workers' control in the coal industry, recognition of factory committees. A number of democratic rights and freedoms were included in the Constitution adopted in March 1920.

In the sphere of foreign policy Czechoslovakia was orientated on France and other countries of the Entente. The country was opened for foreign capital. The government occupied a hostile position with regard to the Soviet state. In 1919 Czech troops put down the revolutionary movement of the population in the Trans-Carpathian Ukraine which was championing unification with the Soviet Ukraine. Czechoslovakia took part in the intervention against Soviet Hungary. But the popular masses in the country did not wish to support the interventionist acts of the Entente. In June 1919 a Soviet republic was proclaimed in Slovakia, taking the example of Soviet Hungary. With the help of the countries of the Entente, Czechoslovakian reaction cruelly suppressed the revolutionary movement in Slovakia and the Trans-Carpathian Ukraine. Czechoslovakia's frontiers which embraced

Czechia, Moravia, part of Silesia, Slovakia, and the Trans-Carpathian Ukraine were finally determined by the post-war peace treaties. The dominant position in this multi-national state was occupied by the Czech bourgeoisie and landowners.

With the mounting revolutionary and liberation movement, a left wing developed.and strengthened in the workers' and social-democratic movement of Czechoslovakia. In the autumn of 1919 the left Social-Democrats, among them Bohumir Šmeral, Antonín Zápotocký and Josef Hybeš, put forward a platform including the demand for a socialist revolution. Representatives of the left attended the Second Congress of the Comintern where they spoke with Lenin. In the period of Polish intervention against the Soviet state when the ruling circles of Czechoslovakia intended to offer support to the interventionists, the advanced workers and left Social-Democrats protested in defence of Soviet Russia and forced the Czech government to take a neutral stand with regard to the Soviet-Polish war.

At the 13th Congress of the Social-Democratic Party at the end of September 1920 the left wing was in the majority. The congress condemned the opportunism of the party's Central Committee and its policy of cooperation with the bourgeoisie, elected a new leadership of the party from among the left Social-Democrats and adopted a programme of action which orientated the party towards the proletariat taking power into its hands and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. After that the right Social-Democrats split the party having announced that they only recognised the old, opportunist Central Committee. As a result of this, the left separated into an independent Czechoslovak Social-Democratic Party (the left) which united more than 80 per cent of all the members of the former party. Soon after the congress the right-wingers demanded through the bourgeois court that the property of the party, which had legitimately passed into the hands of the Czechoslovak Social-Democratic Party (left), should be returned to them. Contrary to the law, the court awarded the party property to the right-wingers and, with the help of gendarmes and the police, on December 9, 1920, it was taken from the left. In response to this, on an appeal from left-wingers the

workers staged a big demonstration in Prague on December 10 on which the police opened fire. Following this a mighty strike movement embracing approximately one million people swept the country, becoming a struggle for power in some places. With the help of the armed forces the bourgeoisie put down the December general strike.

The December events accelerated the foundation in Czechoslovakia of a communist party. At the 14th Congress of the Czechoslovak Social-Democratic Party (left) on May 14-16, 1921, the foundation of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia was proclaimed and a decision was taken on adhering to the platform of the Comintern. In October and November- 1921 other communist groups existing in Czechoslovakia united with the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. From the moment of its foundation, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia was a mass party with a membership of more than 400,000 people. However, strong social-democratic vestiges still persisted in the party.

In the second half of 1921 the first post-war economic crisis began in Czechoslovakia, and in 1922 the volume of industrial output fell to 53 per cent of the 1913 level. During the crisis the bourgeoisie perpetrated an onslaught on the gains of the working class, and its material condition greatly deteriorated. An offensive on the democratic rights of the working masses also started. In March 1923, the National Assembly passed the law "On the Protection of the Republic" which limited freedom of speech and the press and was used against the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the whole of the progressive movement.

In the period of capitalist stabilisation the bourgeoisie of Czechoslovakia consolidated its dominant position in the country. In those years industrial production grew rapidly and exceeded the pre-war level by 20 per cent. In spite of a certain improvement in the living standards of the working people, the class struggle was fairly acute. Under the leadership of the Communist Party mass demonstrations to protest against the rising cost of living were held in big centres in the country and clashes between the workers and the police occurred.

The right-wing forces consolidated in the camp of the bourgeoisie. Formed in October 1926 the government headed by one of the leaders of the Agrarian Party An-

tonin Švehla was based on the united bloc of all the reactionary bourgeois parties. At the time (1926) the fascist organisations, the Czech Fascist Society and the National League, came into being in Czechoslovakia. In its foreign policy the Švehla government was orientated on the capitalist powers, and actively participated in the activity of the Little Entente created in 1920-1921, an anti-Soviet military and political alliance of Czechoslovakia, Romania and Yugoslavia, supported by France.

In those years the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia gathered strength, its prestige grew and in the 1925 election a million people voted for it. It obtained forty-one seats in the National Assembly. The Social-Democratic Party, on the other hand, continued to decline. A Marxist-Leninist core headed by Klement Gottwald took shape during the contention between the right-wing and left-wing opportunists in the Communist Party. At the Fifth Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in February 1929 Klement Gottwald and other Marxist-Leninists headed the party.

The world economic crisis, which became manifest in Czechoslovakia in 1930, hit all the branches of its economy. In 1933 the volume of industrial production was 60 per cent of the 1929 level. In the years of the crisis approximately half of the workers (920,000) remained jobless; the workers' wages fell by 50-60 per cent. Under the leadership of the Communist Party the working class waged a campaign against the hardships of the crisis. In March 1931 the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia held a national congress of the unemployed. It headed the successful general strike of the miners in Northern Czechia in 1932.

Just as in a number of other countries in Europe, at that time the fascist movement in Czechoslovakia was becoming increasingly active, especially in the Sudetenland where a considerable number of Germans lived. The Sudeten National-Socialists headed by Konrad Henlein demanded that this region of Czechoslovakia should be partitioned off and transferred to Germany. In the autumn of 1933 the organisation of Sudeten fascists was banned but they continued their activity within the framework of the Sudeten German Patriotic Front. In Slovakia the clerical fascist party headed by Andrej Hlinka became

more and more active in attaining the partitioning of Slovakia. The Communist Party appealed to all democratic forces to unite to combat the threat of fascism.

The Communist Party also insisted on a turn in the country's foreign policy for the establishment of friendly relations between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union in the interests of setting up a system of collective security to repel fascist aggression. In June 1934, Czechoslovakia agreed to establish diplomatic relations with the USSR and in May 1935 it signed a pact with it on mutual assistance according to which the USSR pledged to come to Czechoslovakia's aid should it be a victim of aggression on condition that France, which had also concluded a similar treaty on mutual assistance, should begin to fulfil its obligations. This pact created a sound basis for countering the expansion of fascist Germany.

At the elections in 1935 the Sudeten German Party became the second largest in the number of votes cast for it. In April 1938 at the congress of the Sudeten German Party a demand for the autonomy of the Sudeten region was advanced. This gave rise to stormy indignation among the popular masses of Czechoslovakia. The government which was headed by the leader of the Agrarians, Milan Hodza, was forced to reject this demand. On May 1, 1938, anti-fascist rallies and demonstrations swept the country. On August 13, 1938, the fascists perpetrated a putsch in the Sudeten region. And although the putsch was put down the threat of German invasion hung over Czechoslovakia. In this period Great Britain and France did all they could to encourage the Czechoslovak government to make concessions to the fascists. On September 19, 1938, they recommended that the President of Czechoslovakia, Edward Beneš, should hand those regions over to Germany in which Germans comprised more than half of the population. In spite of the protests by the population and the statement of the Soviet government to the effect that if Czechoslovakia were to defend itself from the aggressor the Soviet Union would, at its request, fulfil its obligations under the treaty with Czechoslovakia even if France refused to fulfil its own similar obligations, the Czechoslovak government of Milan Hodza agreed to the Anglo-French recommendations. On September 22 a huge demonstration of protest took place in Prague. The Hodza

government fell. Under pressure from the popular masses the new government of General Jan Syrovy announced universal mobilisation and refused to withdraw troops from the frontier areas. But at the same time, while appealing to the people to remain calm, it was preparing for capitulation.

A conference of the heads of government of Great Britain (Neville Chamberlain) and France (Edouard Daladier) and the fascist dictators of Germany (Adolf Hitler) and Italy (Benito Mussolini) was held in Munich on September 29 and 30. The agreement signed by them on the partitioning of Czechoslovakia crowned the imperialist plot of these states supported by the USA for the purpose of satisfying the claims of Hitler Germany, calculating that this would be followed by its attack on the Soviet Union. The government of Czechoslovakia accepted the Munich ultimatum. On October 1 Hitler's forces invaded Czechoslovakia and seized the Sudeten region, and on March 15, 1939, representatives of Czechoslovakia signed the act on the abolition of the independent Czechoslovakian state in Berlin. The Munich imperialist complot not only laid the foundations for the greatest national tragedy in the history of the Czechoslovak people but also in many ways facilitated the unleashing of the Second World War of 1939-1945.

HUNGARY

As a result of the First World War the economy of Hungary which had been part of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, was on the decline; inflation intensified in the country and famine was rife. The national forces demanded that an independent Hungary should be founded. Under the impact of the October Socialist Revolution stormy demonstrations and strikes with slogans calling for the termination of the war and the conclusion of a just peace took place in Hungary in December 1917. In January 1918 a political strike was staged which embraced 300,000 people. The strikers and also the demonstrators protested against the war, in support of Soviet Russia, and against the plundering terms of the Brest Treaty. The soldiers began to desert from the Hungarian army. There was a

soldiers' uprising in the town of Pécs in May 1918. In June 1918 yet another big anti-war strike was staged. In the course of these actions the first Soviets (councils) of workers' deputies came into being in Hungary.

The defeat in the war led to the collapse of the monarchic system in Austria-Hungary and to gathering an acute revolutionary crisis in Hungary. On October 29, 1918, the workers of Budapest joined in a mass political demonstration, demanding national independence and peace. The demonstration turned into an armed uprising which was joined by the soldiers of the Budapest garrison. Power in Hungary was taken over by the National Council made up of representatives of Hungary's liberal bourgeoisie and the leaders of social-democracy. These events marked the beginning of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Hungary. On November 16 Hungary was proclaimed a republic.

Following the example of the working people of Russia the Hungarian workers strove to turn the bourgeois-democratic revolution into a socialist one. This was, however, hindered by the reformist leaders of the Social-Democratic Party. Then the left-wing forces of the working class set about founding a new, communist party. The Hungarian Communists who had returned from Russia played an important part in this. They were former officers of the Austro-Hungarian army who found themselves in Russia as prisoners during the First World War.

Back on March 24, 1918, they set up a Hungarian Section of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) in Moscow headed by Béla Kun. Returning to their motherland, the Hungarian internationalist-prisoners of war headed the struggle to set up a communist party. They came in contact with the left Social-Democrats as well as with a group of revolutionary Socialists. On November 24, 1918, the Communist Party of Hungary was founded in Budapest. The Hungarian Communists headed the struggle of the workers to overthrow the bourgeois system, to promote the revolution and were resolutely opposed to reformism in the workers' movement.

The revolutionary crisis in Hungary continued to deepen. In January 1919 the government included four Social-Democrats (instead of two). However, the bourgeois parties and right Social-Democrats could not rule the

country. In the localities the prestige of the Soviets set up by the masses was growing. The working masses demanded that radical transformations should be made: nationalisation of industry, agrarian reform, improvement of their own material condition. The influence of the Communist Party was on the rise. In these circumstances, the government incited by international reaction began to hound the Communists. In February 1919 Béla Kun and other leaders of the Communist Party were arrested. But this act only intensified the dissatisfaction of the masses with the policy pursued by the government. At the rallies which swept the country, the workers demanded that the communist leaders should be set free. In March there were several demonstrations at which it was demanded that a dictatorship of the proletariat should be established and the means of production socialised.

A revolutionary explosion ensued after the ultimatum tendered by the powers of the Entente on March 20 which envisaged the occupation of part of Hungarian territory by military units of the Entente. It was the purpose of this demand to prevent gathering revolution in Hungary, and to cut it off from Soviet Russia. The indignation of the Hungarian people at the impudent, demands of the Entente was so great that the bourgeois government did not respond to this note and preferred to resign handing over power to the Social-Democrats. But even the latter could not rule the country without the Communists. The left Social-Democrats demanded unification with the Communist Party. On March 21, 1919, the leaders of the Social-Democratic Party proposed that the leaders of the Communist Party should set up a united Socialist Party of Hungary. On that very same day an agreement was signed on the unification of these parties on the basis of the Communists' stand. It envisaged that the united party should take power into its hands, establish a dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of Soviets, set up a proletarian army, disarm the bourgeoisie and establish a close alliance with Soviet Russia.

Thus, a socialist revolution began in Hungary on March 21, 1919. Immediately after the signing of the agreement on the foundation of a united party the first Soviet government of Hungary was formed, the Revolutionary Government Council, which included Bela Kun

and other figures from the Communist Party as well as Social-Democrats. At that same time the workers and soldiers seized the main strategic points in Budapest. The socialist revolution in Hungary was staged without an armed uprising.

The Soviet republic in Hungary existed for 133 days. In this short period deep-going political and economic transformations were carried out. From the first days of the revolution measures were taken to break the bourgeois state apparatus and replace it by a new apparatus of power, the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Soviets of workers', soldiers' and peasants' deputies became the political form of proletarian dictatorship. Elections to the Soviets were held in April 1919 on the basis of universal suffrage. In June the First All-Hungary Congress of Soviets proclaimed the Hungarian Soviet Republic and adopted the country's Constitution. Capitalist and national oppression was eliminated in the country, the exploiters were deprived of political rights, and the whole of power was in the hands of the proletariat.

Simultaneously, the police were replaced by the Red Militia, the Red Army was set up along with special military tribunals to try counter-revolutionaries, and other institutions of the new, proletarian authority. All this radically changed the essence of power in the country. However, the state apparatus was not purged completely. Many old officials, who stated their loyalty, remained in their old posts and resorted to strong sabotage underhandedly. In many bodies of Soviet power and party organisations the Social-Democrats were in the majority. Their right-wing leaders, who had not been removed from the ranks of the united party, hindered in every possible way the breaking of the old bourgeois order of things.

In the sphere of socio-economic transformations, Soviet government took a decision to nationalise the banks, the mines, the large industrial enterprises, the means of transport, and the commercial enterprises. The economy was placed under the control of the Higher National Economic Council and of the local national economic councils. Those were socialist measures which consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat and undermined the domination of the exploiters. However, an erroneous decision was taken by the Revolutionary Government Council to

nationalise the petty, artisan enterprises, thus pushing these petty-bourgeois strata into the counter-revolutionary camp.

Of great importance were the revolutionary transformations in the Hungarian countryside where considerable vestiges of feudalism had persisted. The Hungarian Soviet government passed a decree on the nationalisation of the large landed estates, leaving the peasants the lands they possessed. In so doing the government underestimated the significance of dividing up the landed estates and handing over at least part of them to the poor peasants and the agricultural proletariat, as well as the importance of democratic transformations in the rural economy as a necessary stage in the development of the revolution. It decided immediately to go over to setting up big state farms and producer cooperatives on all the nationalised landed estates. As a result of this, the poor strata of the rural population were disappointed that they did not receive any land. At that time the main mass of the peasantry was not yet ready for producer cooperatives. Reaction took advantage of this to incite the peasantry against Soviet power.

The Hungarian Soviet government carried out a whole series of measures to improve the material well-being of the working masses. An eight-hour working day was established, wages were raised, an annual paid holiday was introduced, there was general labour conscription, the living conditions of the working people were improved, and so forth. Great attention was paid to getting a public medical service going, organising public education, and carrying out educational work among the population in the spirit of socialism. All these measures, in spite of some, at times, serious mistakes, testified to the fact that the working class in Hungary and the Hungarian Communists were striving to firmly establish a socialist system in the country.

The creative work of the Hungarian revolutionaries was carried out in a complicated international situation. The imperialist countries set about combating and crushing the young Hungarian Soviet Republic. The organisers of this struggle were the governments of Great Britain, the USA, France and Italy. The imperialists proclaimed a diplomatic boycott of Soviet Hungary and surrounded

it with a ring of economic blockade. They set up an interventionist army of more than 300,000 men. From April 1919, French, Romanian and Czech troops began a campaign against Soviet Hungary. Universal conscription was announced in the country. As a result of the measures taken by the Soviet government of Hungary, the onslaught of the interventionists was not only stopped but the Hungarian Red Army went over to the offensive and even freed a considerable part of Eastern Slovakia. On June 16, 1919, the formation of the Slovak Soviet Republic was proclaimed which existed until July 5. The Slovak Republic announced its unification with Soviet Hungary. Industrial enterprises, banks and landed estates began to be nationalised there. The working masses were granted suffrage. Decrees were passed on improving the material well-being of the working people. Slovakia began to form its own Red Army. However, the same mistakes were made in carrying out the socialist measures in Slovakia as in the Hungarian Soviet Republic.

On June 8, the French Prime Minister, Georges Clemenceau, demanded that the Soviet government of Hungary stop the offensive of its Red Army. The right Social-Democrats and the Hungarian counter-revolutionaries intensified their struggle against Soviet power while the international imperialist forces also exerted pressure. At the congress of the Socialist Party of Hungary on June 12-13 the right Social-Democrats spoke out against the ideological and organisational principles of communism and nearly caused a split in the party. At the All-Hungary Congress of Soviets, which started on June 14, they worked to abolish the dictatorship of the proletariat and demanded that the ultimatum tendered by the Entente should be accepted. Under the pressure of the right Social-Democrats, the Soviet government of Hungary accepted the Entente's ultimatum on unfavourable terms for the revolution. On June 30 the withdrawal of Hungarian troops from Slovakia began which led to the fall of Soviet power there and undermined the positions of Soviet Hungary. Soon after this, the troops of the Entente launched an offensive on Soviet Hungary. Soviet Russia which hastened to assist the Hungarian revolutionaries found itself in a critical position in July 1919 and could not render Hungary direct military support.

On August 1, under pressure from the right Social-Democrats and counter-revolutionaries, the Soviet government of Hungary resigned. That was the end of the Hungarian Soviet Republic.

Hungary was soon occupied by foreign troops, and a bourgeois-landowner dictatorship was established there. Thousands of Hungarian revolutionaries were cruelly tortured, and thrown into prisons and concentration camps. Such outstanding figures in the Republic as Tibor Szamuely, Otto Korvin, Jenb Laszlo and others perished. Thanks to the measures taken by the Soviet government of Russia 400 Hungarian' revolutionaries were saved from reaction. In spite of its defeat, the Hungarian Soviet Republic was of tremendous importance. Its experience served as a valuable lesson for the international revolutionary movement. It made its own important contribution to the struggle against international imperialism, and drew upon itself part of the interventionist forces from Soviet Russia.

After the Soviet government of Hungary had resigned the so-called “trade union government” headed by the right Social-Democrat Gyula Peidl came to power which began to restore the capitalist system in the country. But the counter-revolutionaries with the help of the invaders who had seized Budapest had already expelled this government by August 6. On November 16, 1919, the counter-revolutionary forces of Admiral Horthy entered Budapest and a crude dictatorship of financial capital and the big landowners was established. A White Terror began in the country during which more than 5,000 Hungarian revolutionaries died and 70,000 were imprisoned.

In January 1920 elections were held to parliament in Hungary which abolished the republic and elected Horthy as regent. In December 1921 the head of the bourgeois-landowner government of Hungary, Stephen Bethlen, concluded a pact with the leaders of the Social-Democratic Party according to which the party was permitted to become involved in political life on condition that it assisted the consolidation of the counter-revolutionary regime. This was out and out betrayal of the interests of the working class by the right-wing leaders of social-democracy.

In the conditions of a counter-revolutionary regime it was difficult for the working class to wage its struggle. However, its advanced detachments had already staged mass strikes in 1921. Deep underground, the Communist Party had reorganised itself and was campaigning for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship.

From mid-1925, industrial production in Hungary started to rise due to the growing exploitation of the working class. In the years of capitalist stabilisation the Hungarian Communists strove to combine legal forms of work with illegal ones. In April 1925 they set up the legal Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. The new party worked out an agrarian programme and campaigned for it. However, owing to the ever increasing repressions and arrests the party ceased its existence in 1928.

At the end of the 1920s an economic crisis struck Hungary which initially affected agriculture and then industry. The country's working population found itself exceptionally hard hit. In October 1932 the government of Gyula Gömbbs, a supporter of the terrorist fascist regime, replaced the Bethlen government which had resigned. When Hitler came to power in Germany, the new Hungarian government set about achieving a rapprochement with German fascism.

The class struggle did not die down in the years of crisis. The demonstration on September 1, 1930, in defence of the unemployed was a particularly militant one. In October 1933 there was a big strike by Budapest builders. The authorities cruelly put down the workers' actions. In July 1932 the leaders of the Communist Party I. Salai and S. Fürst were executed. But these repressions did not break the will of the Communists to struggle against fascism. The Communist Party called for the setting up of a united anti-fascist popular front.

In the second half of the 1930s Hungary began to be increasingly influenced by Germany and involved in the arms race and military preparations. In November 1938, it took part in the partitioning of Czechoslovakia, annexing to itself Southern Slovakia. In January 1939, Hungary joined the Anti-Comintem Pact. In March 1939, it occupied the Trans-Carpathian Ukraine. Following in the wake of Hitler Germany, Horthy's policy drew Hungary into the Second World War.

The war in which Romania fought on the side of the Entente had a telling effect on its economy and the political situation in the country. The occupation of a large part of Romania led to the decline of industrial production, the impoverishment of the workers and the ruin of the peasantry. All this served as the basis for the class and anti-war actions of the masses. The advanced strata of the Romanian working people, inspired by the ideas of the October Socialist Revolution in Russia, waged a struggle for democracy and social demands. Matters came to a head in a mutiny in Romanian military units and on naval vessels at the beginning of 1918. This circumstance stimulated the ruling circles of Romania to conclude an armistice on December 1917 and a separate peace treaty with Germany and Austria-Hungary in May 1918. In January 1918 Romania joined in the anti-Soviet intervention and seized part of the territory of Soviet Moldavia, the right bank of the river Dniester (former Bessarabia), and somewhat later (in November 1918) it occupied the territory of Northern Bukovina which was mainly populated by Ukrainians.

A movement of solidarity with Soviet Russia was underway in Romania. In the autumn of 1918 workers' councils began to be set up in a number of places and the activity of the Social-Democrats (Socialists) and the trade unions revived. The workers formed armed detachments and the peasants began to seize the landowners' estates. In Transylvania, which was part of Austria-Hungary, the movement to unite with Romania gathered in strength. On December 1, 1918, Transylvania was annexed to Romania.

The Romanian authorities tried in every way they could to stunt the growth of the revolutionary movement in their country. The Romanian counter-revolutionary forces, operating on the side of the imperialists of the Entente, took part in putting down the revolutionary movement in the neighbouring countries and crushing the Hungarian Soviet Republic.

When the war ended, Romania remained an agrarian country with marked vestiges of feudalism and dependent on foreign monopolies. Besides the grave economic situ-

ation, the state of affairs in the country was characterised by serious political instability. One governmental crisis followed another. Striving to retain power, the Romanian bourgeoisie and the landowners began to set up new parties such as the Peoples' Party, the Peasants' Party, and the Labour Party. At the same time they employed cruel methods to suppress the class actions of the working people. On December 13, 1918, a big workers' demonstration was held in Bucharest during which demands were advanced for the overthrow of the power of the king and the bourgeoisie and the establishment of a socialist system. Reaction dealt severely with the demonstration: more than one hundred people were killed, approximately two hundred wounded and five hundred arrested. The country was in fact in a state of emergency.

However, some reforms were soon conducted: universal suffrage was introduced for men, and a decree was published promising a land reform. These concessions did not stay the growing revolutionary movement. In 1919 the discontent was marked by big actions on the part of the working people both for their own economic and political interests and also in protest against the intervention in Soviet Russia and Soviet Hungary. The class battles reached their height in Romania in 1920: on October 20 a general strike began which embraced some 400,000 workers. The latter demanded an eight-hour working day everywhere, recognition of workers' committees at enterprises, and wage increases.

In the course of the strike the irresoluteness and capitulatory tendencies of the right-wing leaders of the Socialist Party were manifest. This accelerated the process of setting up a communist party. A left wing was formed within the Socialist Party which demanded that it be reformed into a communist party. At the congress of the Socialist Party on March 8, 1921, a decision was taken to transform it into the Communist Party of Romania and to become a member of the Comintern. The opportunist elements did not agree with the decision of the congress and created their own, Social-Democratic Party. The authorities immediately perpetrated repressions against the Communists. They arrested most of the delegates to the congress and tried them ("the trial of the 270"). The founding of the Communist Party marked an important

stage in the development of the revolutionary movement in Romania.

The foreign policy of bourgeois-landowner Romania after the war was typified by its anti-Soviet orientation. It became a member of the Little Entente which the big powers, first and foremost France, used for anti-Soviet purposes. In 1921, Romania and Poland concluded a military treaty also spearheaded against the Soviet state. The anti-Soviet policy of the ruling circles in Romania only intensified its dependence on foreign powers.

Approximately from 1922 the situation in Romania began to stabilise. There was a temporary lull in the activity of the revolutionary movement. The passing of the 1921 law on agrarian reform in the countryside caused the resistance of the peasants to slacken slightly. The foreign monopolies, which exploited Romania's wealth, also strove to stabilise the situation in the country. The pre-war level of industrial production had already been exceeded in Romania in 1924. The National-Liberal Party, which headed the government in 1922-1926, pursued a policy in the interests of big capital. With its assistance a law was passed "On minerals" (1924) according to which foreign capital could hold only up to 50 per cent of the shares in the enterprises of the extractive industry. By the end of the 1920s, in accordance with the law on agrarian reform, 66 per cent of the land belonging to the landowners had been confiscated from them. Although the reform had not been fully implemented, it facilitated the development of capitalist relations in the countryside. The consolidation of the political positions of the Romanian bourgeoisie also helped to achieve the adoption of a new Constitution in March 1923, which established the formal equality of all the citizens and proclaimed civil rights and freedoms.

But the condition of the working people in Romania remained a grave one just as before. The length of the working day was 10-12 hours, labour was intensified continually and wages were half those in 1916. The broad masses in the country could not in fact take advantage of the democratic freedoms. The authorities employed severe repressions against the Communist Party, the Komsomol and other democratic organisations. In April 1924 the activities of the Communist Party and the Komsomol

were banned. Although its forms changed compared with the previous period, the class struggle was of a fairly acute character. In many industrial centres strike battles occurred in 1922-1924. There was peasant unrest too. In September 1924 in the village of Tatarbunary (southern Bessarabia) an uprising of peasants swept the whole region. Soviets were set up, and the Moldavian Soviet Republic was proclaimed. The authorities dealt cruelly with the rebels: more than 3,000 peasants were killed and several villages were burned down.

The growing political instability led to a certain regrouping of the bourgeois parties. In 1926, the National Party and the Tsaranist (peasants') Party united into the National-Tsaranist Party. At the elections in 1928 this party received the majority of votes and its leader luliu Maniu headed the government. The new party expressed the interests of the kulaks and part of the bourgeoisie. In 1929 it managed to get a law passed in parliament on freedom to take plots of land away from the peasants which they had been awarded according to the agrarian reform. After this the kulaks began to rapidly buy up the lands of the poor peasants for low prices. The National-Tsaranists opened the doors wide for the penetration of foreign capital in the country.

In its foreign policy in the second half of the 1920s Romania occupied anti-Soviet positions just as before. According to the Franko-Romanian treaty of 1926, the illegal seizure of Bessarabia by Romania was "sanctioned". The political influence of Italy and Great Britain intensified on Romania. It concluded a "treaty of friendship and cordial cooperation" with Italy in 1926.

The world economic crisis struck Romania with great force. Industrial production fell to 60 per cent of the 1928 level in 1931. A huge army of unemployed appeared in the country and masses of peasants were ruined. Wages decreased by 36.9 per cent and taxes more than doubled. In the years of the crisis the domination of the foreign monopolies intensified in Romania's economy. The share of foreign capital in the industrial joint-stock companies reached 75 per cent of the total.

The political situation in the country was extremely unstable. Although the National-Tsaranists had preserved their positions in the government, to do this they had to

reorganise the government on ten occasions. Several new parties and political groups mushroomed in the country. Dictatorial and fascist tendencies gained in strength. In 1930, the Crown Prince Carol around whom the whole of Romanian reaction rallied was proclaimed king. In 1931, the fascist party, the Iron Guard, emerged in Romania.

The ruling circles cruelly suppressed the class struggle of the working people which was gathering during the crisis. Thus, troops were sent to put down the striking miners in Lupeni (1929), killing and wounding more than 100 people.

In the years of the crisis the imperialist powers continued to exert pressure on Romania, retaining its foreign policy in an anti-Soviet channel. In Romania outlays for military purposes were growing. In 1929, it concluded an anti-Soviet treaty with Poland; in 1932, it refused to sign a non-aggression pact with the USSR.

But in these conditions, which were difficult for the working people's struggle, the Romanian Communist Party was consolidating its positions and its influence among the masses grew. In 1930, the factionalists in the Communist Party were defeated. The Fifth Congress of the Party in December 1931 determined the nature, stages and motive force of the Romanian revolution and campaigned for the defence of the USSR from the war being prepared by the imperialists against it. In January 1933 a Ploughmen's Front was created with Petru Groza at its head. The Communist Party established close ties with the Front for work among the peasantry. The Communists insisted on unity of the workers' actions and set up united action committees. In March 1932 an All-Romania Central Committee of Railwaymen's Action was formed. Its secretary was Gheorghiu Dej. In January and February the railwaymen and the oilmen began a campaign for their vital interests and for democracy. On February 2, 1933, the railwaymen took over the workshops in Grivi^a (Bucharest) and organised self-defence squads there. On February 15 their general strike began supported by the oilmen of the town of Ploesti. The railwaymen's action was only put down with the help of military units which opened fire on the strikers. But it was of great significance for restraining the onslaught of reaction and fascism in Romania.

After the economic crisis had ended, some branches of the Romanian economy recovered (coal and iron ore extraction, oil, cement, steel and pig-iron production). At the same time, the condition of the working classes did not improve in any considerable measure. The fascist danger continued to grow in the country. The reactionary circles demanded a revision of the Constitution in a fascist spirit. Part of the ruling upper crust was increasingly inclined to an alliance with fascist Germany. However, the broad strata of the Romanian bourgeoisie entertained an apprehension that the Versailles system of peace treaties might be revised in an unfavourable direction for Romania. Therefore Romanian diplomacy manoeuvred, striving to preserve the status quo in the Balkans. Continuing basically an anti-Soviet line in its foreign policy, Romania did, nevertheless, agree to sign a convention on the definition of the aggressor in 1933 and establish diplomatic relations with the USSR in 1934.

An important part in restraining the danger of fascism in the country was played by the Romanian Communist Party. In 1935 on its initiative, an anti-fascist democratic front was set up which included the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, the Socialist Unitary Party, the Ploughmen's Front, the Democratic Organisation of Hungarian Workers, and individual organisations of Social-Democrats and Tsaranists. The front achieved marked success in the by-election to parliament (1936).

Striving to prevent the growth of the democratic movement the authorities increased repressions against the Communist Party and other progressive organisations. At the same time more and more concessions were made to the fascists. In 1937, they were given permission to wear the swastika. The king of Romania Carol II and those around him began to prepare for a fascist coup. On February 10, 1938, a regime of the personal power of the king was established in Romania. According to the new Constitution, democratic rights were abolished, parliament was dissolved, the trade unions were banned as well as the political parties and anti-fascist organisations. Reaction announced the setting up of a united party, the Front of National Revival, which alone could take part in election campaigns. The establishment of the dictatorship of the king accelerated Romania's rapprochement with Nazi

Germany. In March 1939 Romania concluded a treaty with Germany "On the strengthening of economic relations". Romania's economy and policy increasingly came under the control of German fascism.

BULGARIA

During the First World War Bulgaria fought on the side of the Austro-German bloc. It was almost completely under German control. The export of raw materials and foodstuffs to Germany doomed the Bulgarian population to famine and poverty. The soldiers did not wish to fight for interests alien to them, against the fraternal Russian people. The Workers' Social-Democratic Party of Bulgaria (Tesniaks) which upheld Marxist positions waged an active anti-war campaign. The Great October Socialist Revolution had a tremendous impact on the Bulgarian working people. Anti-war meetings were held in Sofia and other towns. Illegal soldiers' committees emerged in the army which carried out an anti-war campaign among the soldiers; discipline weakened, and there were an increasing number of deserters. In the spring of 1918 riots began. Dissatisfaction with the pro-German policy of the Bulgarian tsar Ferdinand and of the Radoslavov government was also manifest among the bourgeois parties. In May 1918 the tsar put Aleksandr Malinov, supporter of Britain, at the head of the government. However, he was not able to control the situation either.

From the summer of 1918 unrest intensified in the Bulgarian army. In September 1918 the soldiers at the front mutinied, began to leave their positions and started a march on Sofia. Aleksandr Stamboliski and R. Daskalov, leaders of the Bulgarian Agrarian People's Union (BAPU), left for Radomir on the instructions of the government. But instead of pacifying the soldiers, they declared Bulgaria a republic and set up a provisional republican government headed by Stamboliski. On September 29, the rebels were in the village of Vladai (from whence it is called the Vladai Uprising), not far from Sofia. However, the countries of the Entente, which had signed an armistice with Bulgaria on September 29, came to the aid of the tsar's grouping. Then the Bulgarian government

invited a German division which helped to put down the Vladai Uprising. Soon, in accordance with the terms of the armistice, Bulgaria was occupied by the troops of the Entente. Thus, international imperialism played the main role in suppressing the revolutionary movement in Bulgaria.

Bulgaria's defeat in the war and the soldiers' mutiny had a great impact on the country's political situation. On October 3, 1918, tsar Ferdinand abdicated in favour of his son Boris. After this, representatives of the "extensive Socialists" (opportunists) of the BAPU were invited to join the government. An amnesty was proclaimed for political prisoners and an eight-hour working day was introduced. However, the authorities imposed an extremely strict ban on any kind of information from Soviet Russia. All this was done to prevent the revolutionary movement from becoming more active.

But the working masses in Bulgaria continued their struggle for their vital interests, and for deep-going social changes. In the course of this struggle the Tesniak party became Bolshevised. In May 1919 at its 22nd Congress it was reorganised into the Bulgarian Communist Party (of Close Socialists). Under the guidance of the Bulgarian Communist Party big strikes were staged by the textile workers and the miners. The party's influence rapidly grew among the masses.

In August 1919, elections were held to the National Assembly of Bulgaria. The Bulgarian Agrarian People's Union won first place and the Communist Party second place at the elections. The leader of the Union, Aleksandr Stamboliski, headed the new government which, besides the representatives of the Union, included representatives from the bourgeois parties (the National Party and the Progressive-Liberal Party). The Stamboliski government operated in difficult international and domestic conditions. According to the peace treaty (signed on November 27, 1919 in Neuilly-sur-Seine, near Paris),Bulgaria was cut off from the Aegean Sea, lost a considerable part of its territory, was to pay reparations, and so forth. The exacting terms of the treaty caused the economic situation in the country to deteriorate even further. Strikes and demonstrations of protest against the treaty began in Bulgaria. On December 29, 1919, a general po-

litical strike flared up.

Striving to stabilise the situation, the Stamboliski government proclaimed a state of emergency in the country, suppressed the strikes and severely persecuted the Communist Party. In March 1920, new elections were held to the National Assembly in Bulgaria, after which Stamboliski formed a single-party government and carried out some democratic reforms. Laws were passed on labour conscription, on labour property in land, and a progressive income tax was introduced. From 1922 relations between Bulgaria and the Soviet state began to improve. In spite of a certain half-heartedness and slowness, this policy was of a progressive nature.

Bulgarian reaction was alarmed by the activity of the Stamboliski government. In 1922, the bourgeois parties created the so-called constitutional bloc. At that same time the fascist movement became active, the fascist-type organisation the People's Collusion emerged with A. Tsankov at its head. The reactionary officers united into a Military League. On June 9, 1923, these reactionary forces performed a coup d'état, killed A. Stamboliski and set up a government headed by A. Tsankov.

The working masses responded to the fascist coup with armed battles in which the Communists and land-tillers took an active part. The number of rebels reached 100,000. However, the uprising was largely a spontaneous one. In the leadership of the Bulgarian Communist Party an erroneous view prevailed that there was contention between two factions of the bourgeoisie and therefore there was no need to support the government of the Bulgarian Agrarian People's Union. The leaders of the Union which had pursued a policy of exerting pressure on the Communist Party did not help to set up an alliance of the working class and peasantry either. The action of the masses was therefore rapidly suppressed.

After the crushing of the mass actions, the bourgeoisie and the fascist forces united into a single organisation of a fascist type, the Democratic Collusion. In August 1923, the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Agrarian Union agreed to set up a united front and prepare an armed uprising against the Tsankov government. They began the armed uprising on September 22. Among its leaders were the Communists Georgi Dimitrov and Vasil

Kolarov. However, the uprising mainly embraced the rural areas. There was no unanimous opinion in the ranks of the Bulgarian Communist Party about the uprising. On September 30 the uprising was put down. More than 20,000 people were killed and tens of thousands were thrown into prison. Although it was put down, the anti-fascist uprising of 1923 was of great importance for the fate of the country. It revealed the urgent need for a firm alliance of the workers and peasants, the unification of all the democratic forces to achieve victory.

At the end of 1923 elections to the National Assembly were held in Bulgaria. Making wide use of terror reaction ensured victory for the Democratic Collusion party. The reactionary majority in the National Assembly approved an anti-democratic law "On the Protection of the State" in January 1924, in accordance with which thousands of Communists were thrown into prison. Georgi Dimitrov was sentenced to death in his absence. Then an offensive was launched on the socio-economic gains of the working people. The working day was increased, and wages cut. The monopolists of Great Britain, France, and other countries began to penetrate intensively into the country's economy. This is how the Tsankov government tried to attain the economic and political stabilisation of capitalism in Bulgaria.

However, the Bulgarian reactionaries did not succeed in suppressing the class struggle in the country. Bolshevisation was taking place in the Communist Party as evidenced by its illegal conference in Vitosha (May 1924). In a number of places armed uprisings flared up, although it was not a good time for them. The Communist Party was not yet aware of this. Amidst growing dissatisfaction with the fascist government, the adventurist elements in the country were becoming more and more active, and on April 14, 1925, made an attempt to assassinate tsar Boris; on April 16 there was an explosion in St. Sofia's Cathedral when the government military and fascist upper crust were there. This terrorist act led to cruel mass repressions against the Communist Party and other democratic organisations. The organisations of the working class and the peasantry were dealt a telling blow.

At the same time, tsar Boris removed the Tsankov bloodthirsty government from power. Another representative of the fascist forces, Andrea Liapchev, headed the new

cabinet. He also pursued a policy of imposing fascism on the country, but he disguised it by social demagogy and flirted with the opposition bourgeois parties. Communists and other progressive figures were cruelly persecuted just as before.

Bulgaria's economy began to recover somewhat, but its dependence on foreign capital increased. Owing to loans from Britain, the USA and France in 1928, Bulgaria came under the financial control of these powers.

The forces of the working class began to revive. In February 1927 the Communist Party founded the legal Workers' Party and began to publish the newspaper *Rabotnichesko Delo* (Workers' Cause). The wave of mass protests by the workers began to gather in strength. On May 1, 1928, the workers of Sofia staged a mass demonstration which was dispersed by the police.

The world economic crisis hit Bulgaria hard, leading to the closure of hundreds of medium-size and small enterprises, causing mass unemployment and a drastic deterioration in the material condition of the working people. The revolutionary movement in Bulgaria was again on the rise. The Workers' Party became a mass and authoritative force, the number of strikes increased, and there was growing dissatisfaction among the peasantry. The working people of Bulgaria came out in favour of friendship with the Soviet Union more and more energetically. In July 1932, the Union of Friends of the USSR was organised.

The exacerbation of class contradictions was also manifest in certain regrouping of the bourgeois parties. The Democratic and the Radical Party together with the Agrarian Union created a Popular Bloc in 1931 and secured victory, at the elections to the People's Assembly. Although the government of the Popular Bloc pursued a policy of suppressing the workers' and communist movement, the reactionary forces were alarmed by it. In 1932, the pro-fascist organisations Zveno and National-Social Movement emerged.

The members of the Zveno in an alliance with other reactionary organisations overthrew the government of the Popular Bloc on May 19, 1934. The representative of the military circles, K. Georgiev, headed the government. The new authorities banned the activity of all the political parties, dissolved the trade unions, and began

sanguinary reprisals against the Communists and other progressive figures.

In foreign policy K. Georgiev increasingly tended towards a rapprochement with France and Britain. On July 23, 1934, diplomatic relations were established with the USSR. All this caused a sharply unfavourable negative response from the pro-German circles headed by tsar Boris. In January 1935, the Georgiev government resigned.

In 1935, there was a certain recovery in Bulgaria's economy. At the same time, the tsar consolidated his power, while the government was taken over by the head of his chancellary, Georgi Kiosseivanov. Bulgaria rapidly steered a course towards a rapprochement with Nazi Germany and its allies. German capital energetically penetrated into the country's economy. From 1938 onwards Germany began to supply arms to Bulgaria.

In this situation the Communist Party advanced the slogan of setting up a united anti-fascist Popular Front. In 1938, the Workers' Party and the Communist Party united into the Bulgarian Workers' Party. The united party of the working class headed the efforts of the Bulgarian people to combat fascism and the danger of war and for an alliance and friendship with the USSR. However, the ruling reactionary circles in Bulgaria helped to turn the country into an agrarian and raw-material appendage of Germany, a buttress of the fascist bloc in the Balkans.

YUGOSLAVIA

The Yugoslavian state was formed after the First World War owing to the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and under the influence of the October Revolution. A vigorous revolutionary liberation movement against Austro-Hungarian domination had already begun to gather momentum at the end of the war on the territory inhabited by the Southern Slavs. The Southern Slav people took part in the mutinies, which flared up on February 1, 1918 on the ships of the Austro-Hungarian fleet at the base of Kotor. More and more soldiers deserted and in a number of regions a peasant movement got underway.

The Social-Democrats and bourgeois parties became more active. Everywhere people tended to be increasingly in favour of founding an independent united southern Slav state.

After the defeat of Austria-Hungary in the war a popular Veče assembled in Zagreb in October 6, 1918, which proclaimed an independent state of the Slovenes, Croats and Serbs on October 29. The new state soon decided to unite with the Kingdom of Serbia and Montenegro. On December 1, 1918, the foundation of a united kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, headed by the Karageorgevic dynasty, was proclaimed. The Serbian bourgeois were in charge of the new state.

The new state emerged in difficult conditions, its economy having been hard hit by the war. The level of development differed greatly from region to region. The exacerbation of class and national contradictions caused the ruling circles to effect several reforms. On February 27, 1919, the authorities decided to conduct an agrarian reform which limited the size of the landed estates. As a result of a chain of strikes, the workers managed to get an eight-hour working day, wage rises and other concessions on the part of the bourgeoisie.

The upswing in the workers' and revolutionary movement boosted the influence of the left-wing forces in the social-democratic movement. The unification of all the communist forces in Yugoslavia began. On April 20-23, 1919, a unification congress of the Socialist Workers' Party of Yugoslavia (Communists) was held in Belgrade and attended by representatives of the left from many regions in the country. The congress decided to break with the Berne International and become a member of the Comintern. At its Second Congress in 1920 the party took the name of Communist Party of Yugoslavia. Its influence and membership swelled rapidly. However, on December 30, 1920, the authorities banned the activity of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia.

The workers of Yugoslavia made a contribution to the international movement of solidarity with Soviet Russia and also with Soviet Hungary. At meetings and demonstrations, in the course of the wave of strikes they resolutely stood in defence of these countries and against the interventionists of the Entente.

The frontiers of Yugoslavia were determined at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919. The situation inside the country also became stable. On June 28, 1921, a Constitution was adopted in Yugoslavia which consolidated the monarchic system in the country. Since it strengthened the dominating position of the Great Serb circles this gave rise to increasing national contradictions. In 1921 the anarchists made an unsuccessful attempt to assassinate the prince regent Alexander, and killed the Minister of Interior Draškovié. Reaction blamed the Communists for these terrorist acts. In 1921, a law was passed in Yugoslavia "On the Protection of Social Security", according to which the Communist Party of Yugoslavia was made illegal and the constitutional rights of the workers were limited.

Yugoslavia's foreign policy was characterised by anti-Sovietism. The country joined the Little Entente, and refused to establish diplomatic relations with the USSR. Italian-Yugoslav relations were also in a critical state as Italy was making claims to Dalmatia and was attempting to enslave Albania, a move opposed by Yugoslavia.

In the second half of the 1920s the class and national struggle in Yugoslavia intensified. The policy pursued by the ruling upper crust of compulsorily making the country Serb invited considerable resistance on the part of the Croats, Slovenes, and other peoples. The Croatian Peasant Party, which gained the second largest number of votes at the 1923 elections (the Serbian Radicals received the most votes) campaigned for the reorganisation of Yugoslavia and for the granting of autonomous rights to Croatia. The leader of the party Stefan Radić advanced demands for the independence of the Croatian republic within the framework of the Yugoslav state, the furthering of the land reform, and tax cuts. Radić strove to find support for his demands in Great Britain and France. Moreover, in the summer of 1924 he visited the Soviet Union and spoke in favour of the Croatian Peasant Party joining the Peasants' International. This circumstance was taken advantage of by the government of Yugoslavia to ban the Croatian Peasant Party. After this, Radić agreed to compromise with the Serbian Radicals. In 1925, the representatives of his party, including he himself, joined the coalition government. But the coalition only existed

for one year. The Croatian Peasant Party could not reconcile itself to the Great Serbian policy and abandoned the government.

Nor was there unity on questions of a national policy among the Serbian political circles. The Independent Democratic Party headed by Svetozar Pribicevic formed a bloc with the Croatian Peasant Party at the end of 1926 which was known as the Peasant-Democratic Coalition. Other oppositional organisations and groups joined it. The coalition championed an expansion of democracy, the rights of parliament, local self-government, and the introduction of equality of rights in the economy for all regions of Yugoslavia. In 1928, an acute political crisis occurred in the country. On June 28, a Serbian nationalist killed two Croatian deputies in the Skupstina (parliament), and fatally wounded Stefan Radic. Riots flared up throughout the country, especially in Croatia. The leaders of the Peasant-Democratic Coalition walked out of the Skupstina and demanded that fresh elections should be held. But they were not able to lead the struggle of the masses. The Communist Party of Yugoslavia, which was enfeebled by factional strife, was not ready to take over the leadership of the class and national struggle either.

On January 6, 1929, the Yugoslav King Alexander announced he was taking over all power, dissolved parliament and banned the activity of political parties arid rescinded the Constitution. The Great Serb monarchist, one of the leaders of the monarchic ^organisation of officers, the White Hand, General P. Zivkovic was made head of government. So, a coup d'etat was achieved in the country and a military fascist monarchic dictatorship was established. Soon after the coup d'etat the country was renamed the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. The national names of the regions were abolished, and new regions were formed which were named after rivers. Each region was created in such a way that the Serb population in it comprised the majority. A state court was set up to protect the state, its task being to cruelly put down any opposition to the military monarchic dictatorship.

Evaluating the situation incorrectly, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia appealed to the masses to join in armed uprising, but the conditions were not suitable for it. The authorities perpetrated numerous terrible repres-

sions on the Communists. The party was greatly weakened. The other opposition parties did not protest against the dictatorship.

Soon after the coup d'état an economic crisis began in Yugoslavia which hit industry, agriculture, and finances. The authorities took measures to alleviate the crisis. The state received the monopoly over exports of agricultural produce. A moratorium was imposed on peasant debts, and the compulsory selling of the property of peasant debtors was stopped. But these measures did not combat the destructive effect of the crisis and did not improve the situation of the working people.

To prevent an outburst of revolution, the authorities also agreed to certain political concessions. On October 3, 1931, a new Constitution was put into effect, and on November 8, elections were held to the Skupština. But only the governmental list of candidates was presented at the election. The bourgeois parties refused to take part in the elections. From the governmental deputies elected a party was set up which was subsequently called the Yugoslav National Party.

The dictatorship's political manoeuvres did not stunt the growth of the opposition. A number of parties—the Peasant-Democratic Coalition, the Serbian Democratic Party, the party of the Radicals, and the Slovenian clericals condemned the dictatorship, demanded the restoration of democracy and that the country should be recognised as a federal state. The government responded to the increased activity of the opposition with repressions, arrests and political killings.

In connection with this, separatist and nationalistic organisations appeared in the neighbouring countries, Italy and Hungary. The Ustashi (the Croatian fascists) headed by Ante Pavelić, and also the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation committed acts of terror on the territory of Yugoslavia which only hampered the development of a mass anti-dictatorship movement in the country.

The Italian ruling circles pursued a policy of splitting the Yugoslavian state which led to the further exacerbation of the Italian-Yugoslavian relations. The policy of fascist Germany which was spearheaded at a revision of the Versailles system of treaties spelled danger for

Yugoslavia. Therefore, Yugoslavia began to pay increasing attention to consolidating an alliance of the Balkan states. In February 1934, it joined the Balkan Pact together with Romania, Turkey and Greece. In the face of the growing danger of fascist aggression, Yugoslavia strove to strengthen its relations with France. For this purpose, the Yugoslavian King made a visit to Marseilles on October 9, 1934. But German fascist agents organised the assassination of the king on that very same day and also of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of France who met him, Louis Barthou (the Teutonic Sword operation).

Soon after the murder of the king elections to the Skupština were held in Yugoslavia (May 5, 1935). With the help of a forgery and police control the authorities managed to get the majority of votes for the government candidates. In June 1935 their representative Milan Stojadinović formed a new government. Although the monarchic fascist regime was hit by the crisis, with the help of various types of manoeuvres and demagogy Stojadinović managed to stabilise the situation in the country. On the basis of the right-wing political forces he set up the Yugoslav Radical Union, expanding the base somewhat for the regime existing in the country.

From 1935 Yugoslavia's economy began to recover slightly. Besides the branches of the light industry, metallurgy, engineering, chemical production and the war industry began to develop. The positions of foreign, British, French and American, capital grew stronger. German monopolies also penetrated into Yugoslavia.

In this period the workers' movement also became considerably more active. As a result of the strike campaign, the working class managed to get wage rises. The influence of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia among the masses grew. The party joined the effort to set up a Popular Front in the country. At the end of 1937 a new main core headed by Josip Broz Tito took shape.

The opposition bourgeois parties fortified their unity. In October 1938, the political Bloc of Popular Concord was formed: the Peasant-Democratic Coalition and the United Opposition (the Serb farmers, and the Democratic and Radical parties). This bloc demanded that the Constitution of 1931 should be rescinded, that election should

be held to a Constituent Skupština, and civil rights and political freedoms should be introduced, and the state should become a federal state. At the same time, the Bloc of Popular Concord refused to form a united front with the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, thereby weakening the forces of the anti-dictatorial opposition.

From the mid-1930s the foreign policy of Yugoslavia was increasingly orientated on a rapprochement with fascist Germany. The government of Stojadinović, which strove to strengthen relations with fascist Italy as well, worked towards this. In March 1937 a treaty of neutrality and good-neighbourliness was signed between Yugoslavia and Italy. However, the aggressive actions of the fascist states led to a deterioration in the international positions of Yugoslavia. Dissatisfaction with the policy pursued by Stojadinovic's government grew in the country, and in February 1939 it resigned. The new government was headed by Dragisha Cvetković.

On the eve of the Second World War the separatist movement gathered strength in Yugoslavia. The head of the Croatian Peasant Party, Dr. Maček, began to stake on Italy with the help of which he hoped to gain autonomy or "independence" for Croatia. Italy and Germany did all they could to encourage the Croatian separatists. In this connection Cvetković's government had to make concessions. On August 26, 1939, he signed an agreement with the Peasant-Democratic Coalition on granting Croatia autonomy. On that day the Yugoslavian government was reorganised, with Cvetković remaining at its head. Dr. Maček was given the post of deputy prime minister. The government also included other representatives of the Croatian Peasant Party. On the whole, this was a conspiracy among the Serbian and Croatian bourgeoisie, which had not solved the national question in the country. The new government continued to pursue the same domestic policy. In the sphere of foreign policy it tried to manoeuvre between the Anglo-French bloc and the fascist states. In spite of the growing threat of aggression from Hitler's Germany, the government of Yugoslavia did just as before refuse to set up the system of collective security proposed by the Soviet Union.

Formally Albania did not take part in the First World War. Its territory was, however, occupied by the warring countries. Back in 1915, France, Russia, Great Britain, and Italy came to an agreement on the partitioning of Albania among the neighbouring states (Italy, Montenegro, Serbia, and Greece). All this created a threat to Albania's independence which it had received in 1912. The news of the October Revolution, the publication by Soviet Russia of secret treaties, including the treaty on the partitioning of Albania, gave an impetus to the national liberation struggle of the Albanian people. After the Austro-Hungarian troops had moved from the north and the central part of Albania in the second half of 1918, the greater part of the country was under the control of Italy. In December 1918 an Albanian Congress was convened in Durrës at which pro-Italian figures predominated. The provisional government of Turkhan Pasha Permeti created by the congress recognised Albania as an Italian protectorate in 1919. The Paris Peace Conference, which discussed the Albanian question, did in fact decide to partition Albania among Italy, Yugoslavia and Greece.

However, in January 1920, the patriotic circles in Albania convened a new congress and formed another government with its seat in the town of Tirana. The congress resolutely protested against the partitioning of Albania. An armed struggle against the invaders began in the country. In Vlore which was occuped by Italy a national defence committee came into being which appealed for an armed uprising. The Italian workers also waged a campaign to protest against the aggressive actions of their government. In June and July 1920 in the course of the armed battle the Albanian patriots defeated the Italian forces and then fought against the Serbian and Greek invaders. As a result Albania restored its independence and in December 1920 it became a member of the League of Nations.

In the course of the national liberation struggle the Albanian peasants oppressed by the feudal yoke began to seize the landowners' estates, and the working class which was very small at that time was fighting for wage rises and better working conditions. In 1921-1923, there were

strikes at a number of enterprises in Albania. The national bourgeoisie and intelligentsia also campaigned for anti-feudal transformations. In 1921, the revolutionary democratic organisation, the Bashkimi, headed by Avni Rustemi came into being, which put forward a programme of bourgeois-democratic reforms. A revolutionary situation took shape in Albania. In April 1924 Avni Rustemi was murdered on the instructions of the reactionary feudal grouping headed by Ahmed Zogu.

This event sparked off an armed uprising in the course of which the power of the feudal lords was overthrown and in June 1924 the revolutionary government of Fan Stylian Noli was formed. In its class essence this was a bourgeois-democratic revolution. The revolutionary government announced its intention of carrying out anti-feudal, democratic transformations, to raise the standard of living of the workers and to establish diplomatic relations with the USSR. However, the social base of the government was a weak one, fraught with serious contradictions; the bourgeois circles manifested irresoluteness, and strove to find a compromise with the feudal lords.

Under the leadership of Ahmed Zogu counter-revolutionary detachments were formed in Yugoslavia which invaded Albania with the assistance of Yugoslavian troops and the Wrangel White Guards and suppressed the bourgeois-democratic revolution. Tirana fell in December 1924. Many of those who had participated in the revolution were cruelly murdered, all democratic freedoms were abolished, and progressive organisations were banned. Power was completely concentrated in the hands of Ahmed Zogu. In 1928, he proclaimed himself king. In essence a dictatorship of terror of the most reactionary feudal and bourgeois circles reigned in Albania.

Although the dictatorship of Ahmed Zogu did to a considerable extent draw support from the feudal circles, he was forced to take into account the objective process of the development of capitalist relations in Albania. This explained the passing of the law on the agrarian reform in 1930, according to which a small part of the landed estates was bought up and sold to the peasants. In spite of the restrictedness of the reform, it did somewhat accelerate the development of capitalist relations in the countryside. A stratum of kulaks became prominent in the

villages. But 52 per cent of the peasant households at the beginning of the thirties did not have any land.

From an industrial point of view Albania remained an extremely backward country. In 1938, industrial output was only 9.8 per cent of the gross output. Foreign, mainly Italian, capital had intensively penetrated into the country's economy. Italian capital gradually gained a hold on the main branches of Albanian industry and also finance. Albania's policy was increasingly dictated by Rome. In 1926, Albania signed a pact "On Friendship and Security" with Italy, and in 1927 a pact "On a Defensive Alliance". The agreements did in fact mean that Albania lost its freedom in the international arena and increasingly became a semi-colony of Italy.

The anti-feudal and anti-imperialist forces in Albania did not come to terms with the dictatorship of Ahmed Zogu. In 1925, Albanian revolutionaries abroad set up the National Revolutionary Committee (Konare). In 1928, it became the National Liberation organisation. Its activity was aimed at fighting the dictatorship of Ahmed Zogu. In 1928, an Albanian Communist group emerged in Moscow which did much to disseminate Marxist-Leninist ideas in Albania. In 1929, a Communist group was formed in the town of Korgë in Albania which set about combining the ideas of socialism with the workers' movement and also promoted the development of the trade union movement. In 1938, in the town of Shkodër yet another communist group came into being. These groups made preparations for founding a Communist Party in Albania.

The Communists played an important part in activating the class struggle of the workers as well as the movement of protest against the dictatorship. In 1935, a secret anti-dictatorship organisation, which had emerged in Tirana, made an armed attempt to overthrow Ahmed Zogu, but the uprising ended in defeat. Its participants did not have sufficiently strong links with the masses at large and a precisely expressed programme. The general strike of the oil workers of Kucheva in February 1936 was an important event in the political life of the country. At that time, anti-government protests occurred in Korgë. These and other protests were cruelly put down by the troops and the police.

On the eve of the Second World War Italy decided to put an end to Albania's independence once and for all. On April 7, 1939, Italian troops invaded Albania and occupied the whole country in several days. The government of Ahmed Zogu was not able to organise resistance to the invaders. The individual armed protests by the Albanians against the Italian forces were swiftly put down. The Western powers did not take any measures to prevent the Italian aggression against Albania. Only the USSR resolutely condemned Italy's aggressive action. Thus, the perfidious policy of the reactionary circles in Albania led to the temporary loss of their country's independence.

GREECE

Before the world imperialist war Greece remained a backward agrarian country where vestiges of feudalism were still pronounced. Approximately 70 per cent of the self-employed population were engaged in farming. The country did to a considerable extent depend on foreign, mainly British and French, capital. The Liberal and the People's (monarchic) Party and the Republican Alliance actively took part in political life. The Liberals were in favour of capitalist development in the country and the consolidating of relations with Great Britain. The People's Party expressed the interests of the monarchists and was orientated on Germany. The Republican Alliance represented the petty-bourgeois strata in the town and countryside. The rapprochement with France formed the basis of its foreign political line.

An acute struggle was waged among the political parties around the question of their attitude to the First World War. For a long time Greece preserved its neutrality and entered the war on the side of the Entente only in the summer of 1917. During the war Greece became even more dependent on Anglo-French imperialism. Fighting in the war and in the post-war ventures led to a drastic deterioration in its economic situation, to the further impoverishment of the popular masses and promoted the class struggle.

Under the influence of the October Revolution an

upsurge of the people's movement began in the country in which the young working class was playing an ever more active part. The working masses tried to secure an improvement in their living conditions and the cessation of the military ventures. In the course of the campaign workers' organisations came into being and gained in strength. In the autumn of 1918 the General Confederation of Labour which united 60,000 workers was set up in Athens. In November 1918 at the General Greek Congress of Socialists a decision was taken to found a Socialist Workers' Party of Greece. In the programme adopted by the congress demands were put forward to eliminate the monarchic system, to democratise the country, to improve the material situation of the workers and to fight for the gaining of political power by the working class. The new party was in favour of pursuing a policy of peace and sent greetings to Soviet Russia. The formation of the Socialist Workers' Party of Greece meant the beginning of a new stage in the workers' movement in Greece.

The countries of the Entente strove to use Greece in their plans for anti-Soviet intervention and putting down the revolutionary movement in the Balkans and the Middle East. In January 1919 the Greek government sent part of its troops within a French expedition corps to the shores of the Crimea and to the Ukraine. The imperialists also calculated on help from Greece in suppressing the liberation movement in Turkey. In May 1919, Greece began a war against Turkey which lasted until 1922. The broad strata of the Greek population, including the Socialist Workers' Party, protested against Greece's joining in the anti-Soviet intervention and in the war against Turkey. On May 1 and in July 1919, under the leadership of the Socialist Workers' Party of Greece big strikes were successfully held, during which economic as well as political demands were advanced. The party played an important part in the strikes in 1920 as well.

As a result of the parliamentary elections in November 1920, the Liberal Party which was in power suffered defeat; the monarchic (People's) Party came out victorious. One of the first acts by the monarchists was a "plebiscite" on December 5, 1920, as a result of which King Constantine returned to the Greek throne (in June 1917 he was ex-

pelled from the country at the request from the Entente countries as he protested against Greece's participation in the war against Germany).

Greece's military venture against Turkey ended in defeat for the Greek forces which were driven out of Asia Minor in September 1922. On October 11 an armistice was signed in Mudania and in 1923 the Lausanne Peace Treaty was signed according to which Greece returned Eastern Thrace to Turkey and also the territories in Asia Minor. Greece's military defeat undermined the positions of the monarchists and King Constantine. The popular masses demanded that the monarchy should be abolished and those who were to blame for the war should be punished. In an attempt to prevent a possible revolutionary outburst, the Liberals performed a military coup. On September 15, 1922, King Konstantin was deposed and replaced on the Greek throne by his elder son, George IL The high commander of the troops and the three former prime ministers who were proclaimed guilty of the military defeat were shot.

After the war Greece's economic and political situation continued to remain extremely complicated. Famine, the rising cost of living, and unemployment led to the sharp aggravation of the class struggle. The new government satisfied a number of demands of the workers: democratic freedoms were extended and a restricted agrarian reform was announced. However, the situation of the working masses continued to deteriorate. In August 1923, the General Confederation of Labour called a general strike in which 140,000 workers took part. During the strike there were mass demonstrations and sanguinary clashes with police and troops. Having put the strike down by force, the authorities dissolved the trade unions and subjected the members of the Socialist Workers' Party of Greece to a storm of repressions.

But the mass movement did not cease. In the course of it the demands to abolish the monarchy and establish a republican system became more insistent. After the defeat of the monarchists at the elections in December 1923, King George II left the country. On March 25, 1924, Greece was proclaimed a republic. Some changes also occurred in the country's foreign policy. On March 8, 1924, Greece recognised the Soviet Union and established diplomatic relations with it.

The period of capitalist stabilisation was marked in Greece by a certain growth in production, mainly in the light industry. At the end of 1924 the Third Extraordinary Congress of the Socialist Workers' Party of Greece took place at which the party was renamed the Communist Party of Greece. The congress advanced the slogan of the campaign to create a workers' and peasants' government. But the political situation in the country continued to remain unstable. The struggle for power among the biggest political parties had not slackened off. Among part of the ruling classes the reactionary dictatorial tendencies had become ever more pronounced. In the summer of 1925 General Theodoros Pangalos staged a coup d'état. In January 1926 he proclaimed himself dictator, dissolved parliament, arrested the leaders of the opposition parties, outlawed the Communist Party of Greece, and threw many Communists into prison. In his foreign policy Pangalos made big concessions to the foreign imperialism.

However, not only the broad workers' strata, but also a considerable part of the Greek bourgeoisie responded to the dictatorship of Pangalos extremely negatively. On August 22, 1926, Pangalos was overthrown. After this, a coalition government was set up, an amnesty and parliamentary elections were carried out, and a new Constitution was worked out (adopted in June 1927). In 1928, a government came to power which was headed by the leader of the Liberal Party, Eleutherios Venizelos. The economic and financial situation in Greece improved slightly. Its foreign policy became more active. Greece concluded an agreement on friendship with Italy, signed a trade agreement with Albania and settled relations with Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. In 1929, a treaty on trade and navigation was concluded by Greece and the Soviet Union.

The workers' and communist movement in Greece revived. The Communist Party came out from underground and took part in the parliamentary elections in 1926, securing ten of the deputies seats. In 1928, the liquidators were expelled from the party. The party played an important part in leading the strike campaign, including the general strike in June-July 1928. Under the guidance of the Communist Party of Greece, the workers frustrated the attempts by the authorities to get an anti-communist

bill enacted in parliament.

However, the upsurge in the revolutionary movement in the country frightened the bourgeoisie. The Liberals managed to get a law passed in parliament in July 1929 outlawing the activity of the Communist Party of Greece and the revolutionary trade unions.

The economic crisis lasting from 1929 to 1933 hit Greece's economy hard, especially the leading branch of it, agriculture, and caused the material situation of the working masses to deteriorate drastically. The country's ruling circles sought a way out of the crisis by obtaining new foreign loans and making a further onslaught on the standard of living of the workers. In 1929-1931, the government of Greece signed agreements (with Britain and the USA) on loans on crushing terms for a total sum of more than 12 million pounds sterling. This led to a tremendous growth in the state debts and in 1932 the government announced that the country was bankrupt.

In the years of economic crisis, the worker and peasant movement in Greece became vigorous. The strike campaign took on a grand scale in 1932 and 1933. Besides economic demands, the workers also advanced political demands (the cessation of terror, the arrests, the persecution of left-wing organisations). In the countryside the peasants protested against tax increases and the landowners' terror and carried out "hunger campaigns". The crisis undermined the position of the Liberal Party. In the elections of 1933 most of the seats in parliament were gained by the monarchic (People's) Party. Its leader Panages Tsaldaris headed the government.

In 1934, Greece gradually managed to get out of the crisis. But the marked strengthening of the country's economic situation in subsequent years did not occur. Depression followed in the wake of the crisis. To stimulate the economy, the Tsaldaris government imposed new taxes on the workers and cut unemployment benefits. To stunt the growth of the class struggle, the ruling circles connived at the development of a fascist movement in Greece. Back at the beginning of 1934 the Communist Party of Greece set the working masses the task of creating a united anti-fascist front. Under the banner of countering fascism, on May 16, 1934, a general strike was called in Greece. In June 1934 the Communists secured the con-

vening of general Greek anti-fascist congress. A great achievement was the signing on October 5, 1934, of an agreement on combined anti-fascist action among the Communist Party of Greece, the Agrarian Party, the Socialist Party, the Workers' Social-Democratic Party, the All-Greek Confederation of Labour, the United All-Greek Confederation of Labour, and the "independent trade unions".

In circumstances when the anti-fascist movement was on the upsurge, contention in the bourgeois camp between the monarchic (People's) and the Liberal Party exacerbated. On October 10, 1935, the leader of the extreme right-wing monarchists General G. Kondyles performed a coup d'état. The monarchy was soon restored in Greece and King George II, who was in England, returned to the country.

In response to the restoration of the monarchy the Communist Party appealed to the workers to call a general strike and put forward the slogan of setting up a democratic popular government. The extensive anti-monarchic campaign started by the Communist Party led to the creation of a Popular Front which included the Communist Party of Greece, the left-wing trade unions, individual socialist organisations and the Agrarian Party. A strike campaign was launched simultaneously with the movement of the Popular Front.

But the democratic forces in Greece did not manage to prevent a fascist dictatorship from being established. On August 4, 1936, the former general who had headed the government in April 1936 Joannes Metaxas, drawing support from the internal reactionary sources and the British imperialists, carried out a military coup and established a fascist dictatorship in the country. A state of siege was introduced in Greece, parliament was dissolved, the democratic parties and trade unions were banned and there were mass arrests of Communists and other anti-fascists.

The anti-fascists in Greece continued the struggle underground. At the beginning of 1938 the All-Greek Committee of the United Workers' Front was set up. On July 28, 1938, an uprising to protest against the fascist dictatorship flared up on the island of Crete.

The dictatorship made Greece even more dependent

on foreign capital. In February 1934, under the pressure exerted by France Greece joined the Balkan Entente (the alliance of Greece, Romania, Turkey and Yugoslavia), France's tool in the Balkans. There was not only rivalry between Britain and France for domination in the country, but Italy and Germany in their turn worked to subordinate Greece to their interests. During the dictatorship of Metaxas there was a rapid rapprochement between Greece and Hitler's Germany. The German fascists imposed crushing trade agreements on Greece, took upon themselves the supplying of the Greek army with arms, did in fact establish its leadership over it and created its own "fifth column" in the country.

ASIA

Chapter 8

The Countries of East Asia

JAPAN

Japan's economic and political situation after World War I. The "rice mutinies". Japan fought in the First World War on the side of the Entente. During the war Japanese industry flourished and monopoly capital prospered. From 1914 to 1919 the output of the engineering and chemical industry grew sevenfold in terms of cost. The Mitsui and Mitsubishi concerns gained in strength. Among the new monopoly associations the Kuhara concern could be distinguished. No big changes occurred in agriculture. Taking advantage of the wartime situation, the landowners tried to raise the prices of food crops, especially rice. But their influence on economic and political life in the country markedly weakened.

During the war, Japan's foreign expansion intensified, especially in China, and also in India, Indonesia, and the African countries. Japanese imperialism actively penetrated into the markets of Great Britain, France, and Holland. During the war Japan's exports almost quadrupled. Japanese imperialism even set its sights on the wealth in the Far East of Russia. On April 5, 1918, Japan began intervention against the Soviet state.

Becoming rich on huge profits abroad the Japanese ruling classes simultaneously and mercilessly exploited their own working masses. While the workers' pay was decreased, food prices rose by 84-100 per cent. The peasant farms declined and were ruined. Approximately 70

per cent of the peasants rented land from the landowners. The situation of the intelligentsia and the urban petty bourgeoisie deteriorated. All this led to the exacerbation of class contradictions.

Inspired by the news of the October Revolution which had led to the collapse of the bourgeois-landowner state in Russia and established the power of the workers, the popular masses in Japan rose increasingly resolutely in struggle against the oppression of the feudal lords and the bourgeoisie. The part played by the industrial workers in the class struggle was considerably heightened. In 1918 the proletariat numbered 1,410,000 compared with 916,000 in 1913. It responded to the deterioration in its situation by intensifying the strike campaign. In 1917, there were 392 strikes in which 57,300 people took part, and in 1918 417 strikes in which 66,600 people joined. In 1919, there were already 2,388 strikes embracing approximately 335,000 people. Armourers, shipbuilders, metallurgists, miners, and tram workers joined in the strike battles.

The intervention against the Soviet Far East started by the Japanese imperialists only heightened the dissatisfaction of the working masses with the policy of the ruling circles. In the second half of 1918 (August-September) "rice mutinies" began in Japan. The Japanese monopolies exported rice, growing fat on the big profits. However, in their own country there was not enough rice for the workers and it was sold at high prices. On August 3, 1918, a spontaneous demonstration of fishermen's wives demanding that rice prices should be cut and its export from Japan stopped, occurred in the small port town of the prefecture of Toyama. Similar spontaneous protests took place in the towns of Kyoto, Osaka, Nagoya, Kobe, and Tokyo, in practice embracing the whole country. Some ten million people joined the movement, workers, peasants, fishermen, and petty bourgeoisie. The participants in the "rice mutinies" destroyed the stores of rice, set fire to the houses of the wealthy, raided factories and plants belonging to the capitalists, and were particularly active in their protests against the traders who refused to sell rice at lower prices. The workers in the coal and ore mines in Kyushu, at the steel foundries and the shipyards of the Mitsubishi concern were all in-

volved in this campaign. In the town of Kobe the steel foundry of the firm Suzuki was set on fire. Sanguinary battles continued there for almost two days.

The authorities, using the police and the troops, put down the demonstrations extremely cruelly. Severe repressions were employed against the participants in the "rice mutinies". More than eight thousand people were arrested. Many were banished or executed. In the course of the movement the lack of experience and maturity of the Japanese proletariat became obvious. At the same time, the "rice mutinies" promoted the further development of the proletarian and democratic movement in Japan. An eminent figure in the Japanese working-class movement, the founder of the Japanese Communist Party, Sen Katayama, noted that they "gave a certain experience to the Japanese proletariat; it learnt a great deal in these first heroic clashes with the Japanese monarchy".

The "rice mutinies" frightened the ruling classes in Japan. Therefore, they decided to agree to certain concessions. The government of the bourgeois-landowner party the Society of Political Friends headed by Takashi Hara which was formed in September 1918 conducted a series of reforms. On May 25, 1919, according to the new franchise law, the number of voters increased from 1.5 million to three million. In August the system of colonial administration in Korea and Taiwan underwent a partial reorganisation, and an eight-hour working day was introduced.

The upsurge in the revolutionary movement was accompanied by a growth in the workers' and democratic organisations. In 1919, the positions of the proletarian elements became stronger in the reformist trade unions, the Fraternal Association. Protesting against the policy of class cooperation, the members of the Society called it a Federative Association of the Trade Unions of Great Japan, renamed the General Federation of Labour in Japan in 1921. At the same time, the first student organisations appeared and unions of peasant-tenants mushroomed. In April 1922 the Japanese Peasants' Alliance came into being on their basis.

In 1918, illegal socialist circles appeared the members of which studied and disseminated Marxist ideas. In September 1918, the students at Tokyo State University

founded the Society of a New Man which set the task of fighting for the liberation of man from any kind of oppression and for social reorganisation in Japan. In 1919, a society to propagandise anarchism among the workers came into being. In December 1920, the Japanese Socialist League which united almost a thousand people, was formed. Its members included supporters of anarchism, reformism, and communism. Owing to the extreme variety of the ideological stands of its members, the League did not exist for long (in May 1921 it disintegrated).

The crisis of 1920-1921. The formation of the Communist Party. The drop in demand for products intended for military consumption led to a sharp decrease in industrial output in Japan. In April and May 1920 several Japanese banks went bankrupt and ceased their operations. The allotment of 120 million yen from the state funds in aid for them did not alleviate the crisis. Following this, textile production decreased, more than half of the shipyards closed down, and the process of small enterprises being absorbed by bigger ones intensified. Chronic unemployment prevailed in the country. The standard of living of the workers worsened.

The crisis again aggravated the class contradictions. Mass strikes took place at the biggest enterprises. In 1921, strikers at the shipyards in Kobe established their own control over them. For six weeks they were doggedly fighting for their own interests. The government sent troops against the workers, and the strike was put down.

With the exacerbation of class contradictions the petty-bourgeois terrorist elements became more active. The big banker Yasuda was assassinated by them (September 28, 1921) and the Prime Minister Takashi Hara (November 4, 1921). This was a distinct expression of protest against the offensive of monopoly capital which was causing the ruin of the small producers.

The new Japanese government was headed by the financier Takahashi Korekiyo. He had to get down to settling not only the internal difficulties but also problems arising in foreign policy. By this time Japanese intervention against Soviet Russia and Mongolia had definitely ended in failure. The popular masses and also the soldiers of the interventionist forces demanded that Japan should

withdraw from the captured territories. At the same time, the rivalry of the USA and the West European powers with Japan in plundering China intensified. All this complicated the situation for Japanese monopoly capital.

In the second half of 1921 Japan began to recover from the economic crisis, but no noticeable revival was observed in the development of production. Just as before, the living standard of the workers remained low. The left wing of the workers' movement grew stronger. After the Japanese Socialist League ceased its operations, the Society to Awaken the People propagandised socialist ideas, an important part in it being played by the metalworker Watanabe.

The growth in the class struggle especially in connection with the course of the economy, promoted the dissemination among the vanguard strata of the Japanese proletariat of ideas about the expediency of having its own militant political party. The Japanese representatives among whom there were Kyuichi Tokuda and Sen Katayama decided at the First Congress of the Peoples of the Far East in Moscow at the beginning of 1922 to form a Communist Party when they returned to their homeland.

On July 15, 1922, a Constituent Congress of the Communist Party of Japan started in Tokyo. Among the participants in the Congress were Katayama, Tokuda, Ichikawa, and Watanabe. The Congress approved the party rules, took a decision on publishing the party newspaper *Akahata* (The Red Banner), and elected a Central Committee. In the programme of the Communist Party of Japan adopted in November 1922 the following slogans were put forward: the abolition of the monarchy and the founding of a democratic republic in Japan, the elimination of the landed estates, the allotment of the lands among the peasants, the introduction of an eight-hour working day, and the introduction of democratic freedoms. In December 1922, a communist youth organisation came into being in the country.

The setting up of the Communist Party marked the beginning of a new stage in the development of the Japanese working-class movement. The young Communist Party immediately engaged in the campaign for the interests of the popular masses. It helped to boost the movement

in protest against Japan's participation in the intervention against the Soviet Far East. The organisation "Hands Off Russia" which came into being in the summer of 1922 arranged numerous rallies to protest against the intervention in Soviet Russia. The Kansai League which was headed by the Communists arranged similar activities to protest against the intervention against Russia. When addressing the Japanese soldiers, Sen Katayama said: "I ardently appeal to you to leave Siberia immediately and return to your homeland or to act as the Russian soldiers did—to organise soldiers' Soviets in every company, in every regiment, and deprive your officers of power and strength." The workers in Japan also collected money to fight the famine in Russia. On October 25, 1922, the Japanese interventionists were forced to get out of Vladivostok.

The activation of the workers' and democratic movement seriously alarmed the ruling circles in Japan. A new period of repressions began in the country and also persecutions of those who attended anti-imperialist rallies. Back in June 1923 the authorities had already arrested eminent figures in the Communist Party.

On September 1, 1923 an extremely serious earthquake occurred in the central region of Japan, in the towns of Tokyo and Yokohama. The Japanese capital was left in ruins. A hundred and fifty thousand people died as a result of the earthquake. The overall material damage was estimated as 5,500 million yen. On September 2, 1923, a new government was formed headed by Admiral Yamamoto Gombei. Instructions were issued on "measures to preserve social security". Under the false pretext of combating arsen and disorderly behaviour the authorities introduced a state of siege in the country, began mass arrests of those who joined the revolutionary movement and pogroms against the Korean population. Many figures in left-wing organisations in Japan were murdered on trumped up charges. These cruel repressions led to the weakening of the workers' organisations. In March 1924 the liquidator elements managed to disband the Communist Party. Soon after the earthquake the government granted subsidies to the capitalists whose enterprises had been destroyed. The restoration work caused a revival in the economy.

Japan in the years of temporary stabilisation of capitalism. Industry and trade in Japan began to recover in the mid-1920s. The level of industrial output by 1926 had exceeded the pre-war indices. There was noticeable development in heavy industry as well, especially in the branches involved in arms production. The monopolisation of production and capital continued. However, capitalist stabilisation in Japan was quite short-lived. Already in 1927, signs of economic decline were evident. Competition from other imperialist powers and an anti-Japanese boycott in China was conducive to the fall of production in Japan. As a result, many industrial enterprises in Japan were only working at 75 to 80 per cent of their load.

Some changes took place in political life in Japan. On June 11, 1924, a government was formed headed by Takaakira Kato, the leader of the party the Society of Constitutional Rule. The new administration announced the beginning of a new era of reforms. In 1925, the parliament enacted a new franchise law, which introduced universal suffrage for men over thirty years, thus increasing the electorate from three million to 13 million. Women were not granted suffrage. With the help of this law, the bourgeoisie, which had grown stronger, calculated on fortifying its positions in the state apparatus and ousting the military and feudal circles. Besides this the authorities hoped to take the edge off the class struggle in the country somewhat.

Another means of combating the revolutionary movement was the law on the protection of public order passed in 1925. In accordance with this law, police control was introduced over the activities of workers' organisations, the strike campaign was limited, and those who belonged to revolutionary organisations were persecuted. Kato's government began to work out an agrarian reform to promote the development of capitalist relations in the countryside.

In foreign policy the government took an important positive step when it established normal diplomatic relations between Japan and the USSR in January 1925. At the same time an agreement was reached on the evacuation of Japanese forces from Northern Sakhalin and its return to the Soviet Union. On the whole Kato's government

conducted manoeuvres both in home and foreign policy.

The situation of the working masses in the years of stabilisation remained a grave one. By 1928 the army of unemployed had reached a million. The peasant masses continued to be impoverished and ruined. Terror and manoeuvres on the part of the authorities caused certain confusion in the workers' and democratic organisations. At its congress in March 1925 the Japanese Federation of Labour supported the governmental law on the protection of public order and began to expel left-wing figures and whole trade union organisations from its ranks. In this connection, the left wing in the trade union movement was formalised into an independent organisation, the Council of Trade Unions, on May 25, 1925.

A complicated situation arose in the communist movement. The disbandment of the Communist Party by the opportunists was not approved by the Marxist elements who wanted the party restored. At the congress of the Japanese Communists at the beginning of 1925, the liquidator deviation in the party was condemned. In December 1926, the Communists had their Third Congress at which the Communist Party was restored. After this, the Marxist core of the party gave a rebuff to the sectarian elements. In December 1927, Watanabe was elected General Secretary of the Party.

In March 1926 a Workers' and Peasants' Party headed by left-wing elements was organised in Japan. The party campaigned for an 8-hour working day, for the introduction of social insurance, for the repeal of the reactionary laws, and the extension of democratic rights. Together with the Communist Party it actively protested against the Japanese interventionist policy in China. In February 1928, the Workers' and Peasants' Party took part in the elections to parliament.

In the face of the growing workers' and anti-imperialist movement, the ruling circles in Japan decided to put a strong government in power. It was formed by General Giichi Tanaka, the president of the bourgeois-landowner party the Society of Political Friends. The new government pursued a policy of crushing the workers' and democratic movement in the country, preparing Japan for an aggressive war against China and the USSR, and also against a number of imperialist powers who rivalled Japa-

nese imperialism. On March 15, 1928 the authorities made mass arrests of the members of the Communist Party, the Workers' and Peasants' Party, the trade unions, and the peasant and youth organisations. In October 1928 Watanabe was killed during a clash with the police. Tanaka introduced the death sentence for membership of the Communist Party. In April 1928 the Workers' and Peasants' Party was dissolved, as well as the Council of Trade Unions, and the Proletarian Youth League. The membership of the Communist Party and other organisations of the workers fell. But its members continued to fight reaction and the aggressive policy of the country's ruling circles in the difficult conditions underground.

In its foreign policy the Tanaka government became more vigorous in its aggressive acts against China. On May 28, 1927, the Japanese expedition corps was sent to China and occupied the province of Shandung. The boycott of Japanese goods which has started in China had hit the industrialists. Tanaka was forced to call the occupation units back to Japan. But this did not mean that the government had given up its aggressive policy. In a memorandum of July 25, 1927 to the Emperor of Japan, Tanaka outlined a programme for the seizure of areas in China, Mongolia, and the Soviet Far East by the Japanese. In 1928 Tanaka again sent Japanese forces to Shandung.

Japan, the first hotbed of the Second World War. In the spring of 1927 signs of the economic crisis became evident in Japan, earlier than in the other capitalist countries. The ruin of a number of small and medium-size banks led to a "bank panic". The clients all rushed to withdraw their savings from the banks. This time, too, the government came to the aid of private capital. The state bank provided a subsidy of more than 2,000 million yen all in all as an extraordinary subsidy to the banks and enterprises which were in dire straits. But the crisis continued to gather. Approximately half of the enterprises in the mining and heavy industries had to cut their operations by 1931. The prices of rice, silk, and agricultural raw materials fell. By the end of 1931 the number of unemployed and semi-unemployed had reached 3 million. On average wages had dropped by 13 per cent. The average annual income of the peasants decreased from 700 yen to

135 yen. The situation of other strata of the population also deteriorated.

The exacerbation of the class contradictions was manifest in the growing strike campaign, the movement of the unemployed, and the peasant unrest. In 1929, there were 1,420 labour conflicts in Japan and in 1931, 2,456 conflicts. The strikes were accompanied by clashes with police and strikebreakers. The League set up by the unemployed staged mass demonstrations. In rural localities 2,700 rent conflicts were registered in 1931.

As the crisis developed, opposition to the Tanaka government grew. On July 2, 1929, it was replaced by the government of Yuko Hamaguchi, a representative of the Genuine Party of Political Friends formed on June 1, 1927. The new cabinet championed a severe economy. The budget was cut, civil servants' pay was cut and the onslaught on the working class intensified. To overcome the crisis, the government helped to implement the capitalist rationalisation of industry. However, all these measures were insufficient to pull the country out of the crisis.

Then the ruling circles of Japan decided to set foot on the path of political adventures. On September 18, 1931, the Japanese forces invaded Manchuria, which attracted them by its wealth and its strategic position as a bridgehead for aggression against China, Mongolia, and the USSR. In December 1931, a government was formed by Ki Tsuyoshi Inukai, a representative of the party the Society of Political Friends. This reflected the increasing influence of the military circles in the country's political life. By the summer of 1932 Manchuria was already in the power of the Japanese invaders. The aggressor continued to advance on other regions of China. Thus, Japan created the first big hotbed of the Second World War.

In the years of the crisis the rapid process of fascistisation began in Japan. The military and the military and police apparatus of the monarchy played the main part in its development. On Mayl5, 1932, the fascist organisation, Young Officers, made an attempt at a coup d'état for the purpose of establishing a military-fascist dictatorship. During this attempt the Prime Minister Inukai was killed. Owing to the rivalry among the different reactionary groupings this plot ended in failure. The new government was headed by Admiral Makoto Saito who ma-

noeuvred between the military fascist circles and right-wing bourgeois parliamentary forces.

The gathering danger of fascism was manifest in the new repressions against the Communists and other democrats in Japan. The Japanese Communist Party, which resolutely protested against the seizure of Manchuria, was subject to particularly severe persecution by the authorities. In July 1931, the trial began of 43 leading figures in the Communist Party. In the autumn of 1932 a series of arrests took place among the Communists. All in all, from 1929 to 1933 50,000 people were arrested. The arrests, and also the sectarian and dogmatic mistakes made seriously weakened the Communist Party.

Continuing its aggressive war in China, Japan came up against resistance on the part of the Chinese people. The USSR and the other peace-loving forces resolutely condemned the Japanese aggression. In connection with the condemnation by the League of Nations of Japan's seizure of Manchuria, Japan left that organisation on March 27, 1933. The difficulties entailed in continuing an aggressive foreign policy aggravated the internal strife in Japan. In January 1934, Sadao Araki who was particularly known as a warmonger was forced to leave his post as Minister of War which he had occupied since 1931. However, the Young Officers, close to him, began to think up a new plot.

The elections to the Japanese parliament which were held on February 20, 1936, gave the majority to the candidates who had taken anti-war positions. Among those elected there were 18 deputies of the Social-Democratic Party which was represented in parliament for the first time. The outcome of the elections dealt a blow at the plans of the military. Then, on February 26, the group of the Young Officers with two thousand soldiers again made an attempt at a coup d'état. The conspirators occupied vital strategic points in the capital. However, the greater part of the military units and the fleet refused to support them. After the mutiny was put down, seventeen of its leaders were shot.

The cabinet of Koki Hirota which was formed after this intensified Japan's preparations for a big war. In 1936, Japan concluded an "anti-Comintem pact" with Germany.

The change-over to a policy of aggression brought the Japanese monopolies huge profits. The military orders obtained by the biggest concerns from 1932 to 1936 totalled 5,500 million yen, and the net profits made by the concerns more than doubled. This resulted in Japan recovering from the economic crisis and turned it into one of the biggest industrial countries in the world.

However, the policy of inflation pursued by the ruling circles led to the rising cost of living, a drop in wages, increased taxes, and the ruin of the peasant masses. The deterioration of the material situation of the workers incited them to become active in their struggle. The workers and peasants began to demonstrate more energetically in support of their vital interests and against the policy of military adventures. On the initiative of the Communist Party an extensive anti-war campaign was launched in Japan. It was increasingly demanded that intervention against Manchuria is ceased. In the cities of Osaka and Nagoya a movement in support of a popular front and against war and fascism got started. The activation of the workers' and anti-war movement led to the creation of the All-Japanese Federation of Labour in 1935. The movement for a united anti-fascist and anti-war front also involved the peasant masses. In a number of places workers' and peasants' committees came into being. In May 1936 they united into the All-Japanese Workers' and Peasants' Association which became the Japanese Proletarian Party in 1937. The anti-war and anti-fascist forces had a great influence on the outcome of the parliamentary elections in April 1937. Coming out with anti-war slogans, the Social-Democrats gained 37 seats at these elections.

In June 1937, a government was formed in Japan headed by Prince Fumimaro Konoye who tried to reconcile the militarists with the "moderates". Both the former and the latter he promised an easy victory in the Japanese-Chinese war. On July 7, 1937, Japan began big aggressive operations against China. The main bourgeois-landowner parties and also the leaders of the Social-Democrats rendered assistance to Konoye's government in this war. The government immediately conducted repressions against the opposition. In March 1938, parliament approved the law "On the Universal Mobilisation of the Nation". This law envisaged the militarisation of the econ-

omy, the establishment of extremely strict censorship, and the banning of the activities of the opposition. Participation in the movement of a united popular front was a criminal offense. All the legal progressive organisations like, for example, the Society to Study Materialism, were banned, and their leaders arrested. By March 1938, 10,000 people had been arrested.

Not meeting any resistance on the part of the Western imperiidist powers to its aggressive war in China, Japan made an attempt to extend its expansion. In the summer of 1938, it attacked Soviet territory in the region of lake Khasan but its troops were repelled by Red Army units. A year later Japanese forces invaded Mongolia near the river Khalkhin-Gol but they were routed by Soviet and Mongolian troops. After this, Japan decided to occupy a position of "neutrality" with regard to the USSR.

In January 1939, Konoye's government was replaced by the cabinet of Kiichiro Hiranuma who had become extremely active in putting into effect the law "On the Universal Mobilisation of the Nation". Acting in the interests of the biggest monopolies, he pursued a policy of compulsorily shutting down petty and middle-size production. The economic police set up by him stripped petty and middle-size producers of their raw materials and equipment. In spite of these severe repressions, the strikes and anti-war demonstrations did not cease even amongst the soldiers in China. But the ruling circles did in the main suppress the opposition and continued the fascistisation of the home policy regime, having prepared for serious military clashes in the interests of big monopoly capital.

CHINA

The upsurge in the revolutionary anti-imperialist movement in China. On the eve of the First World War China found itself in semi-colonial dependence on the imperialist powers, especially Great Britain, the United States and Japan. Foreign capital was in charge of the main branches of its economy. Having turned China into their own agrarian and raw material appendage, the imperialists cruelly exploited the popular masses in that country. In

the first two decades of the 20th century the share of industrial output in the total national income of China was no more than 20 per cent. Artisans and manufacture enterprises did thereby predominate in industrial production. Primitive agriculture was the main occupation of the Chinese people, in which up to 80 per cent of the country's population was engaged. Of these approximately four-fifths of the families had no land at all or very little land. Enslaving rents were widespread in the countryside. The ruling class were feudal lords to whom the main masses of the land belonged. This was the most reactionary exploiter class, the buttress of foreign imperialism.

China remained a divided country; in some regions militarist cliques who were hostile to one another had formed and were ruling. They either depended on Japan or the USA and Great Britain. With their help, the foreign imperialists held China in enslaving dependence.

Acute social contradictions existed in China between most of the nation on the one hand and foreign imperialism and the local feudal lords on the other. On this basis a revolutionary, anti-feudal and anti-imperialist liberation movement of the Chinese people was growing and developing. The peasantry and the urban petty bourgeoisie comprised the main mass force of this movement. The young working class which numbered approximately 2.5 million (less than one per cent of the population) became an increasingly active champion of national and social liberation. The trading and industrial national bourgeoisie whose rights were greatly encroached upon by foreign imperialism and the feudal landowners was also drawn into the liberation struggle. But the bourgeoisie did not act in a consistent manner. Fearing the popular masses, it agreed to compromises with foreign capital and local reaction and concessions to them, betraying the revolutionary movement of the masses.

During the First World War the ties between the imperialist powers in Europe and the USA with China were weakened. This did to a certain extent promote the development of Chinese industry and correspondingly, the growth of the national bourgeoisie and the working class. In China there were 1,099 factories belonging to the national bourgeoisie. The country annually extracted 1,519,000

tonnes of iron ore and produced 200,000 tonnes of pig iron. However, Japanese imperialism intensified its penetration into China, which led to the exacerbation not only of inter-imperialist contradictions but also of the intestine strife among the military cliques in China itself. In the north of the country (Peking) the group of general Tuan Chijui ruled which was orientated on Japan. The Chili clique (in the province of Hopei), supported by Great Britain and USA, and the Mukden clique of Chang Tsoling (Manchuria) which acted as an agent for Japan were waging a struggle for power in the country against this group. Only in Canton (Guangzhou) was a national government formed headed by the democrat and leader of the Kuomintang party Sun Yat-sen. The republican national forces who were interested in uniting China, and in the elimination of foreign and feudal oppression in the country grouped around this government. Canton became an important centre of the liberation struggle of the Chinese people.

Under the influence of the Great October Socialist Revolution a mighty upsurge of revolutionary, anti-imperialist movement began in China. The direct cause for the revolutionary protests were the decisions of the Paris Peace Conference on handing over to Japan the former German possessions in the Chinese province of Shantung. When they learned of this, students in Peking organised a mass anti-imperialist demonstration on May 4, 1919. The troops of General Tuan Chijui opened fire on the demonstrators. But this demonstration was the beginning of the Fourth of May Movement which embraced various strata of the population in many of the country's towns and cities.

The working class rose in political struggles. Political strikes were staged by the workers in Shanghai, Nanking, Tientsin, Hanqchow, Wuhan and other cities. The artisans and merchants joined the movement. The population announced a boycott of Japanese goods. As a result, the Peking government refused to sign the Versailles treaty and dismissed the higher pro-Japanese officials. The Fourth of May Movement raised the anti-imperialist struggle of the Chinese people to a new stage.

Soviet Russia, its vanguard ideas which found a warm response among progressive people in China, its successes in the struggle with foreign imperialism and internal

counter-revolution, its peace-loving, friendly foreign policy towards the oppressed peoples had an increasingly revolutionising influence on the Chinese people. The first foreign-policy acts, the message to the Chinese people about Soviet Russia's renunciation of the unequal treaties, of illegal privileges in China and so forth made a great impression on the vanguard representatives of China. The Peking journal *New Youth* wrote at that time: "The dawn is rising on Russia spreading its rays to the dark East. A friendly hand is stretching out towards us. We do not hesitate in stretching out our hand towards it." Progressive people in China saw that the path to liberation of their country lay in an alliance with Soviet Russia.

The ideas of Marxism-Leninism also penetrated into China from revolutionary Russia. The *Manifesto of the Communist Party* by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The State and Revolution* by Lenin, and other Marxist literature were translated into Chinese. The representatives of the vanguard intelligentsia, Li Tachao, Lu Hsin and others launched a campaign for a new culture which would be accessible to the popular masses. This was one of the directions in the anti-feudal movement. The outstanding Chinese revolutionary, one of the organisers of the Communist Party of China Li Tachao played an important part in disseminating Marxism in China. In November 1918, he published his well-known articles "The Victory of the People" and "The Victory of Bolshevism" in which he wrote that "the Russian revolution was the herald of the world revolution of the 20th century", that the Russian word "Bolshevism" was akin "in its spirit...to the hearts of all people in the world in the 20th century".

The upsurge of the revolutionary movement promoted the increased organisation and awareness of the Chinese working class. In 1919 trade unions emerged in China. Then communist circles began to be set up. The first communist circle in China emerged in Shanghai in May 1920. A great contribution was made to the development of the communist movement in the country by the representatives of the Comintern and Soviet Russia. Communist circles came into being in Peking and other major centres in China and also abroad among vanguard Chinese émigres.

The activity of those who attended these circles made ready for the foundation of the Communist Party of China. On July 1, 1921, the First Congress of the Chinese Communists started at which the foundation of the Communist Party of China was proclaimed. Thirteen delegates representing some 60 members of the Marxist circles attended the congress. The delegates to the congress discussed the political situation in the country, the programme and tasks of the party and also its organisational principles. When discussing the role of the party, the majority of those at the congress rejected the opportunist proposal that the activity of the party should be restricted solely to the propaganda of Marxism. However, the sectarian elements, who objected to the participation of the proletariat in the bourgeois-democratic revolution and protested against a united national front, did not get the rebuff they deserved. The congress spoke in favour of the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, stressed that the ultimate aim of the party was to build a communist society in China. In spite of the fact that there was not complete unity among the delegates to the congress and clarity in theoretical and tactical questions, the setting up of the Communist Party was an outstanding event in the history of the revolutionary movement in China.

The Chinese Communist Party staged an active struggle for the hegemony of the working class in the revolutionary movement. It played an important part in arranging mass demonstrations by the workers and setting up trade union and peasants' organisations. The activity of the party began amidst the continuing and growing national liberation and class struggle. In January 1922 a big strike of Chinese sailors began in Hong Kong which soon became a general strike of the workers, white-collar workers and domestic servants in Hong Kong. The sailors and other categories of workers demanded wage rises. The strike, however, was not only of an economic but also of a political nature since it was spearheaded against the British imperialists. As a mark of protest against the arbitrary policy of the Hong Kong authorities more than 100,000 workers left Hong Kong. Soon the strike spread to Shanghai. The Chinese railwaymen, the sailors of the Yangtse,

and the miners of Hopei, came out in solidarity with the Hong Kong workers. Means were collected in the country to help the strikers. The strike dealt a telling blow at the shipowners who suffered great losses as their vessels remained in port. In the course of the dogged struggle the Hong Kong sailors managed to get their demands satisfied, securing wage rises and recognition for their trade union.

A direct result of the upsurge in the workers' movement in China was the improved organisation of the proletariat. In May 1922, the First All-China Congress of Trade Unions took place in Canton, which laid the foundation for the unification of the workers' movement on a nation-wide scale. In this period Lenin noted that China was seething, that the struggle of the Chinese people was becoming part of the world revolution.[1]

The revolutionary and democratic forces in China united into the Kuomintang headed at that time by Sun Yat-sen[2] also promoted the development of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal struggle in China, the uniting of the Chinese national liberation movement with the struggle of Soviet Russia against world imperialism. On August 28, 1921, Sun Yat-sen sent a letter to Chicherin in which he mentioned the growing anti-imperialist movement in China and said that he favoured the establishment of friendly relations between China and Soviet Russia.

He wrote: "I am extremely interested in your important matter, in particular in the organisation of your Soviets, your army and education... Just as in Moscow I would like to lay the foundations of the Chinese Republic deep in the minds of the younger generation, the toilers of tomorrow... With best wishes to you and my friend Lenin and to all those who have done so much for the cause of human freedom."[3]

In conditions of the further growth of the national liberation movement the Chinese Communist Party was faced with the task of working out the correct strategy

[1] See V. I. Lenin, "On the Tenth Anniversary *of Pravda", Collected Works,* Vol. 33, 1976, p. 350.

[2] After the death of Sun Yat-sen in 1925 and the betrayal of the national bourgeoisie in April 1927 the Communists left the Kuomintang which became a centre of struggle against the revolutionary forces, an assistant of foreign capital.

3 Letters to V. I. Lenin from Abroad, Moscow, Mysl Publishers, 1969, p. 204 (in Russian).

and tactics for the revolutionary struggle. In resolving this task the Chinese Communists received great assistance from Lenin and the Comintern. An important step in working out a correct strategy and tactics for the revolutionary struggle was made at the Second Congress of the Communist Party of China held in Shanghai in July 1922. The congress adopted a Declaration in which the anti-imperialist nature of the Chinese revolution and the need to create a united front were substantiated. The congress also approved the special resolution on a united front of the Communist Party and the Kuomintang and adopted a decree on the membership of the Chinese Communist Party in the Comintern and resolution on the comprehensive defence of Soviet Russia.

The need for tactics of a united front was confirmed by the entire course of the revolutionary struggle in China. In 1923, workers on the Peking-Hankow railway staged a big political strike which flared up as a protest against the violence of reaction, against the banning by the militarist Wu Peifu of the constituent congress of the trade union of railwaymen. The strike was cruelly put down, dozens of workers were killed and hundreds wounded. After this the strike movement in China began to abate. And in the Communist Party a right-wing trend emerged whose proponent Chen Tuhsiu affirmed that the working class in China did not have the strength to struggle and that it had to restrict itself to supporting the bourgeoisie and renounce attempts to establish its hegemony in the revolution.

However, many Communists demanded the further development of the proletarian struggle, and proceeding from this unification of all the anti-feudal, anti-imperialist forces. The leader of Chinese democracy Sun Yat-sen was also a supporter of an all-national front. His three popular principles—nationalism, democratism and the well-being of the people—were supplemented under the influence of the October Revolution by three new political points: an alliance with Soviet Russia, an alliance with the Communist Party and support for the workers and the peasants. All this created conditions for the formation of a bloc of the Communist Party and the Kuomintang.

An important step on the path to establishing a united anti-imperialist front was made at the Third Congress of

the Communist Party of China in June 1923. By the time this congress took place the Executive Committee of the Comintern had drawn up directives outlining the strategy and tactics to be employed by the Communists of China in the national liberation movement. It was noted in the directives that the key task in China was the staging of an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, national revolution whose success lied in the creation of a united anti-imperialist front. The need to launch an agrarian revolution in China guided by the working class was stressed with particular force in the directives of the Executive Committee of the Comintern. The attention of the Communists of China was thereby focused on the need to build a united front not only between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang but in particular with the involvement of the peasantry. The Third Congress which discussed the problem of a united front did in the main take a correct decision on cooperation of the Communist Party with the Kuomintang, on the entry of the Communists, while preserving the political and organisational independence of the Communist Party. The decisions of the congress facilitated and accelerated the process of creating a united front of the Communist Party and the Kuomintang.

In January 1924, the First All-China Congress of the Kuomintang attended by the Communist Party of China was convened. The party rules and the revolutionary programme drawn upon the basis of the 3 popular principles and the three political points of Sun Yat-sen were adopted at it. Eminent figures in the Communist Party of China such as Li Tachao, Tsui Tsupo and others attended the congress. At the congress it was decided that Communists should become members of the Kuomintang individually. Representatives of the Communist Party were elected to the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang. Thus, a revolutionary bloc of the working class, the peasantry, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie was formed. This was a great success for the anti-imperialist forces in China.

Canton, the seat of the Kuomintang leadership and the Sun Yat-sen government, became a centre of the national liberation movement. The key task facing the anti-imperialist forces was that of expanding the revolutionary

basis in China. For this purpose, the Communists and the Kuomintang decided to create a national revolutionary army. To train the officers for the army a military school Wampoa was opened in May 1934 on the island of Whangpoo near Canton. Soviet military specialists (P. A. Pavlov, V. K. Blyukher and others) were invited to work at this school. By October 1926, 4,258 officers had been trained at the school.

The foreign imperialists and the Chinese reactionary, alarmed by the growth of the revolution and consolidation of the unity of the national forces, began to get ready for a counter-revolutionary mutiny in Canton. Thirty thousand mutineers protested, arms in hand, on October 10, 1924, against the Sun Yat-sen government. Fierce battles were fought in the streets of Canton for five days. At the appeal of the Communists, the workers of Canton repulsed the mutineers, and defended the revolutionary base.

Events in Canton instigated the Chinese revolutionaries to be more active in the struggle against the counter-revolutionary and pro-imperialist forces. The Fourth Congress of the Communist Party of China in January 1925 again stressed the expediency of staging an agrarian revolution. From February to May 1925 detachments of the revolutionary army of Canton launched the first eastern campaign against the troops of the militarist Chen Tsiungming, freeing a considerable part of the province of Kwangtung.

On March 12, 1925, Sun Yat-sen died. After his death the leadership of the Kuomintang was taken over by counter-revolutionary elements.

The national-liberation revolution of 1925-1927. Meanwhile the mass revolutionary movement continued to gain in strength, becoming especially wide-scale in Shanghai. To undermine the protest of the workers, the Japanese entrepreneurs in Shanghai began to organise the murders of the vanguard workers at their enterprises. In response to this the students of Shanghai staged an anti-imperialist demonstration on May 30, 1925, against violence over workers. When the demonstrators reached the foreign settlements the Anglo-American police opened fire on them. The shooting of the student demonstration called

forth a general national strike in Shanghai in which hundreds of thousands of workers took part. The events of May 30, 1925, are regarded as the beginning of the national liberation, anti-imperialist revolution.

On June 19, 1925, a general strike began in Hong Kong under the leadership of the Communists which continued for 16 months and involved 250,000 people. On June 23, a mass demonstration of the inhabitants of Canton took place which was fired upon by the British and French marines (during this reprisal 52 people were killed and 117 wounded). The peasant masses began to join the movement.

After the events of May 30, 1925, the Canton government was reorganised; the influence of the left-wing members of the Kuomintang becoming stronger. In October 1925, the national revolutionary army of the Canton government launched yet another eastern campaign which was crowned with success.

However, the right-wing members of the Kuomintang were frightened by the growth of revolutionary moods among the masses. When the militarists put down the general strike of the workers in Shanghai in the autumn of 1925, the right-wing members of the Kuomintang set about breaking up the united anti-imperialist front. In the midst of the right-wing leaders of the Kuomintang General Chiang Kaishek came to the fore who was the chief of staff of the national revolutionary army. On March 20, 1926, Chiang Kaishek made an attempt at a counter-revolutionary coup. He began to arrest Communists and occupied the major points in Canton with his supporters. But this time Chiang Kaishek failed to attain his goals completely.

In July 1926, a campaign of the national revolutionary army was launched to the country's north for the purpose of further expanding the revolutionary base. In the autumn of 1926 the army came out on the river Yangtse. In December 1926 the Kuomintang government moved its base from Canton to Wuhan. The agrarian revolution of the peasants followed in the wake of the national revolutionary army. The workers began to operate more efficiently, the numbers and authority of the Communist Party grew. The ranks of the Kuomintang increased to which part of the bourgeoisie joined and

other reactionary elements, proclaiming themselves "revolutionaries". Chen Tuhsiu and other right-wing opportunists in the communist movement of China agreed to compromise with the bourgeois and landowner circles of the Kuomintang which did not promote the mass involvement of the peasants in the revolution. They did not take measures to strengthen the positions of the Communist Party in the leadership of the army. In the final count all this made it easy for the right wing of the Kuomintang to stage a coup d'etát.

In March 1927, the national revolutionary army entered Shanghai and reached Nanking. At that time the foreign imperialists had decided to interfere openly in China's internal affairs, to strike a blow at the forces of the revolution. At that time 170 warships were concentrated in Chinese waters, mainly American and British ones. On March 24, 1927, the warships of the USA and Great Britain opened artillery fire on Nanking, killing approximately two thousand people. Five days later Chiang Kaishek went aboard the American ship *Pittsburg* and discussed the plan for the counter-revolutionary coup there with Admiral Williams. On April 12, 1927, the units loyal to Chiang Kaishek began to raid workers' organisations in Shanghai and kill Communists. In the course of 1927, 13,000 people were shot, and 35,000 were thrown into prison. Communists were also arrested and executed in Peking. At the end of April 1927, one of the organisers and leaders of the Communist Party of China Li Tachao was executed. On April 18, 1927, a "national government" was formed in Nanking under the leadership of Chiang Kaishek.

Thus, the national bourgeoisie in the person of the right wing of the Kuomintang broke up the united anti-imperialist front and went over to the counter-revolutionary camp. For some time, the left-wing members of Kuomintang continued to retain the bloc with the Communists in the Wuhan government. But the fear that an extensive agrarian revolution was about to break out on the territory controlled by the Wuhan government and also the pressure exerted on it by the reactionary and imperialist forces incited the left-wing members of the Kuomintang to go over to the counter-revolutionary camp. In May 1927, generals of the Wuhan army began

to go over to the side of Chiang Kaishek. On July 15, 1927, the head of government Wang Chingwei began to deal with the Communists. The left wing of the Kuomintang came up against reaction. The Chinese revolution suffered a temporary defeat. It showed the instability of the national bourgeoisie, its fear of the popular masses, and its inability to head the liberation movement. At the same time, the revolution also revealed the harm done by right-wing opportunist mistakes made by the leadership of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Chen Tuhsiu. In 1927, Chen Tuhsiu and his supporters were removed from the leadership of the party. ■.

After the counter-revolutionary coup of Chiang Kaishek and capitulation of the left wing of the Kuomintang to him, a striving to effect rapid change in the situation in favour of the revolutionary forces made itself felt among part of the Communists. These moods were manifested in the armed uprisings in the number of places. On August 1, 1927, the military' units (30,000 men) led by the Communists staged an uprising in Nanchang. The. birth of the Red Army of China is associated with that day. The uprising was isolated from the mass movement and was put down. In the autumn and winter of 1927, military and peasant protests took place in a number of provinces which have gone down in history as “the uprisings of the autumn harvest”. In the course of one of these uprisings the Hailufen Soviet Republic emerged which existed for several months. The “uprising of the autumn harvest” revealed the importance of promoting an agrarian revolution in China.

Revolutionary' protests were made in the towns and cities as well. In Canton workers and part of the soldiers led by the Communists staged an armed uprising on December 11, 1927. They proclaimed the foundation of the Canton commune and created a Soviet government. The rebels adopted a decree on the formation of the Red Army, the abolition of the landowners’ estates and handing the land over to the peasants, on the introduction of an eight-hour working day, on refusal to observe unequal contracts and making the property of foreign firms the possession of the people. The organisational weakness of the uprising, the lack of links between it

and the participants in the peasant movement, and the fact that it was outnumbered by the forces of reaction and imperialism doomed the rebels to defeat. On December 14, the Canton commune was suppressed. Thousands of workers were shot. During the suppression of the uprising the counter-revolutionary detachments raided the Soviet consulate in Canton killing five of its staff. The uprising in 1927 was the last spark of the dying revolution of 1925-1927.

A new stage in the development of the Chinese revolution. The Soviet movement in China (1928-1937). After the defeat of the 1925-1927 revolution in China a military bureaucratic dictatorship was established of the bloc of big bourgeoisie and landowners while the country continued to be enslaved by foreign imperialism. The condition of the working masses continued to deteriorate. Stemming from this, a new stage in the Chinese revolution developed (1928-1937). The motive forces of the revolutionary struggle at this stage were the working class, the peasantry, the urban poor, and part of the urban petty bourgeoisie. The national bourgeoisie was in the camp of counter-revolution. The working class and its communist vanguard headed the liberation movement. The revolutionary forces were faced with the task of firmly uniting the workers' and peasants' movement.

The Sixth Congress of the Chinese Communist Party in June 1928 analysed the lessons learned from the revolution of 1925-1927, determined the nature of the new stage and worked out new tactics for the revolutionary movement. Pointing to the decline in the wave of the revolution, the congress stressed that "the peasant agrarian revolution remains the basic content of the period lived through by the Chinese revolution". The congress directed the party at preparing a new upsurge in the revolution. In what were on the whole correct decisions of the congress the role of the national bourgeoisie was, however, underestimated, which was determined largely by its perfidious acts during the revolution of 1925-1927.

After the right-wing deviationists had been removed from the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party supporters of the leftist adventurist tactics headed by Di Lisan took over who pursued a policy of preparing

for new armed uprisings in spite of the fact that the conditions were not suitable for them. In the summer of 1930 the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party championed the organisation of the uprising in Peking, Tiensin, Nanking, Hankow and other towns and cities in China. In so doing it was calculated that a conflict would arise between the USSR and Japan, a world conflict would be ignited and a revolution in China would be sparked off. The tactics of the left-wing supporters cost the revolutionary forces in China dearly. Strikes and uprisings were cruelly put down and many party organisations were crushed. In the autumn of 1930 Li Lisan was removed from the leadership of the party. In January 1931 Wang Ming and Po Ku took over the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party.

At the beginning of the 1930s liberated or, as they were called at that time, Soviet areas sprang up in China. On November 7, 1931, in the town of Guichijn (Kiangse province) the First Congress of the representatives of the Soviet areas of China began. Laws were passed at it on the land, on labour, on the principles of economic policy, and a provisional central government of the Chinese Soviet Republic was set up. The proclamation by the congress of the abolition of the big landed estates and their distribution among the peasants, the nationalisation of foreign enterprises and banks, and the introduction of workers' control at private capitalist enterprises was of great importance for promoting the revolution.

The Kuomintang government headed by Chiang Kaishek applied great efforts to crush the revolutionary bases. At the end of 1930 Chiang Kaishek organised the first campaign of a 100,000-strong army against the popular forces. In February and July 1931 and in June 1932 the second, third, and fourth campaigns of the Kuomintang supporters were undertaken, and they suffered defeat owing to the heroic resistance put up by the Red Army. However, the fifth campaign, undertaken by Chiang Kaishek in 1933 ended in defeat for the Red Army of China. The mistakes made by the party in implementing the tactics of a united front played a fateful role here.

In 1931, the Chinese people fell victim to the undisguised aggression of Japanese imperialism. Japanese troops occupied the north-eastern part of China (Manchuria).

In January 1932, they began an assault on Shanghai. The Kuomintang government which was engaged in the campaigns against the revolutionary bases surrendered one position after another to the Japanese. However, the workers and other strata of the urban population rose to defend Shanghai. Together with part of the government forces they repulsed the Japanese aggressors after which the latter abandoned their intention of seizing Shanghai. On April 5, 1932, the government in the Soviet regions officially declared war on Japan.

Japanese aggression had a telling impact on the national and urban petty bourgeoisie who joined the anti-Japanese movement. This created conditions for forming a broad anti-Japanese national front. The Communist Party of China was in favour of setting up a united front from below. However, these tactics turned out to be inadequate to create a united anti-Japanese front, because the power of the Kuomintang government existed in most of the territory. At this stage the Communist Party of China did not advance proposals on attaining unity from above. This provided Chiang Kaishek with the opportunity to proclaim the Communists an anti-national force.

However, dissatisfaction with Chiang Kaishek's anti-popular policy had also ripened among his troops. Thus, the 19th Army which had taken part in the defence of Shanghai in its time but had then been sent to the province of Fukien refused to attack the central Soviet area in October 1933, set up its own government and concluded an agreement on unity of action with the representatives of the Soviet areas. However, unity of action was not attained, partly owing to the irresoluteness of the 19th Army Command, and partly owing to the sectarian tactics of the Communists in this question. As a result, Chiang Kaishek's troops crushed the 19th Army and defeated the Red Army which was forced to withdraw from the Soviet areas and rebase itself in north-west China, after a journey of almost 12,000 kilometres.

In January 1935 the so-called extended session of the Politbureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China took place which was not attended by most of its members. At this session a decree was adopted by the majority of votes which laid all the blame for the defeat suffered by the Red Army of China on the leaders

of the party. Mao Tsetung became a member of the Central Committee Secretariat, and a month later Chang Wentian was appointed to the post of General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

From the mid-193Os the movement to create an anti-Japanese front gained in strength in China. The Communist International, especially at its Seventh Congress, also' stressed with all its force the need to unite all the national forces in the depended and colonial countries into a united anti-imperialist front. On December 9, 1935, the students of Peking held an anti-Kuomintang demonstration, demanding that a civil war should be ended. In response to the shooting down of the demonstration the students organised a much bigger demonstration on December 16, 1935, which was also cruelly put down by the police and the troops. In the wake of the students the workers, peasants, urban petty bourgeoisie, and part of the national bourgeoisie in a number of places in China protested.

In this situation the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China advanced the task of drawing the national bourgeoisie into the united anti-Japanese front in December 1935. The Communists considered it possible to attract the national bourgeoisie into a national government alongside the workers, peasants, and the petty urban bourgeoisie. These tactics would have allowed an end to be put to the civil war and to concentrate all their forces on the fight with the Japanese invaders.

But since these tactics did not extend to the Kuomintang upper crust which was a manifestation of sectarianism in these circumstances unification of the national forces was not achieved. At the same time, the dogged anti-communism of Chiang Kaishek served as an insuperable impediment to the unity of the anti-Japanese forces. This stand taken by Chiang Kaishek evoked opposition among the Chiang Kaishek troops stationed in Sian. When, in December 1936, Chiang Kaishek was in Sian, to compel the troops stationed there to fight against the people's armies, the soldiers staged an uprising and arrested Chiang Kaishek. A situation fraught with a further intensification of the civil war arose in the country. The Executive Committee of the Comintern advised the Communist Party of China to find a compromise solution, thereby demand-

ing that Chiang Kaishek reject the civil war. As a result, Chiang Kaishek was set free after he had given his word that he would stop the civil war. This outcome to the Sian events accelerated the creation of a united anti-Japanese front.

On July 7, 1937, Japan started to extend its aggressive activities in China calculating on seizing the main centres in the country in a short time. Soon after the beginning of the new stage in the Japanese aggression, the Communist Party of China appealed to the people to start a nation-wide war against the invaders and proposed that Kuomintang conclude an agreement on a combined anti-Japanese armed struggle. In September 1937, Chiang Kaishek responded with an agreement to the proposal of the Communist Party. As a result, a united national anti-Japanese front was formed in China. The non-aggression treaty signed between the USSR and the Chinese Republic on August 21, 1937 greatly assisted the national forces of China.

After the united front had been set up the units of the Red Army of China were reorganised into popular revolutionary armies and fought against the Japanese invaders. In September 1937, the 8th people's revolutionary army defeated the Japanese troops in the region of the Pingsinkuan mountain pass. Liberated areas began to appear in the enemy's rear, among them the Shansi-Chahar-Hopei liberated area. In 1938, a New 4th Army was formed in eastern China from the units of the Red Army. In that year a partisan base came into being in southern China in the province of Kwangtung. The Soviet Union supplied China with a large amount of weapons, ammunition and materiel.

At the end of 1938 the situation in China had become more acute. The supporters of the Kuomintang increasingly feared the people's armies, surrendered their positions to the Japanese one after another and set about provocations against the liberated areas. They besieged the special frontier area of the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia, attacked the units of the 8th Army, and entered into secret negotiations with the Japanese on the joint "struggle against communism". The deterioration of the links between the Communist Party and the urban centres and the working class, the influx of the peasant masses into its ranks en-

feebled the class basis of the party and promoted the dissemination of petty-bourgeois, nationalistic views. This situation was also damaging for the national forces in the anti-Japanese struggle. Tendencies to pursue passive tactics were manifest in the party.

KOREA

From 1910 Korea was a Japanese colony with a semi-feudal system. The Japanese established a cruel military and police regime in the cpuntry. Having seized the best lands, the Japanese exploited the country's rural population which comprised more than three-quarters of the entire population. The Korean peasant was forced to surrender 60 to 80 per cent of the harvest from rented land to the big landowners. The local comprador bourgeoisie and the landowners, as well as the Japanese, exploited the Korean working people.

From an industrial point of view Korea remained an extremely backward country. The Japanese mainly invested their capital in the iron ore, gold extraction, and coal mining industry. At the enterprises of these branches detachments of the Korean proletariat were formed. In 1919, it numbered 48,000 factory workers in its ranks. The material situation of the working class was extremely hard.

The working masses and all the national forces in Korea hated the Japanese oppressors. Under the influence of the October Revolution they began to engage in the liberation struggle. In 1918, there were fifty strikes in Korea in which more than six thousand workers took part. Dissatisfaction swept the rural population, the intelligentsia and the national bourgeoisie. In December 1918, the bourgeois nationalists set up in Seoul a "headquarters of the movement for independence" which prepared the Declaration of Independence. Although the task of national liberation was set down in this document it contained an appeal to the population to strive for mutual understanding with the Japanese.

The Declaration of Independence was read at demonstrations and rallies held in Seoul on March 1, 1919. These spontaneous demonstrations turned into an anti-Japanese

uprising (March-April 1919) in which more than two million people took part. The workers staged political strikes, demonstrations, and armed actions. The peasants attacked Japanese institutions, plundered the estates of the hated landowners and joined in political demonstrations. The national bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia came out with petitions. The petty urban bourgeoisie resorted to methods of boycott. The Japanese imperialists put down the uprising in Korea with exceptional cruelty. The workers' strikes did not stop throughout 1919. All in all, 104 strikes were registered in which 11,000 people participated. The strikers demanded wage increases, a shorter working day, and the granting of political rights to the people.

After the uprising limited reforms were conducted in Korea, the system of administrative government was somewhat amended. The functions of the gendarmerie were handed over to the police. Japan promised to grant Korea self-government. The Korean bourgeoisie secured more opportunities for their entrepreneur operations. Korean and mixed Korean-Japanese companies began to be founded. The national bourgeoisie did not allow the conflict to get worse. True, even at the time of the uprising it set up a provisional émigré government in Shanghai headed by Syngman Rhee around which the reactionary emigré circles rallied.

The October Revolution and the anti-Japanese uprising caused various organisations to appear in Korea, such as trade unions, peasants', women's, youth organisations, and so forth. In April 1919, the conference of the Korean Socialists convened in Vladivostok announced the foundation of the Communist Party and its membership of the Comintern. However, the vanguard representatives of the Korean proletariat still had much to do to found a Communist Party. In 19.20, the Korean mutual aid society to workers came into being. The strike campaign of the workers continued. In September 1921 there was a general strike of the workers in Pusan. In 1922, strikes were staged in Seoul and other towns. In August 1923 a strike again flared up in Pusan. Besides this the number of peasants' protests was on the increase. In 1923, there were 176 rent conflicts involving more than 9,000 people in the countryside.

In the years of capitalist stabilisation the exploitation of Korea by the Japanese imperialists increased. Japan began to turn Korea into a bridgehead for a war in Asia and in the Far East. However, in this period, in spite of the repressions by the Japanese authorities, the liberation movement became more active. In April 1924, the All-Korean Workers'-Peasants' Union was founded. In that same month there was an illegal congress of the Communists which again announced the formation of the Communist Party. The Communists worked to create mass workers' and peasants' organisations and wage the anti-Japanese campaign. However, persecution by the authorities and the factional strife led to the Communist Party ceasing its activities in 1928.

In June 1926, there was a mass demonstration in the course of which clashes with the Japanese police occurred. It facilitated the unification of Korea's national forces. In February 1927 the Society of New Actions was formed as the first form of a united front. Workers, peasants, women's, youth, and religious organisations united together in it. However, the Society did not exist for long. It disintegrated owing to the repressions by the Japanese and internal strife.

The world economic crisis led to Japan's intensified exploitation of Korea. The peasants, craftsmen and artisans were ruined. Unemployment grew. All this encouraged the working masses to become more active in their struggle. Back in January 1929 a general strike lasting several months began in Vonsan. Soon the workers in other towns joined in the struggle. Peasant uprisings began in the countryside. Students were also caught up in the riots. Everywhere illegal revolutionary alliances emerged.

During the crisis Japan was out of its way to turn Korea at accelerated rates into a bridgehead for attacking China and the USSR. The building of enterprises for military purposes, railways and ports expanded in the country. Metallurgical and power and chemical enterprises mushroomed.

After Japan had seized Manchuria, a new stage began in the liberation movement of the Korean people. In 1931 a partisan movement began to develop. Partisan detachments headed by Kim II Sung came into being in Manchuria. The armed struggle of the Korean people against Japanese

imperialism began. From September 1931 through June 1936 approximately 24,000 battles between the partisans and the Japanese were registered in Korea.

In May 1936, the Korean revolutionaries created the Society of Revival of the Fatherland which became a form of a united front. The society made it its task to abolish the Japanese colonial oppression and create an independent democratic Korean state. Its programme contained demands for transformations in the political, socio-economic and cultural spheres.

From 1937 the military operations of the partisan detachments were transferred to the territory of Korea. In these conditions the Japanese began to encourage the foundation of pro-Japanese organisations among the Korean landowners, the bourgeoisie and young people while intensifying the repressions against the national liberation forces. They tried to impose upon the Koreans their own aggressive policy in Asia.

MONGOLIA

The people's revolution in Mongolia. The formation of the Mongolian People's Republic. Pre-revolutionary Mongolia was one of the most backward countries in Asia from a political, economic, and cultural point of view. At the end of the 17th century Mongolia had lost its independence and become dependent on the Manchurian dynasty which ruled China. However, the Mongolian people repeatedly rose in struggle and, after the Chinese revolution of 1911, managed to gain autonomy to the country and found Autonomous Outer Mongolia.

This was a feudal theocratic state dependent on China and Russia. Feudal-serf production relations prevailed in the economy which acted as a brake on the development of the country's productive forces. Primitive nomadic cattle breeding formed the basis of the economy. Mongolian society consisted of two antagonistic classes, the exploiter feudal lords and the serf arats (herdsmen). The latter did not have any rights and were cruelly exploited by the feudal lords. Feudal rent was the main form of exploitation. Land and cattle were completely in the hands of the ruling class of secular and clerical feudal lords. A small group of feudal

lords (7.8 per cent of the entire population) owned 49.5 per cent of the total head of cattle in the country.

Foreign commercial and usurious capital held in its hands the internal and foreign trade of Mongolia.

There was no factory industry in Mongolia and, consequently, there was no working class. A small number of workers were employed in cottage and semi-cottage enterprises. The feudal lords and foreign colonizers closely cooperated with the Lamaist church, which was represented by numerous monasteries which exploited a considerable part of the population. There were 115,000 monks (lamas) in the country which was almost half of the adult male population. The spiritual head of the country—Bogdo-Gegen—was at the same time the secular head. Lamaism which taught the popular masses to be obedient to the feudal lords had a fatal ideological influence on the awareness of the working people.

The Mongolian working peasantry was in an extremely serious situation: it was so poor that it was almost on the level when it could be expected to die out; the country's economy steadily went downhill. A deep-going social and political crisis gathered in Mongolia and became increasingly acute. A way out of the crisis, the path to national revival, to the building of a new life, and to socialism was shown to the Mongolian people by the Great October Socialist Revolution. The liberating ideas of the Great October Revolution received an extremely wide response in Mongolia and provided a mighty impetus for the national liberation movement of the Mongolian people.

The Government of the RSFSR immediately put an end to the aggressive imperialist policy of tsarist Russia which had been pursued in Mongolia. It annulled all the unequal and enslaving treaties and agreements imposed on Mongolia by tsarist Russia. At the same time, the Soviet state officially recognised Mongolia's state independence and expressed the wish that it should establish equal friendly relations with it.

However, the ruling feudal upper crust in Mongolia entered into an agreement with the Japanese imperialists, the Chinese militarists and the Russian White Guards to struggle against Soviet Russia. The feudal theocratic clique and lamas disseminated various slanderous inventions in Mongolia to incite in the people distrust and a feeling of suspicion

with regard to the Soviet state. Mongolia's former princes and lamas betrayed the interests of their own people and turned Mongolia into an anti-Soviet bridgehead.

On the initiative of Japan the idea of creating a "Great Mongolia" comprising Outer and Inner Mongolia, was put forward. To implement this demagogic plan, the Japanese interventionists supplied financial means to the Cossack ataman Semyonov. But this adventurist plan failed for neither Bogdo-Gegen and his feudal supporters nor the Western imperialist powers supported it.

At this time the Chinese militarists put forward their own plan according to which the autonomy of Outer Mongolia was abolished and Bogdo-Gegen became the Chinese stooge and received a high renumeration from the Chinese authorities. Bogdo-Gegen approved this plan and signed the document "The 64 conditions designed to improve the future position of Mongolia". However, the plan to abolish Mongolia's autonomy evoked great dissatisfaction among the broad strata of Mongolian population and even among the feudal lords who were close to Bogdo-Gegen. In November 1919, the Chinese militarist Hsui Shucheng seized the residence of Bogdo-Gegen and compelled him to renounce Mongolian autonomy. The Mongolian government was disbanded, and the army was disarmed and demobilised.

Soon numerous representatives of various Chinese firms arrived in Mongolia who demanded without grounds that the Mongolian people should compensate them for the so-called "losses" suffered during the period of Mongolia's autonomy from 1911 till 1919. Payments were renewed on old enslaving agreements and business deals, usurer percentages were paid to them for the years of the autonomous period. Moreover, restrictions were even introduced in the country with regard to freedom to carry out different rites. Every time the head of the Lamaist church, Bogdo-Gegen had to ask permission of the invaders to hold a service. All this exacerbated the situation to the extreme in the country and gave rise to the extensive dissatisfaction not only amongst ordinary people but also among the local feudal lords.

Hsui Shucheng, who had become "commissar for the improvement of the outline areas of China and the settlement of Outer Mongolia", took part in the intervention in the areas of the Soviet Republic bordering on Mongolia. When

the British and American imperialists made an attempt to remove Hsui Shucheng and set up their own stooge in Mongolia, Japan used the detachments of the White Guard Baron Ungern to frustrate the designs of the Western powers. Ungern advanced the slogan of restoring Mongolia's autonomy, had Bogdo-Gegen brought to his headquarters and in 1921 placed him on the throne again. A dictatorship of the Japanese puppet Ungern was established in Mongolia.

The Mongolian princes and lamas had placed great hopes in Ungern regarding him as a saviour from the oppression of the Chinese militarists. However, these hopes were not justified. Ungern's repressions and violence were no less than those of the Chinese. As a result, a revolutionary situation had taken shape in Mongolia at the beginning of 1921. The way out of the situation, the path to national liberation consisted in armed uprising of the Mongolian people against the imperialist and feudal oppression.

A major event in the history of the national liberation movement of the Mongolian people was the foundation of the popular revolutionary party which headed the struggle of the oppressed peasantry for social progress, complete abolition of the occupation and feudal serf regime. The Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party took its beginnings from the moment the two illegal revolutionary circles came into being in mid-1919 which became the core of the future revolutionary party. At the joint session of the two circles on June 25, 1920, it was decided to unite them into the Mongolian People's Party.[1] At that time an Oath was introduced which was the programme and party rules of the party. The social composition of the revolutionary organisation being founded was not a uniform one. Its members had different views on the revolutionary movement and the prospects for the development of Mongolia. The leaders of the working peasantry D.Sukhe-Bator and Horlogijn Choibalsan, and other revolutionaries defended the path of social revolution and close ties with Soviet Russia and the Comintern in the course of the contention. The new party headed by Sukhe-Bator began to prepare for armed struggle. The Mongolian revolutionaries established ties with Soviet Russia, sent their own delegation to Irkutsk and Moscow

[1] The Party retained this name until March 1925 when it was renamed the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP) at a plenum of its Central Committee.

and secured the support of the Soviet Government for assistance to the Mongolian people in the fight against the foreign enslavers.

Lenin's meetings and discussions with the Mongolian revolutionaries were of great significance for the ideological and organisational consolidation of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party. During these meetings in 1920 and 1921 Lenin gave them a number of valuable recommendations and pieces of advice as to how to organise the revolutionary struggle better and wage it for the country's revival, showed the importance for Mongolia of establishing a fraternal alliance between it and Soviet Russia.

On March 1-3, 1921, the First Congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party was held in the town of Kyakhta. It went down in history as a congress at which the organisation of the party was outlined. March 1, 1921, is considered to be the foundation day of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party. The congress elected the Central Committee of the Party, adopted the programme known as the Kyakhta Platform and appealed to the oppressed masses to take up their weapons against the foreign invaders. The decisions of the First Congress and the programme adopted at it specifically determined the tasks facing the Mongolian people's revolution which was to put an end to imperialist and feudal oppression and create a people's democratic state of the working arats.

In accordance with the decisions of the First Congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, on March 13, 1921, at the congress of representatives of the Party, partisan detachments and the arats from the frontier areas a provisional people's government of Mongolia was founded, the militant headquarters to prepare and lead the armed uprising. A decision was taken to reorganise the partisan detachments into units of the regular Mongolian People's Revolutionary Army. The Mongolian people's revolution was sparked off by the liberation by Sukhe-Bator's revolutionary troops of the town of Maimachen (now Altan-Bulag) from the troops of the Chinese militarists.

On April 10, the people's government appealed to the Soviet Republic with a request to help it in routing the White Guard bands of Ungern. The Soviet Government complied with this request from the People's Government of Mongolia. From April till July 1921, joint military opera-

tions by Soviet and Mongolian troops were conducted against a common enemy in Mongolia. In the course of these battles the White Guard bands were completely defeated. On July 8, 1921, the capital of Mongolia Urga (renamed Ulan-Bator in 1924) was completely liberated by the Mongolian people's forces and units of the Red Army. The joint session of the Cenral Committee of the Mongohan People's Revolutionary Party and the Provisional People's Government on July 9, 1921, took a decision to hand power over to the Provisional People's Government, while preserving Bogdo-Gegen as a formal monarch with limited rights. On July 10, 1921, power was handed over to the new People's Government, and on July 11 of the same year the victory of the Mongolian people's revolution of 1921 was proclaimed. The People's Government included the leader of the Mongolian revolution, the founder of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and the people's democratic state, D.Sukhe-Bator who occupied the post of Minister of War.

The people's revolution put an end to imperial and feudal oppression forever, opening up before the Mongolian people broad prospects for building a new, classless, socialist society. In its nature and tasks, the Mongolian people's revolution was an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, people's democratic revolution. Two stages can be defined in it: the first stage is the general democratic one (1921-1940) and the second one the socialist one (beginning since the forties). There were certain peculiarities to this people's revolution. Firstly, it was effected in an extremely backward country where there was no national working class and no bourgeoisie. The motive force of the revolution was the oppressed working arats headed by the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party which was guided in its activity by the teaching of Marxism-Leninism. Secondly, the revolution developed under the direct influence of the ideas of the Great October Revolution, in a close fraternal alliance with the proletariat of Soviet Russia. Thirdly, right from the very beginning the revolutionary anti-imperialist struggle of the people was intermingled in the closest possible manner with the struggle against the feudal and serf regime, against the yoke and dominance of the local secular and clerical feudal lords.

"The Mongolian people's revolution which is an insep-

arable part of the world revolutionary process," the Programme of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party states, "signified a radical change in the history of the Mongolian people. As a result of the abolition of the colonial regime and the founding of an independent people's state, Mongolia ceased to be part of the world system of imperialism and joined the new world, the world of socialism born of the October Revolution."

After the victory of the popular revolution the internal situation in the country became extremely complicated. A considerable part of Mongolia's territory was still in the hands of the White Guard bands. The economy was in a state of complete collapse. The foreign situation was also unfavourable. The imperialists in Japan, the USA, Great Britain and other capitalist countries were hostile to the new Mongolian people's democratic state. Therefore, they tried in every possible way to destroy the gains of the popular revolution, to seize the territory of Mongolia, and to use it as a bridgehead for a counter-revolutionary war against Soviet Russia.

In these complicated circumstances the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and the people's government set themselves the solution of the main tasks. First and foremost, they needed to free the country of the invaders completely as soon as possible, to boost the defence capability of the people's state, to overcome the economic collapse and raise the living standard of the working people, to destroy the old state machine and create a new state apparatus in its place based on democratic principles, to suppress the resistance of the feudal and theocratic reaction and wage a resolute struggle against the elements of an emergent national bourgeoisie. Drawing support from the extensive initiative of the working masses and fraternal assistance from the Soviet people, the Party and the people's government managed to solve these tasks successfully in a short period.

Since the thrust of the revolution in its initial period was directed mainly against the imperialist aggression, while the broad masses sincerely continued to believe in the "divine" strength of the head of the secular and clerical authorities, Bogdo-Gegen, the party did not put the question at that time of proclaiming a republican system in the country and did not completely deprive the feudal lords of the right

to take part in governing the state. At the same time, the people's government exercised strict control over the activity of the constitutional monarch Bogdo-Gegen and the state's feudal officials. The actual power in the country was in the hands of the people's government which performed the function of the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the working arats.

After the victory of the popular revolution, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and the people's government set about implementing measures to democratise the organs of state power both in the centre and on the spot as well. The political and economic privileges of the feudal lords were gradually eliminated and at the same time the organs of popular power became stronger.

One of the first measures was the establishment in 1921 of government control over the activity of the Shabin (church) institution by means of which Bogdo-Gegen had governed all the matters in the Lamaist church. At the same time, the titles were abolished, ranks and special privileges, which were used by Bogdo-Gegen to run all the affairs of the Lamaist church, and also of the former ministers. The various estate privileges were also abolished. A major event was the abolition of serfdom and the effecting of nationalisation of the land.

The convening in October 1921 of the Provisional Minor Khural, the consultative organ of the people's government, was of great significance. Various strata of the population including the extremely indigent peasants, took part in it. The majority there was secured by the representatives of the working people. Consequently, the peasants acquired definite skills and experience in governing the state. This organ was a type of a blueprint for the future Great People's Khural, the supreme legislative organ in the country. In 1923, two extremely important documents were adopted, the regulations on the local organs of power and the regulations on the *khoshun dzasaks* (local rulers). These measures were aimed at abolishing the political rights of the local feudal lords and depriving the princes of the possessions of their inherited political power.

In accordance with the above-mentioned regulations elections to local organs of power were held in Mongolia in 1923-1924. As a result, 90 per cent of the former princes were not elected. The working people elected their best

representatives to the local organs of power. Thus, it was comparatively easy for the Party and the people's government to effect the radical reorganisation of the local organs of power.

Everywhere people's power became firmly established. As people's power gained in strength the measures to oust foreign commercial and usurious capital were being put into effect. In 1921, the people's government announced that all the debts to foreign merchant-usurers had been annulled. An important part in doing away with economic dependence on foreign trade firms was played by the foundation of the central cooperative in that year (Montsencoop).

In the early years of the revolution the Party and the people's government considered it was still too early to confiscate the feudal and monastery estates immediately. The transformations primarily boiled down to the deprivation of the feudal lords of those political positions that they had occupied in the country and abolishing feudal-serf relations. The customs and tax policy of the people's government and also the other levers were used to uproot the influence of the foreign commercial and usurious capital in the economy. Nationalisation of the land and the creation of consumer cooperation formed the basis of the state and cooperative sectors in the country's economy. The Party and the people's government paid great attention to the development of livestock breeding, the basis of the country's economy, and also to the problem of cultural development.

The implementation of all these vital measures by the people's government met with bitter resistance on the part of the secular and clerical feudal lords who had organised a number of counter-revolutionary plots against people's power in 1922-1924, drawing support from the help and assistance of the imperialist states. But these conspiracies were exposed in time and their instigators were rendered harmless.

In the sphere of foreign policy the people's government of Mongolia consistently pursued a course aimed at expanding ties and establishing friendship with Soviet Russia. In the autumn of 1921, a Mongolian government delegation headed by Sukhe-Bator arrived in Moscow where they met Lenin. Lenin gave valuable advise to the representatives of the Mongolian people with regard to the develop-

ment of the People's Revolutionary Party and the non-capitalist path of development. On November 5, 1921, a treaty of friendship was signed by Mongolia and Soviet Russia according to which the Soviet Government renounced all the privileges ensuing from the unequal treaties concluded by Mongolia and tsarist Russia. This treaty served as the basis for friendship and cooperation between the Soviet and Mongolian peoples.

As a result of the successful democratic transformations considerable shifts to the advantage of people's power occurred in the country's economy and in the correlation of the class forces. Favourable conditions were created for the further decisive offensive on the class of exploiter feudal lords for an ever deeper-going people's revolution. After the death of Bogdo-Gegen on May 20, 1924, the plenum of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, held on June 7, 1924, which took into consideration the moods of the overwhelming majority of the Mongolian people, recommended that the monarchy be abolished, that a republican system be proclaimed in the country and that supreme power in its entirety be handed over to the Great People's Khural. (The All-Mongolia Congress of People's Representatives.) On July 13 of that year the people's government published a decree proclaiming Mongolia a People's Republic.

The Third Congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party in August 1924 was of historical significance. Proceeding from Marxist-Leninist teaching the Third Congress worked out a general line for the Party with regard to the future development of the country along a non-capitalist path towards socialism, drawing support from the international assistance of the Soviet Union. The Congress gave a rebuff to the representatives of the emergent elements of the national bourgeoisie and defeated the Danzan anti-party group, which was striving to push the Party off its chosen path. The Congress pointed out the necessity of the all-round development and consolidation of cooperation as one of the decisive conditions of the changeover from feudalism to socialism, by-passing the capitalist stage of development.

The First Great People's Khural was held from November 1 to November 26, 1924. One of its most important decisions was the proclamation of the Mongolian People's

Republic and the adoption by it of the first Constitution in which the historical gains of the Mongolian people were made legal.

The Constitution of the Mongolian People's Republic of 1924 stated the following: "1) Mongolia is proclaimed an independent people's republic in which all power belongs to the working people. The people put into effect their own supreme power through the Great People's Khural and the government elected by the latter. 2) The main task of the Mongolian Republic is to destroy the vestiges of the feudal-theocratic system and consolidate the new republican order on the basis of the complete democratisation of state administration."

In the Constitution the people's khurals were legalised as a form of state power. The Constitution pronounced the land, the minerals in it, the forests, the waters and their wealth the property of the whole people. Private ownership of them was not permitted. The church was separated from the state, equal rights were proclaimed for men and women, equality of all nationalities, freedom of speech, the press, unions, meetings and demonstrations. Thus, the Constitution made the new people's democratic state legal and signified the deepening of democratisation of state control and determined the prospects for the further development of the country along a non-capitalist path. The Khural approved the foreign policy of the people's government, pointed out the need to effect the further democratisation of the organs of state control, of the courts and the procurator's office, extensively involving in them the broad strata of the working people. The principal decisions taken by the Khural were aimed at the ultimate abolition of the class of feudal lords, the elimination of the dependence on foreign capital and the creation of the necessary conditions for the changeover from feudalism to socialism, by-passing the capitalist stage of development.

The struggle of the Mongolian people to abolish feudalism, to create the conditions for socialist construction. Guided by the historic decisions of the Third Congress of the Party and the First Great People's Khural, the Mongolian people set about implementing the complicated tasks of the non-capitalist development of the country in practice. On this path they met with extremely strong op-

position on the part of the class of feudal lords and also of the foreign commercial-usurious capital. Surmounting tremendous difficulties the Party and the people's government launched a bold wide-scale offensive on the economic positions of feudalism which still remained fairly strong.

The Fourth Congress of the Mongohan People's Revolutionary Party in 1925 planned next measures to realise Mongolia's non-capitalist development. The decisions of the Congress stressed that the major impending task was the further consolidation of the popular system and the commanding economic heights of the state. The Congress pointed out the necessity to eliminate the Shabin (church) institution, which was done in 1925.

Vital significance in the further democratisation of state organs was the legal reform introduced in 1925. The feudal legal system was abolished and a new elective legal system was introduced. Measures were implemented to boost the economy. In 1924 with the help of the Soviet Union a national currency, the tugrik, was introduced. This did to a considerable extent undermine the economic positions of foreign commercial-usurious capital. Consumer cooperation grew and gained in strength and the retail trade turnover expanded.

To weaken the positions of feudalism a law on a unified tax was passed in 1925 which envisaged the differentiated progressive taxes on the estates of the secular feudal lords and the monasteries, and tax exemption for the most indigent peasant households and benfits for the state and cooperative farms.

The "right-wing" (1928) and "left-wing" (1932) deviations in the Party did a great deal of harm to the building of a new life in Mongolia. The right-wing deviationists distorting the essence of the non-capitalist path of development insistently pushed the country onto a capitalist path but did in fact wish to restore the former feudal orders.

At the Seventh Congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party in 1928 the right-wing deviationists were ultimately exposed and defeated. The Congress confirmed the steadiness of the Party's general line on the non-capitalist path of the country's development, on the all-round consolidation of fraternal friendship and cooperation between Mongolia and the USSR as a basic guarantee of the free-

dom and independence of the Mongolian state. The decisions of the Seventh Congress meant a changeover to a decisive offensive on the economic positions of the feudal lords and the foreign commercial-usurious capital.

Until 1928, the Party and the people's government made their main goal that of infeebling and restricting the growth of the economic positions of feudalism and foreign capital. Consolidating their own domestic political and foreign positions considerably, people's power went over from a policy of restriction to a policy of eliminating the feudal lords as a class. The Fifth Great People's Khural (1928) passed the historic decree on the confiscation of feudal property. In 1929, the property and livestock of 669 big feudal estates were confiscated. By 1932 the confiscation of the property of the feudal lords had in the main been completed. The confiscated livestock and property were handed over to poor people and to state organisations.

The abolition of feudal property undermined the economic base of feudalism radically and assisted in the emergence of the cooperative movement in the country. The arats, who had received livestock confiscated from the feudal lords, began to go over to very simple forms of cooperation: the joint grazing of livestock, the collective procurement of fodder, the combined transportation of loads, and so forth. However, this did not by any means signify that the necessary conditions had already been created for effecting wide-scale collectivisation taking the example of the Soviet Union. Moreover, the "left-wing" elements present in the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and the government at that time did not take into consideration the local conditions and the lack of the relevant base for mass collectivisation. As an administrative measure, the "left-wing" supporters began to carry out total collectivisation in the country. They compelled the peasants to form communes and collective farms by force which soon disintegrated. A great damage was done to the cooperative movement in the country.

The left-wing deviationists occupied an incorrect position with regard to the church too, and allowed repressions. The left-wing excesses were made use of by the counter-revolutionary forces to undermine the prestige of people's power. In 1932, feudal-lama reaction staged a counter-revolutionary mutiny in the west of the country with the sup-

port of the Japanese imperialists, which was soon put down. Other counter-revolutionary actions also took place but were eliminated by the organs of people's power.

The third extraordinary plenum of the Central Committee and of the Central Control Commission of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party in June 1932 resolutely condemned the policy of the left-wing deviationists and removed them from the Central Committee of the Party. The plenum restored the general line of the Party worked out by the Third Congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party in 1924. Soon, in July of that same year, the seventeenth extraordinary session of the Minor Khural was convened as well as the First Republican Non-Party Conference. The session and the conference completely approved the decisions of the third plenum of the Central Committee and of the Central Control Commission of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party. At the same time, the seventeenth session of the Khural discussed the domestic political situation in the country, planned measures to combat the counter-revolutionary mutiny, reviewed a number of laws and decrees adopted by the left-wing deviationists.

The introduction in 1930 of the monopoly of foreign trade was of great significance for the successful development of the country's economy. The economic influence of the foreign capital in the economy was finally undermined by this. In 1924-1932 the national cooperation and state trade were considerably boosted and the national currency was firmly stabilised. As the property of feudal lords was confiscated, the material base of the state and cooperative sectors was strengthened, the material well-being of the working people improved and there were certain achievements in culture, science, and public education. In its economic development the Mongolian People's Republic drew support from various types of aid from the Soviet Union.

In the course of the class struggle the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party considerably fortified and expanded its ties with the masses, and relying on their support and help, created the necessary prerequisites for successfully tackling the tasks of the people's revolution at its general democratic stage. The Party and the people's government successfully overcame the consequences of left-wing ex-

tremes. The government decree of August 5, 1932, stated that the communes and collective farms set up by the left-wing deviationists by administrative methods and in violation of the principle of voluntariness were disbanded. At the same time, it was intended to set up extremely simple forms of peasant production associations (joint grazing of cattle, procurement of fodder, the building of cattle pens and the cultivation of the soil) on a voluntary basis in place of the disbanded collective farms. The foundations of the cooperative movement were thereby laid in agriculture.

In 1932-1934 the party and the government put into effect a series of measures aimed at further developing the economy. In those years the foundations of industrial development continued to be laid at the same time as the young working class was coming into being which had become a leading political force in Mongolian society by the end of the 1930s. With the assistance of the Soviet Union a number of large enterprises were built including the biggest industrial combine in the country in 1934, which was the main source of moulding staff for the Mongolian working class. By the end of the 1930s industry had already become an independent sector of the economy and provided approximately 20 per cent of the total gross output of industry and agriculture expressed in terms of value.

Major measures were put into effect in livestock breeding. In 1933, a new law was enacted on tax which depended not on the income obtained from the livestock but on the number of head of cattle. According to the new law, poor people were completely relieved of paying tax; the taxes imposed on the small households were considerably lowered. This immediately produced good results. The overall head of cattle in the country in 1934 grew to 21 million as against 16 million in 1932.

Education and culture were promoted in the country, the public medical service was improved and the material well-being of the population enhanced.

An important event was the Ninth Congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party in 1934. The Congress completely approved the decisions of the third extraordinary plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, outlined measures for further reinforcing the

country's defence capability, and determined concrete tasks regarding the further development of the economy. The Ninth Congress also discussed the dissemination of culture and education in the country. A decision was taken to increase the number of schools and train more teachers. In accordance with the decision of the Ninth Congress, the people's government adopted a number of decrees on expanding school construction, improving the allowances for schools and training teaching staff for them. In its decisions the Ninth Congress also paid attention to boosting the publishing business and improving physical training for the working people. Taking into account the rapid growth of the Mongolian working class, the Ninth Congress discussed the work of the trade unions, determined their tasks in educating the working people and appealed to them to organise revolutionary emulation among themselves to improve labour productivity and discipline.

The Party and the people's government applied great efforts to end the domination of the clergy and the Lamaist religion as the buttress of feudalism. In solving this extremely difficult question the great influence of the Lamaist religion on believers, who essentially comprised the majority of the population in the republic, had to be taken into account. A careful policy was pursued with regard to the Lamaist monks. The anti-popular activity of the monasteries was revealed to the peasant masses. At the same time, measures were implemented which allowed the lower strata of Lamaist monks to be gradually weaned away from the higher ones and to draw them into socially useful labour activity. This policy brought fruitful results, for stratification began among the Lamaist clergy. Most of the lower lamas left the monasteries and took up socially useful labour.

The law passed in 1934 by the Seventh Great People's Khural on the separation of the church from the state was highly significant. According to this law, the monasteries were estranged from any kind of political and economic life and their activities were placed under the control of bodies of people's power. The reactionary Lamaist clergymen did all they could to oppose this law. With the help of the Japanese imperialists, the lamas tried to organise counter-revolutionary protests against the people's system. However, all these attempts were repelled by the people

and therefore met with failure every time. By the end of the 1930s the numerous Lamaist monasteries had been closed throughout the country and their property and livestock confiscated and handed over to the poor. Consequently, the last buttress of counter-revolution and foreign espionage, the class of the clerical feudal lords, was eradicated.

Resolutely combating the class enemies of all hues and successfully carrying out the difficult tasks involved in economic and cultural development, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party grew and gained in strength as a consistently revolutionary party of the Marxist-Leninist type. Whereas during the early years of its existence the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party was in its social composition an exclusively peasant party, by the end of the 1930s it had already become a party of the working class and the toiling peasantry. A whole series of vital internal political and economic tasks were tackled under its direct leadership such as eradicating the vestiges of serfdom, liquidating the class of feudal lords, terminating the country's economic dependence on foreign capital, creating and fortifying a socialist sector in the economy, educating and training cadres for the Mongolian working class and the people's intelligentsia, providing cultural facilities, improving the material well-being of the Mongolian people, and so forth.

Thus, by 1940 the Mongolian People's Republic had finally rid itself of the exploiter class of secular and clerical feudal lords, and the country's economy had ceased to be dependent on foreign capital. A new socialist system emerged on the basis of the state and cooperative sector. The leading role here was played by the state sector since it had as its basis a higher form of socialist production relations and determined the country's further economic development along a non-capitalist, socialist path.

One of the major peculiarities of Mongolia's economic development was that socialist forms of the economy were created during the first, general democratic stage of the people's revolution. The socialist system in Mongolia took shape in the course of the setting up of industry, mechanised transport, the finance and credit system, and state trade, of which the people's government was completely in charge. The creation of a socialist system was a key condition for the further development of the Mongolian People's Repub-

lie along a non-capitalist path and for providing the prerequisites for building socialism.

As a result, the people's revolution in Mongolia had become a socialist revolution by 1940 and the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the toiling peasantry had become a dictatorship of the proletariat. The transition from the anti-feudal stage of the revolution to its socialist stage was a gradual one, achieved not in a single outburst but by the gradual strengthening of the alliance between the working class and the toiling peasantry, by the gradual transformation of the peasants' Khurals into working people's Khurals which began to perform the function and tasks involved in the dictatorship of the working class.

The great achievements of the Mongolian people are inseparable from the peace-loving foreign policy of the government of the Mongolian People's Republic. This policy has provided the necessary conditions for the country's development along a non-capitalist path, towards socialism. Mongolia's international position is largely determined by its friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union.

For two decades the Soviet Union and the Mongolian People's Republic opposed the mighty imperialist camp, repelled all the attacks by the imperialists and successfully built a new life. In the complicated international situation early in the 1930s the USSR and the Mongolian People's Republic concluded an agreement on November 27, 1934, which protected the independence of Mongolia from the encroachments of the Japanese imperialists. This was an agreement aimed at combating the possible threat of military attack and also rendering one another aid should either of them be the victim of aggression on the part of a third party.

In view of the serious danger posed by Japan, a protocol on mutual aid for a term of ten years was signed in Ulan Bator by the USSR and the Mongolian People's Republic on March 12, 1936, which was based on the above-mentioned agreement. This protocol was extremely important for the protection of the independence of the Mongolian People's Republic.

In 1939, the Japanese imperialists tried to test the staunchness of the Soviet-Mongolian alliance in the Khalkin Gol region, but they received a resolute rebuff. The Soviet and Mongolian armed forces routed the Japanese troops to a

man and demonstrated in practice for the whole world to see how firm the fraternal friendship between the Soviet and Mongolian peoples was.

The relations of fraternal friendship and all-round co-operation established between the Soviet Union and the Mongolian People's Republic was a fore-runner of the relations which are today successfully being developed among the socialist countries.

Chapter 9

The Countries of South and South-East Asia

INDIA

The upsurge of the national liberation movement in India in 1918-1922. Up to the late 1940s India was a colony of Great Britain. For more than a hundred and fifty years the British colonialists cruelly exploited the people and the national resources of this huge country. The British preserved their domination in India by means of economic and political oppression. They made huge capital investments in its economy, a sum amounting to 500 million pounds sterling in 1914. Pumping the natural resources out of India, Britain developed such branches of the food and mining industries there as the jute, tea, coffee, rubber, and coal industries. The British owned railway transport, part of the irrigation system, and many banks. The "management agency" created by them controlled the operations of all kinds of companies. The exploitation of the Indian people brought huge profits to the British treasury: in 1921-1922 they amounted to 146,500,000 pounds sterling. The British colonial administration completely subordinated to itself all political life in India. It could impose a veto on any decision taken by the provincial legislative councils.

The First World War did, to a certain extent, stimulate the development of India's own industry, facilitating its concentration and centralisation. Thus, pig iron and steel were smelted at plants belonging to the Indian firm Tata. By 1921-1922 the Indian iron-and-steel industry had produced more than 270,000 tonnes of pig iron, more than

182,000 tonnes of steel (in ingots) and approximately 126,000 tonnes of steel articles. The Indian factories and plants mushroomed in regions where there had not been any formerly. On the whole, however, India remained a backward, agrarian country with marked vestiges of feudalism. In 1921, the proportion of the population employed in industry was 10.49 per cent. The British artificially restrained the industrial development of India.

Agriculture where precapitalist methods were widespread was also backward in its development. As a result of the decline in agriculture, the overall area of cultivated land decreased from 208 million acres in 1911 to 205 million acres in 1921. Primitive farming techniques were employed in agriculture, and fertilisers were hardly used at all. The systematic undernutrition and death from starvation was the lot of many millions of inhabitants in that country. In 1918, 13 million people died from famine and an influenza epidemic.

In the main, representatives of the Indian bourgeoisie and landowners were involved in political life. They had their own organisations, among which the most prominent was the Indian National Congress. At that time, its task consisted in expanding the participation of Indians in the state apparatus, stimulating the growth of national capital, and the campaign for the self-government of India within the framework of the British Empire. The members of the National Congress were also seeking to attain an elected majority (and not an appointed one) on legislative councils and half the places for Indians on the Executive Council under the Viceroy of India.

The Moslem League, which was a political party of Moslem aristocrats, landowners and bourgeoisie, also demanded self-government for India within the framework of the empire. In 1916, the National Congress and the Moslem League signed an agreement in Lucknow on an alliance which strengthened the front of the national liberation struggle of the Indian people. Fearing the unification of the national forces, the British supported the activity of the chauvinistic Hindu organisation Hindu Mahasabha (the Great Union of the Hindus) which was opposed to the Moslems.

The economic and political development of India created the prerequisites for an upsurge in the national liberation

movement. The Indian soldiers who fought in the First World War in the European theatre of war, were infected with revolutionary sentiments and when they returned home, they began to propagandise them actively. In a number of places, for example, in the Punjab, they headed peasant protest. The Indian workers who had emigrated during the war years played a similar revolutionary role.

The Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia had a telling impact on the rise of the national liberation movement in India. The message of one of the illegal meetings in Delhi to the Soviet government at the end of 1917 testifies to the attitude of the advanced representatives of the Indian people to the Russian revolution. "India," it was stated in the message, "congratulates you on your great victory in the interests of the democracy of the whole world. India wonders at the noble and humane principles that you have proclaimed now that you have taken power into your own hands." A delegation from India which arrived in Moscow in November 1918 communicated a message saying how they welcomed the Russian revolution. In 1918, large strikes were staged in India by workers in Bombay, Calcutta, and other cities, trade union organisations came into being, and spontaneous peasant revolts began to flare up. In this period people from India organised an Indian Revolutionary Association in Tashkent which strove to activate the national liberation movement of the Indian people.

The incipient upswing in the anti-imperialist movement was headed by the Indian bourgeoisie, by the Indian National Congress party. The leader of the movement was Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (1869-1948), who was a supporter of the extensive mass popular liberation movement, but using solely non-violent means. In the struggle against the British oppression he proposed being guided by the religious philosophical system Satyagraha (insistence on truth) based on renunciation of violence. Gandhi insisted on reforms in India, ardently propagandised the need to overcome the religious strife between the Hindus and the Moslems, spoke in favour of eliminating from the Indian way of life such a despicable heritage of the past as the caste of "untouchables". Gandhi's teaching corresponded to the ancient traditions of India but restricted resistance to the British to solely non-violent actions.

With the liberation movement in India on the rise, the British authorities started to employ various manoeuvres. In July 1918 they published a report by the Secretary of State for India, Edwin Samuel Montagu, and the Viceroy of India, Frederick Chelmsford, in which the bill of a new law on the government of India was advanced. The report was received differently by the various strata of the national forces. The right wing of the National Congress supported it and even left the Congress, forming the Liberal Federation which set about cooperating with the British. The majority of people in the Congress headed by Gandhi opposed the new law on the government of India. On March 12 in Lahore and on March 13, 1919, in Delhi big anti-British rallies and demonstrations were held. There were also clashes with the police.

Owing to the more acute struggle, the British authorities increasingly used repressions to combat the participants in the anti-imperialist protest. On March 18, 1919, they approved the so-called Rowlatt bill which provided for more severe repressions against participants in the national liberation struggle. According to this bill, the rights of the police were considerably extended, and courts were set up without juries, without defence counsellors, without witnesses. Any Indian who had been accused of anti-British activity could be arrested, immediately convicted and sentenced to one punishment or another.

The enactment of this law made the situation in the country even more acute. Gandhi called for a general strike (hartal) to protest against it. On March 30, 1919, mass anti-imperialist rallies and demonstrations had already begun. In a number of places they ended in clashes with the police. In thq town of Amritsar in the Punjab events acquired a militant and tragic character. On April 13, when tens of thousands of people gathered in the town square, Jalianwala Bagh, for a rally to protest against the expulsion by the British authorities of two leaders of the national liberation movement, Saifuddin Kitchlew and Satyapal from the town, detachments of British troops commanded by Brigadier-General Reginald Dyer blocked off the exit from the square and opened fire on the people there without warning. Approximately two thousand people were killed, even more were wounded, many of them fatally. In the following days the British continued to commit

excesses in the streets of Amritsar.

The slaughter in Amritsar only intensified the indignation of the Indian people. Anti-British protest swept the whole of the Punjab. There were also riots in Ahmadabad, Delhi, Calcutta, and other towns and cities. A Khilafat movement started among the Moslems who protested against the intentions of Great Britain to suppress the struggle of Turkey and Afghanistan for their sovereignty. At the same time, the Khilafat Party protested against British oppression in India. All this fortified the anti-British front of the Hindus and Moslems.

At the height of the anti-imperialist movement in December 1919 the British authorities passed a new law on the government of India. According to this law, the legislative power in India remained in the hands of the British Viceroy (governor-general), while the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly had deliberative rights. The Indian bourgeoisie and landowners had an increased representation in these organs. Of the sixty members of the Council of State 26 were appoirited by the Viceroy, and 34- were elected. Also elected were 105-(of the 145) members of the Legislative Assembly. Evidence of the lack of rights of the broad masses of the population is furnished by the fact that, according to this law, only five million of the 320-million population in India enjoyed the franchise. The most important departments (ministries) remained in the hands of the British authorities. Indians only received access to the secondary departments (social work; education). Thus, the new law was far from attaining even that limited self-government proposed by the National Congress.

The enactment of the law on the government of India did not make the anti-British campaign any less vigorous. In the course of the campaign the protests of the working class took on increasingly organised forms. On January 2, through February 5,1920, there was a general strike of textile workers in Bombay; on February 24, a strike of metal-workers began in Jamshedpur, and in May a strike of textile workers in Ahmadabad. In the autumn of 1920 the first session of the All-India Trade Union Congress was held in Bombay. At that time, the first communist groups were taking shape in the country.

The idea put forward by Gandhi on conducting a mass campaign of civil disobedience or refusal to cooperate re-

ceived extensive support. On August 1, 1920, the civil disobedience campaign began. In September 1920, a plan for staging this campaign was approved at the extraordinary congress of the National Congress party; the plan envisaged renunciation of British titles, refusal to serve in government offices, the boycott of British goods, and as an extreme measure the refusal of the peasants to pay taxes. The multi-million-strong masses of the Indian population took part in the civil disobedience campaign. The authority of the National Congress grew to an enormous extent. Its ranks numbered ten million in 1921.

The economic crisis that began early in 1921 tended to worsen the situation in the country still further. The entrepreneurs (both British and Indian) began to cut the workers' wages, which intensified the strike campaign embracing many industrial sectors. In 1921, there were 396 strikes in which 600,000 people took part and a total number of seven million working days were lost through strikes.

The peasants also waged a dogged struggle. In the United Provinces they created the Eka (unity) organisation which demanded that rent terms should be made easier. After the landowners had responded to this with a refusal and repression, the peasants began to raid and set fire to the landowners' estates. There was peasant unrest in Punjab and Madras province. In a number of places the peasants held conferences where those attending substantiated their own demands. In August 1921, an uprising of Moslem tenants in the Malabar district of the Madras province began in the course of which a Khilafat republic was proclaimed. Six months later the British suppressed this rebellion with extreme cruelty.

In the Punjab in 1921 the struggle was joined by the Sikhs who represented a strong religious community. One of the Sikhs' sects, the Akali, protested against the seizure of the communities' lands by the priests of the temples. They suggested that the incomes from these lands should be spent on the upkeep of schools, on help for the poor, and on holding religious fetes. The British authorities sent the police and the troops against the Akali but their movement continued up to 1924, until they attained some concessions.

The indignation at the British oppressors was especially pronounced during the visit to India of the heir to the British throne, the Prince of Wales. On November 17, 1921, the

workers of Bombay and Calcutta called a general strike, raised barricades, and became involved in clashes with the police. More and more frequently the protest of the masses went beyond the framework of the non-violent acts recommended by the National Congress. In February 1922, in the little country town of Chauri-Chaura the police fired on a peaceful demonstration. Then the participants in the demonstration armed with sticks, forced the police to flee and set fire to those who hid in the police station. Twenty-two policemen died. These events evoked tremendous agitation in India. However, at the suggestion of Gandhi the Executive Committee of the National Congress announced at the session in Bardoli on February 12, 1922, that the campaign of civil disobedience was finished. Not all members of the Congress were in agreement with this decision after which the national liberation movement began to decline. But, having awakened the will to fight in the enormous masses of the people of India, this period of upsurge in the movement had an impact on the further course of the liberation struggle.

India in the years of capitalist stabilisation. In the period of the stabilisation of capitalism the British authorities conducted "rationalisation of production" in India. However, this did not lead to substantial changes in the country's industrial development. Owing to the growing competition from the Japanese, American, German and Belgian imperialists on the Indian market, the British stepped up the policy of protectionism. Back in 1923 they limited imports of foreign goods in India, thereby somewhat extending opportunities for developing Indian industry. Since, owing to the unprecedentedly cheap manpower in India, it was advantageous for the British industrialists (and also the Indian industrialists connected with them) to produce metal in this country, according to the 1927 law the development of the iron-and-steel industry was encouraged in India. But although steel smelting had increased somewhat, it remained on an extremely low level just as before. The Indian industrialists were forced to purchase all the capital goods for their enterprises at high prices in the metropolis. Nevertheless, British propaganda began to widely advertise the process of "industrialisation" and "decolonisation" of India.

The capitalist "rationalisation" was accompanied by in-

creased exploitation of the working class, who responded to this with a chain of strikes. In 1925, there were 134 strikes in India, and, in 1928, 208 strikes. The total number of hours lost through strikes was 12.5 million and 31 million working days respectively. Many of the strikes in this campaign ended in victory for the workers in this period. The Indian proletariat became better organised and more aware, which was of great importance. This was the time when the communist movement came into being in India. In 1924, the Communists began to publish the magazine *The Socialist,* in 1925, the journal *The Worker,* and in 1926 the magazine *Revolution.* The authorities persecuted those who published communist literature. The organisers of the magazine *The Socialist* were arrested, charged with "a Bolshevik conspiracy" and sentenced to lengthy terms in prison.

But these persecutions did not stop the growth of the communist movement. In December 1925 the Communist Party of India was founded. In 1926, the Communists convened an illegal conference in Kanpur, at which a decision was taken to set up legal workers' and peasants' parties. In the following year such parties appeared in Bombay and other towns and provinces in the country. In 1928, at their national congress the creation of the All-India Workers' and Peasants' Party was proclaimed. The party and its journal *Revolution* played a vital part in the further development of the communist movement.

The Communists paid great attention to fortifying their ties with the masses and to work in the trade unions. Under their guidance the ranks of the All-India Trade Union Congress (189,000 in 1929) swelled. The authorities invariably hounded members of the Communist and the Workers' and Peasants'' Party and of the trade unions. Many of their leaders were arrested and put on trial. The repressions perpetrated by the authorities and the spread of reformism led to a split in the trade union movement. In November 1929 the reformists, having caused a split in the All-India Trade Union Congress, founded an Indian Trade Union Federation. Besides these organisations the Red Congress of Trade Unions existed in India (which had been founded in July 1931).

At the end of the period of revolutionary upsurge in March 1923, a split had occurred in the ranks of the National Congress. Some of its members led by Motilal Nehru

and other eminent figures formed the Swaraj Party ("swaraj" means independence) which decided to stand for the election to the legislative bodies. At the election, the Swaraj Party supporters obtained a considerable number of votes and formed a strong opposition to the British. Gandhi and most of the National Congress were opposed to participation in the legislative organs. But later they changed their opinion, after which the Swaraj Party members again returned to the Congress.

In the new conditions the interreligious struggle in India became more acute but not without the participation of the British. The reactionary Moslem figures propagandised the idea of converting all Indians to Islam, but the Hindu Mahasabha Party began to champion the convertion of all the inhabitants of India to Hinduism. These religious differences resulted in sanguinary pogroms in India.

In spite of the relative decline in the national liberation movement, in the second half of the 1920s the left wing gained in strength in the Indian National Congress. It was headed by Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose. After a trip to Europe when he visited the Soviet Union, Jawaharlal Nehru tended to favour a more radical programme. In December 1927, at the congress of the Indian National Congress in Lahore the attainment of "swaraj", i.e., independence, was pronounced to be the goal of the party. However, this decision made no difference whatsoever to the party's activities.

On the threshold of the new conflict with the national forces of India the British authorities created a commission comprised of representatives of the Conservative, Liberal and Labour parties headed by Lord John Simon to work out a new Indian Constitution. There was not a single Indian on this commission. This news evoked a storm of indignation in India. The members of the Congress Party decided to boycott the Simon Commission. When the Simon Commission arrived in Bombay on February 3, 1928, India met it with demonstrations of protest and a boycott of British goods. At a 100,000-strong demonstration of the workers of Calcutta in December 1928 the demand for India's complete independence was put forward.

The Indian National Congress decided to work out its own draft Constitution for India. However, the members of the Congress were not unanimous on the manner in

which to decide the fate of their country. As a result, two drafts of the Constitution were drawn up. In one of them, worked out by Motilal Nehru, the proposal was put forward that India should obtain the status of a dominion and remain part of the British Empire; the other one compiled by the left-wing members of the Congress headed by Jawaharlal Nehru contained a demand for the complete independence of India. However, the British authorities ignored both draft constitutions of the Indian National Congress.

India during the world economic crisis and on the eve of the Second World War. The world economic crisis hit India's economy hard. It led to a drop in the prices of agricultural produce, to a decrease in the sown area, to the loss of land by the peasants, to the growth of their debts and to impoverishment. Large-scale famine again swept the country. The crisis led to the wholesale ruin of the artisans, some of the middle and petty capitalists, having intensified the concentration and centralisation of production and capital and creating monopolies. Many strata of the working population were in a difficult situation. The workers' wages fell, and the peasants were ruined. A numerous army (up to 40 million) of complete and partially unemployed appeared.

In the years of the crisis the class contradictions and the defferences between the British exploiters and the Indian national forces further exacerbated. Consequently, the workers, peasants and other strata of the population started militant campaigns in India to gain their social and national rights. The British authorities, conducting a policy of repressions, began the trial in the town of Meerut of 33 members of the Workers' and Peasants' Party and of the trade unions on March 20, 1929. They were charged with preparing a "secret plot". The Meerut trial continued for almost four years. A campaign in support of freeing those charged began in India. However, the court sentenced them to hard labour for three to twelve years. After this the campaign for the freedom of the Meerut prisoners continued. The authorities were forced to let part of them go and to cut the prison sentences of the others. On the whole, contrary to the wishes of those who conducted it, the Meerut trial did ultimately help to propagandise the ideas of communism.

In the years of the crisis the National Congress became more active. On January 26, 1930, a resolution was adopted

by it on the campaign for India's independence and the first Day of Independence in India was conducted. The text of an oath on the fight for independence in the country was worked out and it was decided to read it every year on the 26th of January at mass events. On the appeal of Mahatma Gandhi, the Salt March began on March 12, 1930, and concomitantly a new campaign of civil disobedience. Thousands of people set out for the seashore to obtain salt there by evaporation of seawater, having refused to pay the salt tax. In a number of places the campaign of civil disobedience turned into armed demonstrations. On April 18, 1930, the terrorist organisation, the Republican Army, seized an arsenal in Chittagong. On April 20, an uprising began in Peshawar. The urban poor and the peasants captured the post-office, the telegraph, administrative buildings in Peshawar and retained power for twelve days. The authorities had difficulty in putting down the uprising in Chittagong and Peshawar. In May they arrested more than 60,000 people, including Gandhi and many other members of the Congress.

But the anti-British protest continued to grow. From May 8 to May 16 there was a rebellion in Sholapur. Guerrilla warfare swept the entire north-western province. There was peasant unrest in Bombay and other towns and cities in India. Regions of the United Provinces, the province of Punjab and some principalities were also enveloped by peasant unrest. Everywhere the British were forced to resort to the assistance of the troops to suppress the rebels.

Amidst gathering revolution negotiations began in Delhi in February 1931, between Mahatma Gandhi and the British Viceroy Lord Irwin. On March 5, 1931, they signed the Delhi Pact, according to which the British cancelled the emergency laws and fines, ceased the trials of the participants in the campaign against the British salt monopoly, and agreed to discuss the proposals of the Indian National Congress on a Constitution at a round-table conference. In its turn, the Indian National Congress called off the campaign of civil disobedience and also the anti-British boycott, pledged itself not to offer resistance to the authorities and not to hold hostile demonstrations. On the whole, the Delhi Pact was a serious concession of the members of the National Congress to the British authorities. Many of its members protested against the approval of

the pact by the party congress.

In 1931, Gandhi attended the round-table conference in London. The conference was also attended by representatives of India's religious and feudal upper crust, that buttress of British domination. Playing on the contradictions between the Hindus and the Moslems, the British imposed on India a reactionary suffrage law which divided up all the electorate of India according to religious and class status. Gandhi, who was not satisfied with the results of the round-table conference and also with the fact that the British had not honoured their obligations with regard to the Delhi Pact, announced a new campaign of civil disobedience which began in January 1932 and continued until April 1934. In the course of this campaign there were uprisings in the principality of Kashmir (1931-1933) and in the principality of Alwar (1934).

In 1933, the communist movement revived. The Communists held their own conference at which the Central Committee of the Party was elected. But in 1934 the authorities pronounced the Communist Party illegal, and it was again forced to go underground. This greatly complicated its operations. Nevertheless, the Communists joined in big, mass protests by the workers and peasants. In 1934, the Congress-Socialist Party was formed on the basis of the left wing which had developed in the Indian National Congress.

In August 1935 the Parliament of Great Britain passed a new law on the government of India (Constitution). This law envisaged making India a federation of provinces and principalities and granted the provinces a degree of autonomy. However, the British Governor-General and governors of the provinces still retained supreme power. The number .of the electorate to the provincial legislative assemblies increased to 14 per cent of the entire population of India. Ministries, which were responsible to the legislative assemblies, were set up in the provinces. Representatives of the provinces and principalities were members of the all-India legislative bodies. Approximately one-third of the seats in the legislative assembly were obtained by representatives appointed by the princes. Even more seats were provided for the princes in the Council of State (the upper chamber). Thus, the new Constitution was an extremely moderate one and kept India completely dependent on Britain just as before.

The national forces were extremely indignant at this Constitution, especially at the federal system provided for in it with its strong representation of princes and landowners, the very mainstay of British rule. In this connection, demonstrations of protest and strikes began in India. The National Congress and the Moslem League protested against the Constitution. The Indian National Congress proposed that the Constituent Assembly should be convened. As a result of the extensive wave of protests, the British did not introduce the federal system.

At that time, the significance of the Indian National Congress in the anti-imperialist movement was growing. Many workers, peasants, and petty bourgeois had joined its ranks. In 1935, the Communist Party joined the Indian National Congress while retaining its ideological, political, and organisational independence. This heightened the role of the Indian National Congress even more as a distinctive form of a united anti-imperialist front. In 1936, at the Indian National Congress party congress, Jawaharlal Nehru, already well known at that time as the radical figure in the Indian National Congress, was elected president. At that time the National Congress came out against the danger of fascism and war, and expressed its solidarity with the struggle of the peoples of Spain, Ethiopia and China, against fascist aggression.

Other public organisations in India also began to act more vigorously. In 1935, on the initiative of the Communists, the All-India Trade Union Congress and the Red Congress of Trade Unions united into a single organisation. In 1939, the All-India Federation of Trade Unions united with it, and the All-India Trade Union Congress became a united organisation of the working class. Peasant organisations also began to mushroom, their members numbering approximately one million. The Communists and other left-wing figures played an important part in them. In 1936, an All-India Peasants' Conference was convened in Faizpur which formulated the main demands of the peasants: the abolition of the landed estates and the allotment of land to the peasants, the granting of independence to India, and also the democratisation of the country, as well as a number of other demands. The Communist Party spoke in favour of the trade union, national, youth, anti-imperialist, and other organisations joining the Indian National Congress as col-

lective members. However, the leaders of the Congress rejected this proposal.

In 1936-1937, elections to the legislative assemblies of the provinces were held in India. The Congress attained success in most of the provinces. Governments headed by members of the Indian National Congress were formed in eight out of the eleven provinces. The Moslem League and other parties suffered a defeat at the election. Owing to this, the League revised its programme, championed Indian national independence and its becoming a federation of self-governing provinces. This somewhat enhanced the influence of the League among the Moslem population.

On the eve of the Second World War the Congress governments in the provinces carried out a series of progressive measures. Political prisoners were released from prison. Land rents paid by the peasants were lowered somewhat. It was made easier to set up trade unions and the system of primary education was expanded.

However, the difficult position of the working masses forced them to continue the struggle for their own vital interests. The number of strikes continued to increase. In 1938, there were 399 strikes in India in which 401,000 people participated and the total number of working days lost was nine million. The workers' protests in Bombay and Calcutta were militant ones. Almost half of the strikes ended in victory for the workers. Mass peasant protests continued in Bihar, the United Provinces, Punjab, and Bengal. The peasants went on hunger marches during which they advanced their demands for land and bread.

The national movement also embraced the principalities of which there were about six hundred. Under the leadership of the national bourgeoisie and "the people's alliances" which were affiliated to the Indian National Congress, a movement to restrict the rights of the princes and to introduce a democratic regime got under way in the principalities. At the request of the princes, the British authorities sent troops into the principalities to put down the people's protests.

The movement of the "untouchables" (the lowest caste in India at that time who were most deprived of rights) became more vigorous as well. The attempts of the British to set this caste against other castes in India in order to split the national forces, did not succeed. The leader of the In-

dian National Congress Gandhi began a campaign to eradicate caste discrimination against the untouchables. This raised the authority of the Indian National Congress among the untouchables and helped to promote the national liberation movement.

On the eve of the Second World War conditions in India became increasingly suitable for abolishing the colonial oppression of Great Britain.

INDONESIA (THE NETHERLANDS' INDIES)

Indonesia which was a colony of the Netherlands was also subjected to exploitation by the monopolies of Great Britain, France, the USA, Belgium, and Italy. In 1915, foreign capital investments in Indonesia amounted to 1,500 million guldens. The main branches of the economy in the country were under the control of foreign imperialism. A considerable part of the cultivated land also belonged to foreign owners. The colonialists obtained huge incomes by exporting raw materials from Indonesia.

Foreign oppression hindered the development of Indonesian industry. During the First World War the Indonesian bourgeoisie set up several enterprises in the food and light industries but in the post-war years these enterprises soon began to close down, unable to withstand the competition from foreign goods. On the whole, the Indonesian bourgeoisie was a weak political and social force. In Indonesia there was a considerable stratum of Chinese, among them a sizable group of traders, usurers and petty entrepreneurs. This category of inhabitants in the country acted as intermediaries for foreign companies. The feudal upper crust was also a buttress of the foreign oppressors, many of its members working for the Dutch authorities and creating a stratum of bureaucrats and civil servants.

The main mass of Indonesian society, the peasants, lived in conditions of feudal dependence on the local and foreign landowners, and a patriarchal-clan system persisted among the peasantry in some places. Approximately one-third of the farming population was employed on seasonal work by the local planters and wealthy people. The farmhands formed the main part of the local proletariat. The number of industrial workers was small. They were employed in the

oil-fields, at the oil refineries, on railway transport, at small repair shops, in the dockyards, the ports and so forth. The main part of the industrial proletariat worked at foreign enterprises. Owing to this, the class struggle of the workers was primarily an anti-imperialist one.

Indonesia's own, although small, intelligentsia which took an anti-imperialist stand was formed from among the petty bourgeoisie in Indonesia.

On the eve of the First World War the first organisations of Indonesian forces appeared in the country. In 1912, the Islamic Alliance (Sarekat Islam) came into being which expressed the anti-imperialist sentiments of the middle strata in Indonesia. In 1914, the Dutch Social-Democrats set up the Indies' Social-Democratic Association. The first trade union organisations had already emerged in the country back in 1905. The Social-Democrats established ties with the Islamic Alliance and trade unions. An anti-imperialist front gradually took shape in the country.

The national forces worked to get reforms introduced in Indonesia and foreign imperialist oppression restricted and eliminated. In December 1916, the Netherlands'authorities passed a law on setting up a People's Council as a representative body. The Indonesians received 15 of the 39 seats on the Council. Half of the members were appointed by the Governor-General, the other half elected by indirect elections by the upper crust of the Indonesian population. The broad strata of the people did not get any kind of political rights. The left wing of the Islamic Alliance opposed participation in the People's Council and at the congress at the end of October 1917 spoke in favour of attaining independence for Indonesia by means of revolutionary struggle. However, the moderate leaders of the Alliance who were supported by the majority considered it necessary to be on the People's Council, calculating on turning it into the Indonesian parliament.

The Great October Socialist Revolution encouraged the growth of the revolutionary elements in the national liberation movement in Indonesia. At the next congress of the Islamic Alliance in September and at the beginning of October 1918 the idea was put forward of creating a national authority. The congress championed the activation and unity of the workers' movement, demanded that labour legislation should be introduced in the country

(a minimum wage should be established, the working day limited, women's and child labour protected, and so forth). At the congress there was also an appeal to wage a campaign against colonial oppression and capitalist exploitation.

Soon after the congress, on November 16, 1918, a mass organisation, Radicale Concentratie (the Radical Concentration) came into being which included the Islamic Alliance, the Indies'[1] Social-Democratic Association, and other organisations. On the initiative of the Islamic Alliance a federation of trade unions (the Unity of the Workers' Movement) was founded. In 1920, it had 72,000 members amalgamated into 22 trade unions.

The impact of revolutionary ideas, especially the events in Russia, was reflected in the gathering strength of the left wing in the Indies' Social-Democratic Association. In these circumstances the right Social-Democrats decided to split the Association. When they left it in the autumn of 1917 they founded the Indies' Social-Democratic Party. The left Social-Democrats continued to help in boosting trade union membership and organising the strike campaign. In 1919, a strike was staged by the workers at sugar enterprises in Indonesia. At the end of 1919 no less than 40,000 peasants took part in an uprising in Western Java. Peasant unrest swept through other regions in the country too.

On May 23, 1920, the Indonesian Communist Party was formed on the basis of the Indies' Social-Democratic Association. The chairman of the Indonesian Communist Party was Semaun, and his deputy Darsono. At the Communist Party Congress in December 1920 a decision was taken on its joining the Comintern. "The formation of the Indonesian Communist Party," wrote Dipa Nusantara Aidit, an eminent figure in it, "shows that progressive elements in Indonesia did not hesitate to respond to the salvoes of the Great October Revolution."

Soon after the formation of the Indonesian Communist Party the right-wing elements caused a split in the Federation of Trade Unions and in the Islamic Alliance. The sectarian sentiments among some of the Communists also tended to disrupt the unity of the anti-imperialist forces. In December 1921 a number of sections of the Islamic Alliance

[1] Colonial Indonesia was officially called the Netherlands' Indies.

left it and founded the People's Alliance (Sarekat Rakjat). This weakened the unity of the national forces and undermined the influence of the Islamic Alliance.

In 1924, many members of the People's Alliance merged with the Indonesian Communist Party. The swelling of the party by petty-bourgeois elements made it weak from an ideological and organisational point of view. A left-wing deviation appeared in the Indonesian Communist Party. The left-wing deviationists identified the campaign against foreign imperialism and local feudalism with the fight against capitalism in general, for the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat in Indonesia. This stand meant leaping over the stage of bourgeois-democratic, national liberation revolution.

The Dutch colonial authorities began to increase the repressions and resort to all kinds of provocations and terror in order to suppress the resistance of the national forces of Indonesia. They sacked strikers, arrested activists, banned workers' newspapers and closed schools organised by the Communist Party. In 1925, they outlawed the Communist Party and the People's Alliance.

The spread of leftist sentiments in the Communist Party led to the Party pursuing a policy of armed rebellion in response to the authorities' policy of repressions. This began in Java on November 12, 1926, and then at the beginning of 1927 it spread to Sumatra. In Batavia detachments of rebels attacked the main police headquarters, the prison, and other institutions, but they only managed to capture the central telephone exchange. The poorly armed rebels were soon routed by detachments of Dutch troops. It was clear that the uprising was badly planned and did not start simultaneously in different places. There was no contact and no. coordination of action among the rebels. Many revolutionary figures were arrested by the authorities even before the uprising started so that it did not in fact have any leaders. The leaders who remained free were not sufficiently resolute.

The Dutch colonialists turned the uprising into a bloodbath. Thousands of Communists were thrown into prison or banished, and many were executed. After this the national liberation struggle waned. The bourgeois elements increasingly came to the fore in the anti-imperialist movement. On July 4, 1927, a Nationalist Party of Indonesia was founded,

headed by Ahme 1 Sukarno. The petty bourgeoisie formed the social basis of the party. The representatives of the national bourgeoisie calculated on using the party to heighten their own role am png the anti-imperialist forces. The party's main goal was t lie attainment of independence for the country. The pro: ^gramme of the Nationalist Party envisaged the unification o all Indonesians into a single nation, and attracting them nto the anti-Dutch movement. The demand for a demcn cratic republic in which power would belong to the whob e people figured among the goals in the programme. Afte : independence was attained it was proposed that a soq ialist society should be built. The party spoke in favour c f cooperation among all the trends participating in the anti-imperialist movement, the supporters of Islam, the nationalists, and the Marxists. Essentially the new party was a nationalistic organisation whose ideology was that of populist p ▫ Tty-bourgeois socialism.

Thanks to the efforts of the Nationalist Party in December 1927 a f ;deration of the political national associations of Indonei ia, including the Nationalist Party, the Islamic Alliance and other organisations, was founded. Frightened by ti e increasing influence of the Nationalist Party among the masses, the Dutch authorities began to persecute the mi ambers of that party, and in December 1929 it was out [awed. In April 1931 the leaders of the Nationalist Party, after announcing its dissolution, founded the Party of Ind onesia (Partai Indonesia) which took over the programme o f the Nationalist Party of Indonesia.

The right-wing figures in the Nationalist Party who opposed its dissolq tion set up their own party of the same name. It was heh led by the representatives of the bourgeois intelligentsia Moh ammad Hatta and Sutan Sjahrir. The new Nationalist Party 1 of Indonesia was distinguished for its bourgeois and re formist moderation and did not enjoy the support of the masses.

At the beginning of the 1930s the communist movement revived somewha; t. In 1932, the Communists worked out their own new nnogramme in outlawry. In it they put forward the tasks q f attaining complete independence for Indonesia, confisca ting the landed estates and handing the land over to the peasants, the introduction of democratic freedoms, and t le improvement of the workers' standard of living. The cj >mmunists became more vigorous in their

own activity in the trade unions and other organisations.

A manifestation of the growing contradictions between the colonialists and the national forces was a mutiny in February 1933 on the Dutch battleship *The Seven Provinces*, in which both Indonesian and Dutch sailors took part. The authorities cruelly put down the sailors' mutiny. After this, it became much more difficult for the Indonesian organisations to operate. At the end of 1933 the Party of Indonesia disbanded itself.

In the mid-1930s the national forces in Indonesia increasingly recognised the growing danger of another world war and the threat to the country posed by the Japanese aggressors. The Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party, reinstituted in 1935, advanced the task of creating a united anti-imperialist front. One of the manifestations of this policy was the setting up in 1937 of the legal party, the Indonesian People's Movement (Gerindo). A year later a number of political organisations united into the Indonesian Political Union. In December 1939 this Union held the All-Indonesia People's Congress. This was a form of people's front which championed the establishment of national democratic rule in Indonesia.

THE FEDERATION OF FRENCH INDOCHINA

At the end of the First World War this Federation included Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia (now Kampuchea). Formally, the northern part of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia were called protectorates but were in fact, like South Vietnam, French colonies.

The French colonialists invested their capital in the economies of these countries: in the mining industry, in the plantations producing rubber, rice, coffee and tea, thereby obtaining cheap industrial raw materials and foodstuffs. France's capital investments in these countries already amounted to more than 1,000 million gold francs by the end of the First World War and grew manifold during the 1920s. The ranks of the working class also increased many times over. Whereas by the beginning of that war the number of workers in Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia was no more than 50,000, in 1929 there were already more than 220,000 workers toiling at French enterprises in these

countries, working in conditions of cruel colonial exploitation.

The main detachments of the working class were concentrated at the mining, cement, and textile enterprises, on the plantations, and on the construction sites at ports and on the roads.

In the villages of French Indochina, as a result of a merciless colonial plundering the mass of the peasants had been deprived of their land and by the end of the 1920s more than half of the peasant families were forced to work on French plantations or rent land on exceptionally fettering terms, frequently giving up as much as four-fifths of their harvest. Being weak, the local bourgeoisie largely depended on the French banks and monopolies.

The contradictions between the national forces and the French colonialists served as the basis for the anti-imperialist movement, the upsurge of which was stimulated by the impact of the October Revolution in Russia. Those of the inhabitants of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, who visited France and became acquainted with the ideas of Marxism-Leninism there joined the revolutionary movement and helped towards the national liberation struggle. The working masses in these countries participated in a number of anti-French protests. In 1918, there was a popular uprising in Laos. In a number of towns in Vietnam spontaneous workers' rebellions flared up. In 1922, the coolies on the rubber plantations, the dyers, textile workers and railwaymen joined the campaign.

The upsurge of the anti-imperialist movement helped the national forces to become better organised. In 1923, the new Vietnam Revolutionary Youth Association was formed. Subsequently the first communist groups appeared. In 1924, the national bourgeoisie set up a Constitutional Party which demanded reforms. In June 1925, the outstanding Vietnamese Marxist Ho Chi Minh (Nguyen Ai Quoc) set up the Revolutionary Youth League of Vietnam. This was the first Indochinese Marxist organisation. The petty-bourgeois intelligentsia, the civil servants, and the teachers united into the Revolutionary Party of Vietnam (June 1926). This party championed Vietnam's independence, the founding of a republic and the abolition of landed estates. The members of the party became acquainted with the Marxist ideas.

In the face of the growing liberation movement, the

French colonialists made a number of concessions to the Indochinese bourgeoisie and landowners. In 1926, a Vietnamese Bank was opened, the representation of the bourgeoisie in the Colonial Council was extended, and Franco-Indochinese companies came into being. In this connection, part of the Indochinese bourgeoisie agreed to cooperate with the French authorities. However, the representatives of the petty and middle bourgeoisie, who took an anti-imperialist stand, founded the Vietnamese Nationalist Party in 1927 which pursued a policy of terrorist acts. The party did not enjoy influence among the broad masses of the population.

In the second half of the 1920s the workers' movement became more active. The class struggle of the proletariat and the national liberation movement began to become increasingly vigorous owing to the world economic crisis of 1929-1933. From April 1929 to April 1930 there were 43 strikes in Vietnam in which several thousand workers took part. In these circumstances, the communist forces in French Indochina consolidated their strength. On February 3, 1930, at a conference of communist organisations in Hong Kong the Vietnam Communist Party was founded which was renamed the Communist Party of Indochina in October of that same year. Its founder and leader was Ho Chi Minh. The setting up of a Marxist-Leninist party was of tremendous significance for the further development of the national liberation movement in Indochina. The party actively waged the struggle against foreign imperialism and local reaction. The goals and tasks of the struggle were formulated in the Programme of the Communist Party of Indochina adopted in 1930.

Owing to the world economic crisis of 1929-1933, the prices of tin, zinc, cement, and coal fell, a number of factories and plants closed down, and others worked on short time. Many workers found themselves unemployed, wages were cut, and taxes grew. Consequently the class battles became more acute. The Vietnamese Nationalist Party began an armed uprising in February 1930 in Fort Yenbai which then spread to many regions in the country. But the leaders of the rebellion were not able to get the broad popular masses to join it. The colonialists soon put down this uprising and crushed the Nationalist Party. After this the prestige of the national bourgeoisie declined drastically.

The leading role in the national liberation struggle began to be played by the Communist Party. In 1930, it held May Day demonstrations. In June 1930, a stormy peasant protest was staged. The peasants took rice from the landowners and usurers, burnt the rent agreements, and refused to pay the land tax. In September 1930, the Communists organised a big rebellion in Central Vietnam which was distinguished for its scale and the activity of the masses. The rebels set up people's councils and started to introduce an agrarian reform. The workers who had formed armed self-defence squads joined the peasants. For nine months the councils wielded power in a number of rural localities. The colonialists dealt cruelly with the rebels. The Communists had to go underground, but even outlawed they did not cease their struggle.

In the mid-193Os the Communist Party actively helped to set up a united national anti-imperialist front. In July 1936, the Communist Party of Indochina suggested convening an all-Indochina congress. This idea was widely supported by the anti-imperialist forces. However, the authorities did all they could to prevent it from being implemented. Nevertheless, in 1937 a democratic front emerged which consisted of the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, and other organisations. Its task involved the struggle for democratic freedoms for the peoples of Indochina, and for the unification of the national forces, against the threat of Japanese aggression. At the elections in 1937-1938 the Democratic Front attained certain success. But after the decline of the Popular Front in France the colonial authorities pounced upon the participants in the Democratic Front, forced the Communist Party to go underground and arrested many participants in the liberation movement.

SIAM (THAILAND)

Siam (as Thailand was called before 1939) was formally an independent state but it was in fact enslaved by the imperialist powers, especially by Great Britain and France. By the 1920s the rice-processing, mining, wood-working, and rubber industries had developed in Siam. But, on the whole, it was a backward, feudal country. Eighty-nine per cent of its population were engaged in agriculture. The big land-

owners and bureaucrats dominated in the country's political life from which the king drew support. Foreign capital established its control over tin mining, timber production, foreign trade, and transport.

As the national liberation movement gained in strength in the colonial countries, in 1925 the imperialist powers were forced to renounce the unequal treaties with Siam. But this act did not satisfy the national bourgeoisie who continued to experience tremendous pressure on the part of foreign imperialism which acted as a break on the development of Siam's national economy. On June 24, 1932, under the leadership of the left wing of the People's Party, the organisation of the national bourgeoisie in Siam, a bourgeois revolution began. The leaders of the uprising advanced demands for agrarian transformations in the country, the development of the national industry, culture, science, and technology. With the help of the army the People's Party staged a coup d'état, compelling the king to remove the biggest landowners from power and give the country a Constitution. The outcome of the revolution was that Siam became a constitutional monarchic bourgeois state.

The government of Phya Mano-Pakorn which had come to power in 1933 began to eradicate the vestiges of feudalism and colonialism. In 1936, the treaties with foreign states were annulled, according to which' Siam's independence was restricted. Equal treaties were concluded, the development of national capital was encouraged and the activity of foreign companies was limited. National armed forces began to be developed.

After the revolution in Siam an organised workers' movement emerged, trade unions and small Marxist groups appeared, and strikes began to be organised. At the end of the 1930s the influence of the right-wing bourgeois nationalist circles in the country's political life began to increase. At the end of 1938, with the support of these circles, a military grouping came to power. The army's top brass intensified chauvinist propaganda, advancing the idea of creating a great Thai state. Consequently, Siam was renamed Thailand. Its ruling circles began to be inclined towards an alliance with the fascist powers. In March 1941 with the mediation of Japan part of the territory of French Indochina was annexed by Thailand. In December 1941, the government of Pibul Songgram formed an aggressive and

defensive alliance with Japan, following which Thailand was occupied by Japanese forces.

BURMA

The British colony of Burma produced rice, supplied timber, oil, and tungsten, and served as a market for British goods. The class structure was typical of a colonial country. On the eve of the First World War the Buddhist Youth Association operated within the framework of which the Young Burmese group demanded reforms. Under the influence of the October Revolution in Russia and also of the anti-imperialist movement in India the activity of the national forces became more vigorous in Burma. In 1920, the organisation, the General Council of Burmese Associations, was set up which demanded self-government for Burma.

After the war the working class also began to act vigorously, especially the oilmen. In the period from 1922 to 1928 there were 30 industrial disputes in Burma in which more than 60,000 workers took part and more than 820,000 working days were lost through strikes. The Burmese peasantry was an important factor in the national liberation struggle. There was tremendous peasant unrest from 1930 to 1932 when the peasants demanded that the exorbitant taxes should be cancelled and that they should be permitted to use the forests. The peasant uprising was not connected with the struggle of the urban masses and was, moreover, poorly organised. Having put down the uprising, the British authorities executed its leader Saya San, one of the leaders of the radical faction of the General Council of Burmese Associations.

At the same time, Britain was forced to introduce individual reforms in Burma. In 1935, it passed a law on the government of Burma which envisaged the holding of limited elections and the establishment (only on paper) of a parliamentary system. Burma seceded from India of which it had been a part until that time. But this law did not satisfy the national forces.

At the beginning of the 1930s an organisation of the patriotically minded Burmese young people Dobama Sinyetha Asiayone (the Our Burma Association) came into being. Its members called themselves Thakins, which means lords,

owners of their country. The Thakins demanded complete independence for Burma. Adherents of socialist and Marxist ideas appeared in their midst. At the end of the 1930, Aung San became the General Secretary of the Thakins' organisation. The Thakins greatly helped to develop trade unions and peasant alliances and to disseminate Marxist ideas.

In 1938-1939, a mass anti-imperialist and anti-feudal movement was launched in Burma. The country was swept by a wave of general political strikes. In December 1938 there was a "hunger march" of the oilmen on the capital of Burma, Rangoon. They were joined by other detachments of the working class, students, schoolchildren, the urban poor, and the peasants. The Thakins took an active part in these protests. The authorities crushed the movement by means of repressions, arrests, and massacres. In the course of the struggle organisations of the working masses came into being. In January 1939, under the leadership of the Dobama Sinyetha Asiayone, an All-Burma Peasants' Association was set up. On August 15, 1939, the left Marxist forces proclaimed the formation of the Communist Party of Burma, and Aung San was elected its general secretary. In 1940, the formation of the All-Burma Trade Union Congress was completed.

BRITISH MALAYA

Malaya which had become a colony of Great Britain by 1909 was of vital strategic significance for the metropolis. The production of rubber and tin which formed the bedrock of the Malayan economy brought the British enormous profits. The sultans and Moslem clergy served as a prop for the British colonialists in governing Malaya and exploiting its population. The British also skilfully used to their own ends the national strife among the Malayans, Chinese, and Indians. The representatives of the two latter nationalities, especially the Chinese, comprised the local bourgeoisie. In Malaya, a fairly numerous working class had taken shape which became the main force of the national liberation movement.

Anti-imperialist organisations began to appear in Malaya under the impact of the October Revolution in Russia and the liberation movement in China and India. Among the

emigrants from China there emerged a Kuomintang and then an organisation of the workers' and peasants' movement. However, the British authorities outlawed these organisations and banished their members from the country. But the repressions did not crush the anti-imperialist forces. In 1928, the workers staged a general strike in the course of which demands of an economic nature were advanced and also the demand that the repressions against the national forces should be halted.

During the world economic crisis the prices of Malayan rubber and tin fell as well as those of leather, palm oil, and other Malayan exports. The situation of the working masses drastically deteriorated. The peasants began to be deprived of their land. As the anti-imperialist and workers' movements became more active, the Communist Party of Malaya came into being in July 1931 setting the task of gaining complete liberation from colonial oppression for Malaya. The authorities immediately banned the activity of the Communist Party. But it continued to campaign and played an important part in the general strike in May 1934. At the congress of the Communist Party of Malaya in 1935 a programme was adopted in which the idea of creating a united anti-imperialist front was put forward and the founding of a Democratic Republic of Malaya was demanded.

The 1930s were marked by a gathering strike campaign by Malaya's working class, by the increased activity of the Kuomintang, and by the appearance of Indian and Malayan national organisations. The Communist Party of Malaya increased its influence in the anti-imperialist organisations.

THE PHILIPPINES

The Philippines, which were a colony of the United States of America were subjected to merciless exploitation by the American monopolies. Owing to this the national industry was poorly developed, and semi-feudal relations were preserved in the countryside. In agriculture share cropping was widespread.

During the First World War, the USA promised to grant the Philippines independence, and gave the franchise to literate males. However, in 1919 only 6.7 per cent of the population took part in the elections to the legislative bodies.

The bourgeois landowner party of the nationalists which championed the Philippines' independence by agreement with the USA obtained the majority of seats.

In the post-war period a peasant movement developed in the Philippines, and a National Confederation of f arm Tenants and Labourers was formed. In 1923, a big peasant rebellion flared up on the island of Mindanao.

By that time, the working class had been drawn into the political struggle. In 1920-1922 the workers staged 129 strikes. In 1924, the Philippine Labour Party came into being, which was the forerunner of the Communist Party. The revolutionary wing in the trade union centre, the Philippine Labour Congress, which came into being in 1913, gained in strength. A number of big strikes were called under its leadership. However, in 1929 the reformists caused a split in the Labour Congress and took over its leadership.

The workers' and peasants' movements for their own vital interests united during the world economic crisis. In the province of Pangasinan armed peasant rebellions flared up. A communist movement rapidly developed. On November 7, 1930, a Communist Party of the Philippines was founded. At the congress in 1931 its programme documents were adopted which advanced the tasks of liberating the country from US domination and implementing anti-imperialist and anti-feudal measures. The American authorities outlawed the Communist Party and arrested many Communists. One of the founders of the Communist Party, Antonio Ora, was killed. In these circumstances, the Communists strove to make use of legal opportunities to further their activity.

On March 24, 1934, the USA passed a law on the independence and autonomy of the Philippines. According to this law, the country was to receive its independence ten years later. During this decade an autonomous government was to be set up in the Philippines to operate under the control of the US high commissioner. The Filipino bourgeoisie and landlord upper crust were given access to administrative organs. In 1935, a Constitution was adopted. Although they had made these concessions, the American colonialists retained complete control over the Philippines' economy.

In the years of autonomy there was peasant unrest in the Philippines, and the workers developed a strike campaign.

In 1937, the Communist Party, which came out from underground, put forward the task of creating a united anti-imperialist front. The Communists gained the predominant influence in the revolutionary trade union association, the Collective Labour Movement, which came into being in the middle of 1938 and which represented most of the organised workers. In October 1938, the Communist Party and the Socialist Party united into a single Communist Party of the Philippines, proceeding from the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

The upsurge of the workers' movement compelled the government of the Philippines to adopt a law on an eight-hour working day, on a minimum wage at state enterprises, and on the conclusion of collective agreements.

On the eve of the Second World War, the Communist Party appealed to the popular masses to create a united national anti-Japanese front. This front was set up at the end of 1939 and was comprised of the Communist Party, the trade unions, peasant and petty-bourgeois organisations.

Chapter 10

The Countries of the Middle East

After the First World War, under the impact of the Great October Socialist Revolution a mighty upsurge of the anti-imperialist movement occurred in the countries of the Middle East (Afghanistan, Iran, Turkey, Iraq and others), which greatly weakened the imperialist system. As a result of this, the positions of the national and patriotic forces in this region were considerably fortified and such countries as Turkey, Iran and Afghanistan attained political independence.

AFGHANISTAN

The economy of the British semi-colony Afghanistan was extremely backward at the end of the First World War. The main mass of its population, the peasantry, was subjected to the oppression of the feudal lords and the tribal khans. The other social forces, including the national commercial bourgeoisie, were still few and weak. However, the striving of the British protégé, the Emir Habibullah, to increase taxes and take part in the anti-Soviet intervention in Central Asia evoked protest even among the upper ruling circles. In February 1919 a palace coup was staged in Afghanistan during which Habibullah was killed.

The influence of the liberation ideas of the Great October Revolution also had an effect on Afghanistan. The new emir

Amanullah Khan who expressed the progressive sentiments of the Young Afghans (the adherents of bourgeois reforms), proclaimed Afghanistan an independent state, introduced some progressive reforms and issued an act on the introduction of a Constitution. The central and local state apparatus was consolidated and the power of the khans and the influence of the clergy limited. Big benefits were established for the development of a national industry. Private ownership of the land was made legal, and the tax in kind was replaced by one in cash. This all promoted the development of capitalist productive forces in Afghanistan. The new government of Afghanistan also announced its support for the revolutionary movement in India. All these events caused a hostile reaction from the British who began a war against Afghanistan in May 1919. During this war the Afghan troops offered serious resistance to the colonialists. Therefore, after just one month the British concluded a preliminary peace treaty with Afghanistan in Rawalpindi and promised to recognise its independence.

The moral and material support rendered by the Soviet Union played an important part in consolidating Afghanistan's independence. In October 1919 the Afghan extraordinary embassy arrived in Moscow and was received by Lenin. In December the embassy of the RSFSR opened in Kabul. On February 28, 1921, a Soviet-Afghan treaty was signed which upheld the independence of Afghanistan and recognised the complete equality of the parties. Following this, Great Britain also recognised Afghanistan as an independent state. Soon Afghanistan concluded friendly treaties with Turkey and Iran. In its home policy Afghanistan conducted a series of measures aimed at the country's progressive development (centralisation of state administration, development of education, banning the slave trade, regulation of taxes and so forth). However, even the new rulers of Afghanistan were still very remote from the people and from their needs. Nevertheless, the campaign for Afghanistan's independence played an important part in this country's fate. The reforms carried out in Afghanistan in the 1920s primarily corresponded to the interests of the landowners and merchants. The Constitution adopted in 1923 did for the first time proclaim civil rights. The rights of the tribal khans and the clergy were limited. The laws to encourage industry and private ownership of the land faci-

litated the development of capitalist relations and undermined the positions of the feudal lords. However, these reforms did not alleviate the difficult lot of the working masses. On the other hand, the top feudal aristocracy was not satisfied with the reforms either. Instigated by the British, the reactionary forces staged a rebellion in 1928 which led to the fall of the Young Afghans' government.

In January 1929, after the internecine struggle the protégé of reaction, Bacha-i-Saqao was placed on the throne. A regime of medieval rightlessness was established under him, the reforms were repealed, the burden of taxes grew, and Soviet-Afghan relations began to deteriorate. But in October 1929 the former war minister in the Amanullah government Muhammad Nadir Shah overthrew Bacha-i-Saqao and became king of Afghanistan.

In the 1930s a policy of consolidating the positions of the landowners and merchants was pursued in Afghanistan. The upper crust of the commercial bourgeoisie was drawn into the administration of the country. At that same time, certain privileges were restored to the khans and the clergy. All this was reflected in the 1931 Constitution. According to the new fundamental law, a People's Council was instituted which had consultative rights in the sphere of legislation. From an absolute monarchy Afghanistan became a constitutional one. Soviet-Afghan relations again improved and the trade turnover between the two countries grew.

In the 1930s Afghanistan made strides forward in capitalist development. Several light industry enterprises appeared. There were changes in the spheres of culture and education. A literature society, a medical faculty, and vocational schools appeared.

On the eve of the Second World War more and more German and Italian fascist agents penetrated into Afghanistan. Their activities were aimed at undermining Soviet-Afghan relations.

IRAN

By 1917 Iran still remained a backward agrarian country in which foreign (mainly British) capital dominated. The country's economy was in difficult straits, speculation flourished and famine and epidemics reigned supreme.

More than half of Iran's population were settled peasant farmers, approximately one-quarter—various types of livestock breeding nomads and approximately one-fifth—urban population.

Feudal relations prevailed in the Iranian countryside, founded on the ownership of the land and the irrigation installations by the shah, the feudal lords and the clergy.

In the towns and cities crafts were extremely widespread, and there was hardly any manufacturing industry. The oilfields in the country's south-west and the fisheries in the Caspian Sea were foreign concessions. The big merchants were largely connected with foreign capital and landowners.

The political system in Iran was a constitutional monarchy headed by the Qajars dynasty. State power was in the hands of the big feudal lords and the comprador bourgeoisie. Imperialist and feudal oppression evoked extensive discontent among the workers, the peasants, the urban petty bourgeoisie, the national bourgeoisie, and the intelligentsia.

The Great October Socialist Revolution made a tremendous impression on the Iranian people. On November 20 (December 3, 1917) in an address to all the working Moslems of Russia and the East and also in other documents the Soviet Government resolutely condemned the former expansionist policy of Russia with regard to Iran, annulled the Anglo-Russian agreement of 1907 and other similar agreements which violated the independence and sovereignty of Iran. The Soviet Government also decided to withdraw Russian troops from Iran.

Influenced by the revolutionary events in Russia and impressed by the announcement of the Soviet Government that it recognised Iran's independence, the national liberation movement in the country became more vigorous. The workers set up their own trade unions, and staged strikes and demonstrations. In 1918, trade unions of printshop workers, bakers, and teachers mushroomed in Teheran. The printers and tram workers were involved in militant strikes. In a number of places Soviets (councils) emerged and a partisan movement began to develop.

The British colonialists attempted to suppress any kind of resistance to foreign dominion in Iran and turn it into a bridgehead for anti-Soviet intervention. At the beginning of 1918 they began to occupy the entire territory of Iran. The

foreign imperialists did as they pleased in Iran and deprived it of the last remnants of independence. The Qajars dynasty headed by Ahmed Shah which was in power curried favour with the foreign invaders and caused the ruin of the popular masses. In August 1918, the pro-British government of Nossuq-ed-Dowleh was formed in Teheran. With the consent of the government, on the instigation of the British, the Soviet diplomatic representative I.O.Kolomiitsev, was killed in Iran. On August 9, 1919, the government of Nossuq-ed-Dowleh signed an Anglo-Iranian agreement which placed the Iranian armed forces, finances, economy, foreign trade, and so forth under British control. This agreement did in fact make Iran a British protectorate.

But the Iranian people offered resolute resistance both to British occupation and to the new Anglo-Iranian agreement. In April 1920 a national-democratic uprising began in Tebriz (Iranian Azerbaijan). The rebellion was headed by the leader of the Azerbaijanian democrats Sheikh Mohammad Hiabani. Among the rebels there were workers and artisans, members of the petty bourgeoisie and the national commercial bourgeoisie and also representatives of the intelligentsia. Their demands provided for the restoration of national independence, the proclamation of a republic in Iran, the conducting of democratic reforms and autonomy for Iranian Azerbaijan. In Tebriz and a number of other towns the rebels managed to drive out the Shah's officials and take power into their own hands.

In the liberated regions measures were taken to combat speculation, food prices were lowered and it was planned to develop education and a public health service. However, the leaders of the rebellion who opposed the solution of the agrarian question by way of revolution could not raise the wide circles of the peasantry-to revolutionary struggle. They conducted erroneous passive, defensive tactics, did not disarm reaction and did not fortify the centre of the rebellion, Tebriz. The combined forces of the Shah's troops and the counter-revolutionaries put down the uprising in 1920, and Mohammad Hiabani and other leaders were killed.

The biggest protest was the national liberation uprising in the northern province of Iran, Gilan, headed by the bourgeois nationalist Kuchik Khan, in which workers, artisans, and peasants took part. In June 1920 Gilan was announced a Soviet republic. During this rebellion the

Iranian Communist Party came into being. On June 22-24, 1920, there was a congress of the Social-Democratic Party, Adalat (founded during the First World War) in Enzeli which decided to form a Communist Party. The congress elected the Central Committee of the Communist Party, spoke in favour of setting up a united front and determined the main trends in the struggle: against the British imperialists, the reactionary government of the Shah and the big landowners.

The Communist Party immediately took part in the Gilan uprising. The Communists became members of the government. However, leftist elements were among the leaders of the Communist Party who considered that Iran was already a developed capitalist country and that it was faced with the task of going over to socialist transformations. Serious differences arose between the left-wing elements and Kuchik Khan. These elements provoked discontent among the masses, requisitioning the property of the peasants, the petty traders and the artisans, spreading anti-religious propaganda among the population where religion had deep roots, and undermining the unity with Kuchik Khan and the national bourgeoisie. On the other hand, Kuchik Khan tended to oppose the furthering of the revolution and satisfying the interests of the peasants; he was hesitant and was inclined to compromises with reaction and imperialism.

All this undermined the united front of the Gilan rebels. On July 31, 1920, the “left” Communists set up a new government and began to pursue their own erroneous policy. In August they undertook a campaign to Teheran but soon suffered defeat since they were not prepared for serious military operations. In October 1920, the Communist Party elected a new Central Committee, changed the leftist political line and planned a policy aimed at promoting anti-feudal and anti-imperialist revolution.

The national liberation movement in Gilan had a great impact on the course of events throughout Iran. The ruling group in Iran, frightened by the revolutionary movement in the country, resorted to every possible manoeuvre one of which was the decision to send a representative to Moscow to conclude a Soviet-Iranian treaty. At the same time, the British, seeing the unstable situation of the Qajars dynasty, rendered assistance to the bourgeois-landowner opposition in effecting a coup d’etat in Iran. On February 21, 1921,

as a result of a coup with the participation of Reza Khan, the power of the feudal aristocracy in Iran was abolished and replaced by the domination of the bourgeois-landowner bloc where the national bourgeoisie had considerable influence.

The new Iranian government agreed to certain concessions to the nationalist forces in order to counter the revolutionary movement. The Anglo-Iranian agreement of 1919, which was in fact no longer observed by that time, was annulled. On February 26, 1921, the Soviet-Iranian agreement was signed which ensured Iran its independence. The Soviet-Iranian agreement was the first equal agreement concluded by Iran. Soviet Russia renounced all the unequal rights and privileges in Iran, cancelled the payments of tsarist loans, renounced the tsarist concessions, and handed over gratis to Iran the Russian Bank and other property. The treaty guaranteed Iran's security. The Soviet Government undertook to send its troops into Iran should the threat arise of Iran being made "a base for military operations against Russia" and if the Iranian government was not in a position to avert this threat.

The conclusion of this agreement gave rise to differences in Iran's ruling upper crust. However, the national forces resolutely supported it and continued to demand democratic measures. Popular protests continued in a number of regions of Iran. In Gilan, in May 1921, a united front was restored between the Communists and Kuchik Khan, but it did not last for long. The political and tactical discrepancies led to the collapse of the united front in September 1921. Kuchik Khan, who feared the growing influence of the Communists, betrayed them directly, luring their leader, Haidar Pasha, into an ambush and organising his assassination. All this undermined the forces of the national liberation uprising in Gilan and at the end of 1921 it was put down.

But in other regions of Iran the struggle still continued. In the summer of 1921, a rebellion flared up in Khorassan headed by Colonel Mohammad Tagi Khan. The rebels demanded that the British should be expelled, that the country's independence should be restored, that a Majlis should be convened, and that bourgeois-democratic freedoms should be introduced. Although the leaders of the rebellion did not raise the question of resolving the agrarian problem,

the peasants of Khorassan spontaneously joined the fight for their own interests. The government of Iran sent its troops and also attracted to its side the reactionary khans and their armed groups to put down the rebellion. In October 1921, Mohammad Tagi Khan fell in one of these battles. The uprising in Khorassan was also put down. Individual hotbeds of rebellion existed in a number of regions the end of 1922.

Thus, the national liberation movement in Iran undermined the power of the Qajars dynasty, and helped to strengthen national sovereignty. However, the bourgeois-democratic tasks were not solved, since the national forces in Iran were not yet mature enough to carry out an anti-feudal, anti-imperialist revolution. The main reasons for the defeat of the national liberation movement in Iran in 1920-1922 consisted in the lack of unity among the anti-imperialist forces, the weakness and inexperience of the young working class, the inadequate participation of the peasant masses in the struggle, the inconsistency and betrayal by the national bourgeoisie, and also the assistance rendered by the British imperialists to Iranian reaction.

Although the British did not manage to turn Iran into their own colony they preserved considerable influence in it. The Anglo-Iranian Oil Company and the Shahinshah Bank remained under their control. In subsequent years a struggle began between British and American monopolies for Iranian oil. In 1922 an American financial mission headed by Arthur Millspaugh arrived in Iran and obtained from the Iranian cabinet of Quavam es-Sultaneh extensive powers to control the country's finances. Millspaugh attempted to make conditions right for the taking over of Iranian oil by American monopolies.

This policy pursued by Quavam es-Sultaneh evoked discontent among the broad strata of the Iranian population, which was interested in opposing foreign penetration into the country and developing goodneighbourly trade relations with Soviet Russia. In 1924, an attempt was made to conclude a Soviet-Iranian trade treaty. Owing to the intrigues of the reactionary forces and imperialists, however, the treaty was not ratified by the Majlis. Nevertheless, mutually advantageous trade relations did begin to develop between Iran and the USSR.

The positions of the national bourgeoisie began to be

consolidated in the country's economic and political life. The government began to pursue a policy of boosting centralisation in the country in the interests of the bourgeoisie, and combating the separatist sentiments of the feudal and semi-feudal elements. Measures were taken to set up a united centralised army which was employed both in the struggle against the separatists and also to put down the democratic movement. The armed forces were commanded by Reza Khan whose authority among the landowner and bourgeois circles had grown. On October 31, 1925, his supporters passed a decision in the Majlis on deposing the Qajars dynasty. On December 12, Reza Khan was proclaimed the hereditary Shah of Iran under the name of Muhammad Reza Pahlavi. A landowner-bourgeois dictatorship was established in the country.

After the decline of the revolutionary movement in Iran the centralisation of political power and consolidation of the dictatorial regime of Reza Shah was accelerated; Reza Shah suppressed the resistance of individual tribes and feudal khans, introduced a new administrative system in the country, and placed the provinces in the charge of governor-generals who were loyal to him. The development of capitalism in Iran required a series of reforms in the legal sphere and also in the fields of culture and everyday life. Under Muhammad Reza Pahlavi new commercial, criminal and civil codes were drawn up, most schools were separated from the church, a university was opened in Teheran, European attire was introduced for men and women, and the wearing of the veil was forbidden. All these measures were of a progressive nature but they could not change the socio-political system in the country. Iran remained a bourgeois-landowner state greatly dependent on foreign, especially British, capital.

Agrarian relations in Iran were characterised by the domination of the feudal and semi-feudal elements in the hands of whom approximately 80 per cent of the cultivated land was concentrated. Eighty-five per cent of the peasants were forced to rent land from the landowners on onerous terms. From two-fifths to four-fifths of the peasants' harvests went to the landlords. Reza Pahlavi pursued a policy of consolidating the big landowners' domination in the countryside, especially that of the landowners from among merchants, usurers, and officials. In 1928, the registration

of landed property was made compulsory. Soon after this private ownership of the land was legalised. All these measures were carried out in the interests of the landowners and promoted the increasing exploitation of the peasants. In response to this, the peasants of Gilan, Khorassan, and other provinces staged uprisings. The Iranian government cruelly suppressed the peasant unrest, extensively employing the death penalty. The exorbitant terms of the rents paid by the peasants to the landowners for land and irrigation installations were made legal in 1939 by a special law "On the Regulation of Relations Between the Landowners and the Peasants".

Reza Pahlavi pursued a policy of protectionism with regard to the development of the national industry. In 1928 a National Bank was founded. A number of industrial enterprises were built with state subsidies. Cement, tar, glycerine, sugar, cotton-ginning, textile, tanning and tobacco factories were constructed. The building of the trans-Iranian railway, which cut right across the country from north to south, was extremely important for its economy.

The Soviet Union invariably rendered aid to Iran in its economic development. The Soviet-Iranian trade agreement concluded in 1927 helped Iran to market its agricultural produce and purchase the equipment and materials it needed in the Soviet Union. During the world economic crisis the USSR purchased large amounts of cotton, wool, and rice from Iran which allowed Iran to overcome many of the difficulties ensuing from the crisis. The Soviet Union assisted Iran in building a number of industrial projects.

As Iran's economy developed, its proletariat swelled concomitantly. The number of workers in the country was approximately 500,000 by the end of the 1930s. But their condition was an exceptionally grave one. The lack of labour legislation, the unbearable working conditions for 10 to 14 hours per day, the negligible wages made the Iranian workers struggle for their own vital interests and for the right to organise themselves. In 1929, the workers at the British oil-fields arranged a big strike. In 1930, there were strikes at a match factory in Tebriz, of the railwaymen in Mazanderan and, in 1931, of the textile workers at the Watan mills in Isfahan. The ruling circles cruelly put down the strikes and other workers' protests. The strikers were sacked and thrown into prison. The members of the out-

lawed Communist Party were threatened with severe punishment. Later on, in 1938, the government of Iran organised the trial of 53 leading members of the Communist Party and trade unions.

The class struggle intertwined with the anti-imperialist movement which was spearheaded against the plunder of the country's oil resources by Great Britain. In 1932, the government of Reza Pahlavi, under pressure from the masses and in response to the lowering by the British-Iranian Oil Company of Iran's share of the profits, annulled the concession on the basis of which the company had operated. This act was welcomed by the democratic public in the country. However, behind the backs of the people Reza Pahlavi made yet another deal with the oil magnates of Great Britain. In April 1933, he signed a new agreement with the company for a period of sixty years which was to be of great benefit to Iran but with big concessions to Britain as well. The Anglo-Iranian Oil Company retained its main positions just as before. On the eve of the Second World War the anti-Soviet trends in Reza Pahlavi's policy became more pronounced. The Iranian government increasingly subjugated its country to fascist Germany, which was preparing a bridgehead there for its attack on the USSR.

TURKEY

One of the main purposes of the First World War was the struggle by the imperialist powers for domination in Turkey and other countries of the Middle East. The popular masses in these countries, indignant at the aggressive goals of the foreign imperialists, intensified the liberation struggle. At the end of 1917 and the beginning of 1918, influenced by the October Revolution in Russia, the Turkish people rose in a revolutionary liberation effort. The workers, peasants, and other strata of the population opposed class exploitation, and Turkey's participation in the First World War. Unrest began in Turkey among the workers in the towns and cities; the peasants set up the guerrilla detachments; the soldiers threw down their arms, not wishing to fight.

The Turkish government, having signed the Brest Peace

Treaty with Soviet Russia along with the other powers of the Quadruple Alliance, failed to observe it and began to seize the territories belonging to the Soviet state in the Caucasus. The Turkish troops occupied a number of regions in Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan, and captured an important industrial centre of the Caucasus, Baku. However, the revolutionary events in Turkey frustrated the expansionist designs of Turkish reaction. At the same time, Turkey suffered a military defeat in the First World War. As a result, Turkey lost the Arab lands in its possession and was occupied by British, French, Italian, and Greek forces. The Turkish people spontaneously rose against the foreign invaders. The former soldiers began to organise guerrilla detachments, which started to operate in Cilicia back in January 1919. The workers and peasants actively joined in the liberation struggle. But the working class was small in number and too weak to establish its own hegemony. In this period there were 60,000-70,000 workers in Turkey. They had neither trade unions nor political parties. True, in this period workers' organisations began to emerge, for example, the Socialist Workers' and Peasants' Party of Turkey which was the forerunner of the Communist Party.

The movement was led by the national, mainly commercial bourgeoisie headed by General Mustafa Kemal. The national bourgeoisie was striving to establish an independent Turkish national state. Its representatives set up societies to defend the rights of the Turkish nation in many regions of the country. However, the nationalists, who joined in the anti-imperialist struggle, strove to smooth out the class discrepancies and make use of the movement in their own interests, ignoring the social interests of the working people.

On May 15, 1919, with the consent and encouragement of Great Britain, the Greek forces began to seize territories belonging to Turkey. The threat of foreign enslavement hung over Turkey. This led to a fresh upsurge in the anti-imperialist movement. In many towns and cities in the country there were stormy rallies and demonstrations, and the workers' and peasants' movement became more vigorous. Mustafa Kemal began to bring closer together the societies for the defence of rights. In August and September 1919 there were congresses of these societies which set up their leading centre, the Representative Committee headed by Mustafa Kemal. This committee was the embryo of the

bourgeois-revolutionary govemm ent.

At the end of 1919 elections were held to the Chamber of Deputies which brought victory to the nationalists. The representatives of the national bourgeoisie succeeded in convening parliament in Istanbul in January 1920 which adopted the National Vow, the declaration containing a demand for Turkey's independence. On the whole, this was a progressive document. However, it did contain expansionist demands with regard to certain Georgian and Armenian lands becoming part of Turkey. Moreover, it ignored the demands of the working masses and did not raise the question of democratic reforms. The British dissolved the Turkish parliament and arrested many deputies. Then on April 23, 1920, Kemal's supporters convened the Grand National Assembly in Ankara and formed a government headed by Kemal. The Assembly announced itself to be the sole authority in Turkey.

Under the pressure exerted by the working masses the National Assembly submitted a proposal on joint struggle against foreign imperialism to the Soviet Government and Lenin. Soviet Russia readily responded to this proposal, recognised the government of Kemal and on June 3, 1920, established diplomatic relations with it. Soviet-Turkish friendship played an important part in the success of the national liberation movement of the Turkish people. The foreign imperialists tried to suppress the national-bourgeois revolution with the help of the forces of Turkey's reaction headed by the Sultan. But the troops sent by the Sultan against the Kemalists were defeated by guerrillas. In June 1920, Greece began military operations against the Kemalists. But the national forces of Turkey were able to repel the interventionists. In the summer of 1920 the Kemalist government set about building up its own armed forces. The peasants' guerrilla detachments continued to operate actively. In the towns and cities more and more socialist groups and trade unions were coming into being. In June 1920, the Communist Party of Turkey was formed from the various groups. The Party's Programme and Rules were adopted at its First Congress. One of the Party's founders, Mustafa Subhi, was elected the first chairman of its Central Committee. The Communist Party became a member of the Comintern. Its members actively joined in the anti-imperialist struggle for the freedom and

independence of Turkey,

The conclusion of the Peace Treaty of Sevres at the Paris Peace Conference and the increasing Greek intervention posed a tremendous threat to Turkey. The Kemalist government, however, which tended towards pan-Turkic sentiments, did itself begin to seize Armenian territory instead of concentrating on repelling the foreign invaders. At the same time, it launched an offensive against the workers' and peasants' movement. Measures were taken to annihilate the guerrilla detachments. The heads of the progressive organisations of the working people were thrown into prison. In January 1921, Mustafa Subhi and 14 other leading members of the Communist Party of Turkey were cruelly murdered by Turkish gendarmes. These acts were perpetrated by the nationalists to keep the revolutionary liberation movement within the framework of the upper crust bourgeois revolution, and prevent it from growing over into an agrarian revolution. On January 20, 1921, the nationalists passed the "Law on Basic Organisations" (a temporary Constitution) which legally confirmed their domination in the country.

In its campaign against the foreign intervention Turkey relied on great moral and material aid from Soviet Russia. In March 1921, a Treaty of Friendship and Fraternity was signed by Turkey and the Soviet state which made a tremendous contribution to Turkey's victory over the interventionists. The Soviet state did indeed render very real assistance to the Turkish revolution. The Kemal government received more than ten million roubles in gold gratis from Soviet Russia, large amounts of arms, ammunition, and so forth. All this allowed the Turkish national-revolutionary forces to set up a regular army and repel the foreign interventionists. In September 1922, the Greek troops were finally routed, and Turkey restored its independence.

For a long time the Kemalists could not decide how to deal with the sultanate which served as the mainstay of Turkish reaction and a tool wielded by foreign imperialism. After the Anglo-Greek intervention had failed, when the imperialists wished to use the sultan's government to exert pressure on Kemal's cabinet during the peace negotiations, the Grand National Assembly of Turkey abolished the sultanate by decree of November 1, 1922. To consolidate the forces of his own supporters and isolate the clerical, conser-

vative and semi-feudal elements, in April 1923 Mustafa Kemal reorganised the Society for the Defence of Rights into a new political organisation, the People's Party, which was later renamed the People's Republican Party.

When the Lausanne Peace Treaty was signed by the Entente powers and Turkey on July 24, 1923, the imperialist powers officially recognised the independence of the Turkish national state.

Thus, a national-bourgeois revolution occurred in the course of the national liberation movement in Turkey, which was a prime factor in the country's further development. Turkey's commercial bourgeoisie, however, hindered the progress of the revolution and, in particular, did not allow the agrarian question to be solved. Just as before the peasantry continued to be cruelly oppressed by the landowners, usurers and the police. The condition of the workers remained a difficult one, for they had no rights. An eight-hour working day was not established and there was no labour legislation. The workers' movement was poorly organised as before. The Communist Party founded in 1920 was a weak organisation with few members. The Kemalists banned it. But the Kemalist revolution was, nevertheless, progressive in character, since it created the conditions for turning Turkey into an independent bourgeois state.

After the national-bourgeois revolution Turkey began to develop along capitalist lines. Its government began to provide incentives to private Turkish capital. At the same time, it invested state capital in railway transport, industry, and other branches of the economy (in the history of Turkey this policy of state capitalism is known as etatism). Etatism facilitated the country's economic development and restricted the extent to which foreign capital had a say in the economy. The government's economic policy boosted the productive forces, the textile industry was expanded, sugar refineries were built, and new railways were constructed. Agriculture, however, lagged behind seriously in its development just as before.

As the economy was evolving, a series of political measures were being carried out to consolidate the domination of the national bourgeoisie. On October 29, 1923, Turkey was proclaimed a republic. Mustafa Kemal Pasha, Ataturk, became its first president and remained in that post until

his death in 1938. On April 20, 1924, the first republican Constitution was adopted in Turkey which legally confirmed the attainments of the bourgeois revolution and abolished the sultanate and the caliphate. The Constitution did not, however, guarantee democratic rights for the workers and the national minorities in Turkey. In these and the following years other important reforms were conducted in the country, criminal, civil and other codes were adopted, and the Latin alphabet was introduced instead of the Arabic one. The church was separated from the state, and education from the church. A certain amount of "Europeanisation" took place in the country. All these measures were of a progressive nature, although they did not radically improve the socio-economic lot of the working people.

The reforms were carried out amidst the tussle among the national bourgeoisie and the big landowners, the higher clergy and the compradors. At the beginning of 1925 Sheikh Said instigated a reactionary rebellion in the Diyarbakir region (Turkish Kurdistan), managing to get a considerable part of the Kurd population to join in the struggle. The uprising was put down fairly quickly. The government, however, decided to abolish the tax in kind (ashar) and impose a tax in cash on the peasants instead. This measure did away with the long-standing vestiges which had hampered the development of capitalism in the countryside. In subsequent years, in spite of the fact that the authorities arrested many of the representatives of the reactionary opposition, the latter managed to stage other rebellions, like the one in Menemen (Western Anatolia), for example, in 1930.

Back in the early years of its existence the republic of Turkey was forced to come up against the pressure exerted by Britain, France, and Italy. Britain did not give up its hopes of restoring its domination in Turkey. France compelled Turkey to acknowledge the big debts incurred by the sultan's regime. Italy had designs on seizing certain territories in Asia Minor. Only the Soviet Union offered Turkey friendly relations. The Treaty of Non-Aggression and Neutrality concluded in December 1925 with the Soviet Union was of vital importance in consolidating Turkey's position in the international arena.

But the revolutionary zeal of the Turkish national bourgeoisie, which had come to power thanks to the Kemalist

revolution, very soon died away. Its economic interests increasingly coincided with those of the comprador bourgeoisie, as manifested by the policy of the ruling Republican People's Party. The republican government turned out to be incapable of resolving one of the burning problems, namely the agrarian question. Just as before, the big landowners dominated in Turkey's agriculture, and approximately half of the peasants had no land of their own. Agriculture was afflicted particularly seriously by the lack of modem machines and farming techniques. In the second half of the 1930s, the Turkish government tried to put into effect a number of measures to improve the yields and marketability of agricultural produce. Laws were passed on the sale of state-owned lands, on subsidies to purchase them, and so forth. These solutions were of no help to the poor peasants. Only the landowners and kulaks gained from these government measures.

The government was compelled by Turkey's economic backwardness to continue the policy of etatism, state interference in the economy. In 1934, a five-year plan was approved in Turkey which envisaged the building of a number of state enterprises, mainly in the light industry. The state bought up the majority of foreign concessions in railway transport, in the mining industry, and so forth. The construction of new railways was started. The Soviet Union assisted Turkey with credits and also in building enterprises (for example, the textile combines in Kayseri and Nazilli). The policy of etatism promoted the development of the national economy and the consolidation of the country's independence. However, Turkey was not able to overcome its backwardness in industry.

Industrial development caused the working class to swell. In 1939, the number of people employed in industry, transport, and construction work was approximately 850,000. Of great importance was the formation of permanent cadres of the proletariat in the textile, metallurgical, and mining industries and in transport. The condition of the workers was still an exceedingly difficult one. The minimum needed to keep a worker's family going was five times higher than the worker's wage. For a long time Turkey did not have any kind of social labour legislation. It was not until 1936 that Turkey passed a law on labour which introduced an eight-hour working day, one day off per week, paid holidays,

and some social security. However, the law only applied to enterprises where there were ten and more employees. Moreover, it banned strikes.

The hard material conditions forced the workers to organise class protest. In the suburbs of Istanbul the tobacco workers went on strike; miners, dockers, sailors, tram workers, textile workers, and other workers also staged strikes. In spite of the cruel repressions, the Communist Party operated, publishing leaflets, proclamations, and sometimes newspapers and journals. The Communists insisted on wage rises, greater democracy, the abolition of rent payments and usurers' loans for the peasants. The government repeatedly put Communists and other progressive figures on trial in an attempt to suppress the gathering class struggle with the help of repressions.

In its foreign policy the Turkish government pursued a course of rapprochement with the imperialist powers. Turkey became a member of the League of Nations and the Balkan Entente. The part played by Germany and the United States in Turkey's foreign policy and economic ties became an increasingly weighty one. At the same time, Turkey managed to take advantage of the rivalry among the great powers which was particularly manifest at the conference in Montreux in 1936. At this conference the question of the Straits regime was examined. To begin with, Turkey, in the wake of Great Britain, insisted on the "equality" of all powers with regard to the passage of naval vessels through the Straits, which was counter to the interests of the Black Sea states and their defence capability. It was only thanks to the firm stand taken by the Soviet Union that the British proposal was rejected and a new convention signed on the Straits, according to which international control over them was abolished and replaced by Turkish control, although only partial. The convention did not completely exclude the passage of military vessels of non-Black Sea powers into the Black Sea in peace time but contained certain conditions restricting it. It limited the possibility of aggressive operations on the part of Germany and Italy against the Black Sea powers and concurrently corresponded largely to the national interests of Turkey itself.

In the second half of the 1930s there was a further swing to the right in Turkey's ruling circles. The reason for this was the striving of part of the Turkish bourgeoisie to build

up their ties with foreign monopoly capital. At this time, measures were taken in Turkey to further restrict freedom of the press and organisation. Racist, chauvinistic propaganda was also rampant in the country. As a result, the campaign against Kurds resident in Turkey became more aggressive. In 1937, the Kurds staged an uprising to protest against the national oppression on the part of the Turkish ruling upper crust. The government only managed to put an end to these protests 18 months later.

After the death of Ataturk in 1938, Ismet Inbnii became president. The latter promised to pursue a policy in accordance with the principles of Ataturk. However, in actual fact he increasingly disregarded the progressive elements that Turkey's policy had contained under Ataturk. On the eve of the Second World War the government of Turkey joined in the preparations for war, put the country's economy on a war footing, and began mass purchases of materiel abroad, increasingly moving away from the policy of friendship with the USSR.

IRAQ

On the eve of the First World War the Arab countries of Western Asia—Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, and Transjordan-formed part of the Ottoman (Turkish) Empire. After the war Iraq, Transjordan, and Palestine went to Great Britain as mandated territories and Syria and Lebanon went to France. Formally, only Saudi Arabia and Yemen were independent.

The decline of the Turkish Empire, and the influence of the Great October Revolution promoted a mighty upsurge in the national liberation movement in the Arab countries. Their placement under imperialist control did not halt the national forces of the Arabs. Anti-imperialist rebellions flared up everywhere considerably undermining the position of foreign imperialism.

During the First World War and after it the territory of Iraq was occupied by British forces. After the war the economic situation in Iraq was an exceedingly hard one. The sown area had diminished, and the crafts and industrial enterprises had fallen into decline. There was a shortage of foodstuffs and industrial goods. Price rises, black marketeer-

ing, famine, and numerous epidemics all had a serious impact on the broad strata of the population. In the political sphere the complete domination of the British and their proteges had been established. The British invaders had striven to attract the feudal comprador upper crust of Iraq to their side.

However, the extensive national patriotic forces protested against the new enslavers. A patriotic society called Guards of Independence was formed among the merchants, intelligentsia, and some feudal lords which came out with a demand for Iraq's complete independence. At the same time, the Iraqi Behest society came into being which united representatives of the feudal and comprador upper crust. It saw as its task the founding of an Iraqi state under the patronage of Great Britain. The future ruler of the country, Nuri Said, began his activities within the framework of this society. These two societies did not enjoy extensive influence among the masses.

The liberation movement in Iraq drew its main support from the toiling peasantry, the Kurds, and individual Arab tribes. In the spring of 1918 in Nejdsef and a number of other towns and cities on the central Euphrates big rebellions occurred. In May and June 1919 an uprising flared up in the Kurd regions under the leadership of Sheikh Mahmud. In 1920, the Bedouin tribes waged an armed struggle. As the anti-imperialist movement gathered in strength, the leaders of the Iraqi Behest convened an Iraqi Congress in the town of Haleb (Syria) and proclaimed Iraq's independence on March 8, 1920. But this act only remained on paper.

News that the conference of the imperialist states in San Remo in 1920 had sanctioned the decision to establish a British mandate over Iraq caused the anti-imperialist protests in the country to become more vigorous. The Guards of Independence spoke out in favour of preparing for an armed rebellion which began on June 30, 1920 and led to the rapid liberation of almost the whole territory of Iraq. The British sent an army of 150,000 to put down the uprising, and in November 1920 the main forces of the rebels were routed.

After this, the British colonialists took measures to stabilise the situation in Iraq with the help of the feudal and comprador upper crust. In October 1920 they formed

the provisional government of Iraq. On August 23, 1921, Faisal al-Hashimi who had been banished from Syria by the French was proclaimed the Iraqi king. According to an Anglo-Iraqi treaty, British troops continued to be stationed in Iraq. Questions of international and financial policy could not be resolved without British counsellors. The latter controlled almost all the country's political and economic life. The indignation of the national forces at the onerous terms of the treaty was so great that it was only ratified in 1924. Soon a Constitution worked out in England was imposed on Iraq. Thus, a state of British colonialists became firmly established in Iraq. Britain made use of its positions to take under its control all of Iraq's oil wealth first and foremost.

In the second half of the 1920s the campaign against the British mandate and to extend the authority of the national bodies of power continued in Iraq. Kurdistan was embraced by unrest. Anti-British demonstrations kept flaring up in Iraq's towns and cities. In this connection, Britain was forced to renounce the mandate. In 1930 a new Anglo-Iraqi treaty which proclaimed Iraq an independent state linked with Britain by relations of "friendship" and "alliance" was concluded by the pro-British government of Nuri Said. In spite of this, British domination was still felt in the country. In 1932, when Iraq joined the League of Nations, the mandate was abolished as envisaged in the treaty, and formally Iraq became an independent state. However, just as under the government of Nuri Said so after the opposition party, the National Brotherhood (headed by Rashid Ali al-Gailani), had come to power, the British continued to keep control over the economy, the state apparatus and Iraq's foreign trade. They kept their military bases and their troops there. The national forces of Iraq, among whom the working class and the Communist Party founded in 1934 were playing an increasing part, continued to campaign against the foreign colonialists.

Two peasant rebellions headed by feudal lords were a vivid manifestation of this struggle. The first uprising took place in the spring of 1935 in the provinces of Diwaniyah and Muntafik. The second flared up in the spring of 1936 in the southern regions of Iraq. At the same time, there was unrest in the army and among the Kurd tribes. The rebels demanded the abolition of the unequal agreements with

Britain, the putting into effect of agrarian measures, the democratisation of the country, and so forth. In the autumn of 1936 the Bagdad garrison staged a coup d'etat and overthrew the pro-imperialist government. Under the new government headed by the leader of the National Reform Party, Hikmet Sulaiman, democratic rights were extended and trade unions were legalised. The labour law passed in 1936 established a nine-hour working day and banned child labour (under 12 years). The government worked out a programme for nationalising transport, means of communication, and irrigation structures; it was planned to construct textile mills and sugar refineries, and to distribute part of the land among the peasants. However, the government lacked unanimity in its actions, and this allowed the imperialist reaction to stage a coup d'etat.

In August 1937 the government of Hikmet Sulaiman was overthrown. The new pro-British government was headed by Nuri Said. A period of reactionary offensives on democracy began under the latter. The trade unions were banned and the Communist Party was routed. But the severe repressions did not break the will of the Iraqi people to struggle for their freedom. There were gathering anti-British protests.

Thus, the situation in the countries of the Middle East in the period between the two wars was characterised by the exacerbation of the crisis of colonialism and the increasingly vigorous struggle of the national forces for the liberation of their countries from foreign enslavement.

SYRIA AND LEBANON

The national liberation struggle achieved a considerable scale in Syria at a time when its economy retained many features of feudalism. In the main branch of the economy, agriculture, the feudal lords, who owned large tracks of land, dominated. The majority of the peasants did not have land of their own and worked on the landed estates as sharecroppers. The usurers and officials also oppressed the peasant population.

The prevailing feudal relations hindered industrial development in Syria. What is more, the cheaper foreign goods prevented the growth of a local national industry. Owing to this, the national bourgeoisie and the working class still

remained an extremely weak social force. The workers were mainly employed at small enterprises, working for 12 to 16 hours per day for a song. There was no system of social security at all. The intelligentsia was also small in number.

When Syria was put under France's control, its condition did not change. The French imperialists relied on the Syrian feudal lords and intensified the exploitation of the working masses together with them. French capital began to penetrate into Syria's economy. Damage was also done by cheap French goods, paying the debts of the Ottoman Empire, the replacement of currency in gold by paper money, and the export of foodstuffs at low prices.

The French established their sovereignty in Syria's political life. The development of a national culture was slowed down. The partitioning of Syria into individual "states" was done directly to prevent the unification of the national anti-imperialist forces.

In spite of this, a liberation struggle began in Syria in 1918-1920. The fellahs and the nomads from the western regions of the country set about organising guerrilla detachments in November 1918. In May 1919, unrest flared up in Latakia which lasted for more than three years. In the eastern regions of Syria the "Arab clubs" came into being. Everywhere the patriotic forces demanded independence for their country. In 1919, the bourgeois-feudal circles convened the General Syrian Congress which proclaimed "a state of legal defence" in response to the refusal of the Paris Peace Conference to recognise Syria's independence. At that time, the People's National Council was formed from representatives of many towns and regions which set about collecting means and arms for the guerrilla struggle and directed this struggle. In December 1919, the Council announced the setting up of the government of Syria.

But France managed to attract to its side the feudal upper crust headed by Emir Faigal. The latter signed an agreement with France on making eastern Syria a French protectorate. And in March 1920 Faigal managed to get himself proclaimed king of Syria. In July 1920 French troops began to occupy eastern Syria. The country's patriotic forces took up arms, but were outnumbered. After the French troops entered Damascus, they began cruel repressions and reprisals against the Syrian patriots and they even banished King Faisal from the country.

The anti-imperialist struggle continued. In August 1920, a peasant uprising began in the Hauran province. In 1920, the whole of the northern part of the country was involved in the armed struggle. The Syrian proletariat joined in the political movement more and more actively. It took part in anti-imperialist demonstrations in a number of towns in Syria in April 1922. In that same year the workers staged the first strike campaign. Individual communist groups, operating underground, appeared in the working class.

A similar situation took shape in Lebanon which was occupied by Anglo-French troops in October 1918. On September 1, 1920, France declared the establishment of Great Lebanon under its mandate. Supreme power there was in the hands of the French. But from representatives of the Lebanese upper crust an Advisory Administrative Committee was formed. In May 1922, it was replaced by the elected Representative Council. According to the Constitution of 1926 which was drawn up in France, Lebanon was proclaimed a republic and the Representative Council was transformed into the Chamber of Deputies. But the Constitution did not change Lebanon's dependent situation.

French imperialism actively penetrated into Lebanon's economy. French firms took into their hands the reconstruction of the port in Beirut and the building of roads. Rising taxes caused the condition of the peasants and townspeople to deteriorate. Many peasants and artisans were ruined.

The national forces in Lebanon, just as in Syria, repeatedly rose in struggle against the French colonialists. Thus, in 1924 a big peasant uprising took place in the valley of Bekaa. In 1924, the Syrian Communist Party was founded in Beirut whose members were Syrian and Lebanese Communists.

During the partial stabilisation of capitalism the national liberation struggle in Syria and Lebanon continued to gain in strength, assuming especially large proportions during the national liberation uprising in Syria in 1925-1927. The motive forces of the unrest were the peasants, the workers, the petty bourgeoisie, the national bourgeoisie and individual strata of the landowners. The leading role belonged to the national bourgeoisie which was organised into the People's Party, the Independence Party and the Executive Council of the Syria-Palestinian Congress. In view of its weakness and small numbers the proletariat

could not lead the struggle.

The uprising was started by peasants in the mountainous area of Jebel Druz in July 1925. Indignant at the plunder on the part of the French governor the Druze demanded that he should be replaced. However, the French High Commissioner cynically rejected the demand of the rebels, arrested their leaders, and banished them to the desert. Then the peasants in this province headed by Sheikh Amir Hasan Atrash took up arms. The uprising rapidly spread and embraced thousands of peasants. The Syrian National Revolutionary Army was set up under the command of Amir Hasan Atrash and caused the French colonial forces serious defeats. On October 18, 1925, the rebellion had moved to Damascus, the capital of Syria. The city was soon in the hands of the rebels. In response to this, the French subjected Damascus to heavy artillery shelling during which the city suffered seriously and approximately 25,000 of its inhabitants were killed. Although the guerrillas retreated from Damascus, the French did not manage to gain victory. By the beginning of November 1925, the whole of Syria, with the exception of the big cities, was controlled by the rebels. The rebellion also spread to a number of regions of Lebanon. In the autumn of 1925 and the summer of 1926 the Lebanese rebels were waging battles against the French troops in the valley of Bekaa.

Coming up against such serious resistance on the part of the Syrians, the French decided to make manoeuvres. They replaced the High Commissioner and started negotiations with representatives of the Syrian bourgeoisie. The latter, however, demanded that the French mandate should be cancelled. Having broken off the negotiations, the French sent large contingents of troops and materiel to Syria and in April 1926 they launched an offensive against the rebels. The Syrian patriots again resorted to guerrilla tactics and were able to deal a series of telling blows at the French troops. In spite of the fact that the superiority of the French forces was very considerable it was not until June 1927 that with great efforts French troops seized the last centre of rebel resistance, the mountainous area of Jebel Druz.

The national liberation rebellion of the Syrian people pointed to the shakiness of French domination in Syria. The French colonialists could no longer govern Syria as

they had done before. Therefore, they were forced to agree to the holding of elections to a Constituent Assembly in 1928. The latter worked out a Constitution and proclaimed Syria a united independent parliamentary republic and refused to recognise the French mandate to govern the country. Therefore, the French authorities dissolved the Constituent Assembly.

In the 1930s, French imperialism conducted a series of measures aimed at consolidating its own economic, military, and strategic positions in Syria and Lebanon. In 1934, economic reforms began to be effected which found reflection in the modernisation of the port of Beirut, in the building of railways, highways, aerodromes, oil pipelines, and the reconstruction of the irrigation system. The reforms were conducted with the means provided by Syrian and Lebanese tax payers, while the incomes went to the French capitalists. The monopolists of France gained greatly from the restoration of the French monopoly on tobacco.

The popular masses in Syria and Lebanon did not give up their struggle against French colonial oppression. Just as before, they tried to get the mandate of France over Syria and Lebanon terminated. The dissolution of the Syrian parliament in November 1933, the abrogation of the Syrian Constitution, and the refusal of France to satisfy the demands of the Syrians and the Lebanese who were trying to gain independence for their countries caused a fresh upsurge in their national liberation movement in 1934-1936. An important new moment in this movement was the active participation in it of the Communist Party of Syria and Lebanon. The Communist Party proclaimed tactics of struggle to set up a united working-class and national anti-imperialist front. It facilitated the creation in 1934 of the confederation of trade unions, headed the strike campaign of the workers, organised the peasant masses, and waged campaigns in defence of Ethiopia, and against fascism, Zionism, and the French tobacco monopoly.

At the same time, the forces of the national bourgeoisie continued to consolidate themselves, their political vanguard in Syria being the National Bloc founded in 1928. In January 1936 this party held a mass meeting which ended with the adoption of the National Pact. This document contained an appeal to fight for the liberation of Syria from French enslavement, for national freedom, unity, and

democracy. The Communists and the other progressive forces supported demands made in the National Pact.

The Popular Front movement in France helped to promote the success of the national liberation movement in Syria. In March 1936 the French government agreed to restore Syria's Constitution and begin negotiations with the Syrian delegation on recognition of the country's independence. As a result, on September 9, 1936, a treaty was concluded between France and Syria according to which the latter was to obtain independence in three years' time. However, France and Syria concluded a military alliance among themselves by which France had the right to use the territory of Syria should there be the threat of war. France signed a similar treaty with Lebanon. In December 1936 a national government was formed in Syria from representatives of the National Bloc party. The Syrian parliament ratified the treaty with France. But the French ruling circles hindered the coming of the treaty into force and in January 1939, when the Popular Front no longer existed, France refused to ratify the treaties with Syria and Lebanon.

News of this called forth a wave of popular indignation in Syria and Lebanon. In February 1939 the Syrian government announced that the French mandate had been annulled. The workers supported this act with a general strike in Damascus in March 1939. Then the French government imposed the military dictatorship of General Maxime Weygand on Syria, abolished the Constitution and dissolved parliament. Simultaneously part of Syria, the Alexandretta sanjak, was handed over to Turkey. At this stage, Syria and Lebanon could still not manage to gain their independence.

PALESTINE

During the First World War Palestine, which was under the Turkish yoke, was occupied by Britain. The British immediately began to oppose the Jewish population to the Arab one. By that time, the Jewish bourgeoisie had been involved in the reactionary nationalist and chauvinist movement, Zionism. Zionism as a movement and an ideology was engendered at the end of the 19th century. The Zionists announced that Jews, irrespective of what state they were

citizens and what social group they were members of, belonged to a "single universal Jewish nation" and therefore had special national interests which were the same for all Jews. At the First World Zionist Congress in Basel in 1897 the World Zionist Organisation was founded. It has as its aim the resettlement of all Jews in Palestine, around Mount Zion (in the north-eastern part of Jerusalem), where was the capital of the ancient Jewish slaveowning state which had existed in the first half of the first millennium B.C. (this is why it is called Zionism) and the foundation there of a Jewish state.

On November 2, 1917, in the Balfour declaration the British promised to set up a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine. Britain retained its occupation forces in Palestine and in 1920 at the conference in San Remo it received a mandate to govern Palestine. In 1922, the League of Nations confirmed this mandate. Palestine was in fact turned into a colony of Great Britain. The British High Commissioner concentrated all power in his hands. The "Palestine government" formed from the British operated under him. The most important positions in the economy were also in the hands of the British imperialists.

Relying on the Zionist circles, the British began to encourage Jewish immigration to Palestine. Thus, from 1919 to 1932 alone the number of Jews who had immigrated to Palestine topped one million. The Zionist organisations and associations obtained various concessions, bought up the best lands, and drove the Arab peasants off them. Twenty-five per cent of the lands suitable for cultivation in Palestine ended up with the Zionist colonisation trusts. British and American capital attracted big Jewish capitalists to join in the exploitation of Palestine. Capitalist development of a colonial type went ahead in the country. Banks appeared, trade expanded, plantations were set up, transport and other communal services were developed, and military projects were built. The mining and light industries were developed to a certain extent. By 1939 there were approximately 30,000 industrial workers in Palestine.

Whereas the Zionist bourgeoisie enjoyed certain privileges, the Arab national bourgeoisie was restricted in every possible way, and everything was done to prevent the development of Arab industry. The colonialists and Zionists attempted to retain the prevailing feudal vestiges in the

countryside (mainly among the Arab population). Thus, foreign imperialism and Zionism formed the basis for national hostility between the Arabs and the Jews.

In a situation where the anti-imperialist movement influenced by the Great October Socialist Revolution was becoming increasingly vigorous everywhere in the world, the national liberation movement of the Arab people of Palestine was also activated. In 1919, a Socialist Party of Palestine appeared which was renamed the Communist Party of Palestine in 1921. In 1920-1921, popular uprisings took place in Palestine to protest against the British colonialists and the Zionist bourgeoisie. The fellahs, the artisans, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the workers joined in them. They were headed by the Arab Palestinian Congress founded in 1920. The rebels demanded that Jewish immigration should cease, that the Arab peasants should be protected by law from having their lands seized, and that a democratic government should be formed with proportional representation of the nationalities.

In August 1929, an anti-colonial rebellion again flared up in Palestine. It was preceded by a clash between Arabs and Jews in Jerusalem. The uprising affected the cities of Jerusalem, Nablus, Haifa, Akka, and Jaffa. The insurgents attacked government buildings, barracks, and prisons, and fought with British marines. Among the slogans popular with the rebels were the following: annulment of the Balfour declaration, cancellation of the British mandate, the granting of national independence to Palestine, the cessation of Zionist migration and the sale of lands to the Zionists. Thousands of volunteers from Transjordan, Syria, and Egypt went to help the Palestinians, fighting against the British troops. By the beginning of September the British had managed to put down the rebellion by using aircraft against the rebels.

On October 6, 1930, the British government published a memorandum from the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs, Passfield, in which promises were given that certain concessions would be made to the Arab population of Palestine. However, the Zionists got the British to interpret the memorandum to the advantage of the Zionists in 1931. This sparked off the Arab Palestinian movement yet again. On October 27, 1933, a general strike began in Jaffa, the enterprises, shops and markets were closed, city transport

was brought to a halt, and the demonstrators came out into the streets to clash with the police and the troops. Similar protests were widespread in the towns of Jerusalem, Haifa, Nablus, and elsewhere. So, the strike turned into a fresh uprising, in the course of which guerrilla detachments of fellahs and Bedouins were set up, which were headed by the peasant Abu Gilda. But this time, again, the British suppressed the revolt, and captured and shot Abu Gilda.

The anti-colonial and anti-Zionist struggle continued. In April 1936, the Higher Arab Committee (as the Arab Palestinian Congress was called) led a general uprising, which had started in Palestine. Guerrilla warfare swept the land. In October 1936 the British sent William Peel's Royal Commission to Palestine which suggested partitioning the country into three parts, British, Arab, and Jewish. This recommendation evoked tremendous indignation among the Arab population of Palestine and of the other Arab countries. In May 1939, the British were forced to make certain concessions to the Arab population of Palestine, restricting and then halting the Jewish immigration to the country. By the autumn of 1939 the unrest had died down. But this policy led to the aggravation of relations between the British authorities and the Zionists. While the British began to seek support among the Arab feudal circles, the Zionists counted on an alliance with American imperialism.

AFRICA

Chapter 11

The Colonial Domination of the. Imperialist Powers in Africa and the Development of the National Liberation Movement of the African Peoples

The peoples of the huge continent of Africa, the second biggest continent in the world, have suffered the yoke of European colonisers since the beginning of the twentieth century.

The imperialist powers completed the division of Africa among themselves at the turn of the century. Essentially, with the exception of Ethiopia and Liberia, no independent states remained in Africa. The African continent became the property of the most blatant form of imperialist colonialism.

The British imperialists created an enormous colonial empire in Africa, controlling an area of 9 million square kilometres on that continent, more than 30 times the size of Great Britain. By the beginning of the 20th century there were already approximately fifty million people living in the British colonies in Africa.

The French colonial empire in Africa covered a territory of 9 million square kilometres, 17 times bigger than France, with a population of more than 40 million at that time.

Germany's African colonies, which were in its possession until the First World War, were smaller than those of the British and the French, covering an area of almost three million square kilometres and having a population of approximately 15 million.

The Italian colonies had an area of 1.6 million square kilometres and a population of 1,300,000. Belgium's colonies (2,300,000 square kilometres) were a hundredfold

bigger than the metropolitan country, and their population numbered 20 million. Portugal and Spain also controlled vast territories in Africa: Portugal—2,300,000 square kilometres with a population of between eight and nine million; Spain 400,000 square kilometres with a population of approximately up to a million.

Owing to the First World War, some amendments were made to the partitioning of the lands formerly seized by the colonial powers in Africa. The German colonies were handed over to other imperialist powers. Britain got Tanganyika and part of Togo and Cameroon, France—part of Togo and the greater part of Cameroon, Belgium—Ruanda-Urundi, the Union of South Africa—South-West Africa, Portugal—a small section of German East Africa—Kionga, later included in the Portuguese colony of Mozambique.

The imperialist powers established regimes in the colonies whereby the African population was monstrously exploited. The colonisers confiscated a considerable part of the lands belonging to the local peasants. In 1900, 90.4 per cent of the land in Africa belonged to European countries. Consequently, a poignant saying became current in Africa: "when the white men came to Africa they had a Bible, and the Africans had land; now the white men have got the land and the Africans the Bible." Many African tribes were driven into "reservations" and doomed to famine and death. The reservations were, as a rule, situated on infertile lands where there was definitely not enough land to feed the masses of people. In South Africa 9,500,000 hectares of land were used for reservations where half the African population of the Union of South Africa lived, while approximately 95 million hectares of the best lands were handed over to a small number of Europeans. Hunger forced the Africans to go and work in the mines and on the construction sites, toiling for almost nothing for the colonisers.

Thousands upon thousands of the indigenous inhabitants of Africa did hard labour on the plantations, on the building of railways and highways, in pits and mines. The Africans supplied the foreign imperialists with rubber and cotton, coconuts and groundnuts, ivory and diamonds, gold and copper, and many other raw materials and natural resources in which the land of Africa is so richly endowed.

The colonisers intensively implanted a one-crop system, forced the African peasants to cultivate one kind of crop

and bought it up for a song. Nigeria produced palm oil, the Gold Coast—cocoa beans, Gambia and Senegal—groundnuts, Egypt and Sudan—cotton, and so forth. The one-crop system made the petty peasant dependent on the market. Africans bought necessities at high prices from the foreign imperialists. This doomed them to a semi-hungry, poverty-stricken existence.

In a number of places the colonisers imposed a tax in kind on the population. The Africans were to deliver to the foreign firms ivory, rubber, and fruit almost gratis. This system was widespread in the Belgian Congo, in French Equatorial Africa and in German West Africa. If the Africans refused to deliver the specified products, they were subjected to severe repressions, including the cutting off of hands, arms, legs, and ears. In some cases, Africans were killed or whole families were burned alive. Monstrous violence and arbitrariness awaited the Africans at every step.

The colonisers compelled the local peasants to work a certain number of days on their plantations without being paid. The east and southern African tenants were obliged to work more than six months per year on the Europeans' farms. Besides this unpaid forced labour was also widely used. The colonisers demanded from the tribal chieftains that they should supply a certain number of Africans for hard work on the building sites, in the mines, and so forth. Frequently the chieftains made deals with the colonisers. For a small remuneration the chiefs sold many of their fellow tribesmen for hard labour. The forced labour was not only unpaid but often the Africans were forced to feed themselves as well. Forced labour led to the extreme exhaustion and premature death of many Africans. Of those enslaved by the colonisers only those obtained freedom and the opportunity to return home who were no longer capable of working, were invalided and extremely exhausted. Forced labour, this masked form of slavery, caused a considerable decrease in the African population.

Thus, the European "civilisers" brought hunger and slavery to Africa, forced labour and caused whole peoples to die out. Predatory finance capital prospered on the bones and blood of many generations of Africans. The foreign monopolies obtained colossal superprofits from plundering Africa and its population. In ten years (1886 to 1895) the Belgian King Leopold obtained 71 million francs in in-

come from exploitation of the Congo. In those years the Congolese population halved from 30 million to 15 million. But the African population never reconciled itself to the domination of the colonisers and constantly waged a struggle for its liberation. The anti-imperialist movement began to gather in strength under the influence of the October Socialist Revolution in Russia.

The redrawing of the map of Africa after the First World War aggravated the contradictions between foreign imperialism and the national forces in the African countries even more. Owing to this the imperialist victor powers at the Paris Peace Conference invented a system of mandates for the colonies they had taken away from their rivals. This system did not introduce any principal changes into colonial domination. Nor could it alleviate the contradictions between the peoples of Africa and the colonisers.

After the war Africa's part in the world economy became increasingly important. The imperialist monopolies intensified exploitation of Africa's raw material and marine resources. At the same time, they hindered the economic, social, and cultural advancement of the African peoples and pursued a policy of pitting certain nationalities or tribes against others, the white population against the coloured one.

At the same time, the objective laws of economic and social development led to a growth of industry, the towns and cities, the construction of ports, railways and highways, undermined the basis of the feudal and pre-feudal relations; a working class took shape and a national bourgeoisie and national and workers' organisations appeared, including communist ones. Individual countries developed unevenly, development being especially intensive in the Union of South Africa, Egypt, and the countries of Maghrib.

New phenomena were observed in the class and anti-imperialist struggle. Such forms of struggle as strikes began to be common in the workers' movement. The peasants who had become involved in capitalist relations left for the towns to do seasonal work, mixed with the urban workers there, became enlightened and then back in the countryside they made the peasant protests more efficient and politically motivated. Elements of the emergent national bourgeoisie and the local intelligentsia also joined the

anti-imperialist struggle. They helped to create the mass national organisations. True, these organisations did not, as a rule, as yet advance slogans of struggle for national independence but restricted themselves to demanding partial reforms.

Pan-African ideas also gained some currency. In 1919 the first Pan-African congress was held in Paris. It demanded of the organisers of the Paris Peace Conference that Africans should be involved in governing the colonies, protested against the use of slave and forced labour, and so forth. In 1921, 1923, and 1927 the second, third, and fourth Pan-African congresses were convened respectively. They played a definite part in developing the national awareness of the Africans and in uniting the anti-imperialist forces on the continent.

In the period between the two world wars the workers and national liberation movements in Africa rose to a new higher level. Armed battles occurred in the countries of North Africa (the rebellions in Egypt, the war of the Rif Republic against the French and Spanish colonisers, the uprisings in Nigeria, Kenya, the Congo, and so forth).

In the years of the partial stabilisation of capitalism the revolutionary struggle in Africa did not wane. Strikes were staged, and there was unrest among the peasants which often took an exceptionally acute form in Libya, Somalia, Morocco, Middle Congo, Angola, Cameroon, Chad, Madagascar, and elsewhere.

The world economic crisis of 1929-1933, which caused the economic situation of the countries in Africa to deteriorate, provided the impetus for fresh protests on the part of the workers, the peasants, and other national forces. The Africans increasingly became involved in the worldwide struggle to combat the danger of fascism and war. This can be seen from their active solidarity with the people of Ethiopia, who were defending themselves against the aggression of the Italian fascist invaders. The peace-loving and internationalist stand taken by the Soviet Union increasingly influenced the African people for they saw in it a consistent defender of their national interests.

The struggle of the African peoples at this stage was making some headway towards independence. Thus, Egypt formally acquired independence. The Africans obtained

access, although limited, to the representative institutions in a number of countries. But the African peoples were not able to gain any decisive success in their efforts against the foreign colonisers at that time. The historical process of the “awakening of Africa” had just begun.

Chapter 12

The Countries of North A frica

The countries of North Africa include Egypt, Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, and Western Sahara. In the main, they are inhabited by Europeoids, the Arabs.

EGYPT

From 1882 Egypt was in fact a colony of Great Britain, although formally it was part of the Ottoman Empire. From December 1914 Britain officially announced that it had established a protectorate over Egypt. The British colonisers turned Egypt into its own cotton plantation and a strategic bridgehead. The key branches of the economy were in the hands of the British. Forty-five per cent of the shares of the Suez Canal Company belonged to them. The foreign banks subjugated to themselves the finance and credit system in Egypt and imposed upon it crushing loans. Having seized the best lands, the British supported the feudal vestiges in the country. The peasantry, who comprised the overwhelming majority of the country's population, suffered from lack of land and the oppression of the colonisers and local feudal lords. Industry, especially national industry, developed slowly. True, in the years of the First World War there was a certain growth in local industrial production. However, the national bourgeoisie remained weak in this sphere. The commercial and usurious bourgeoisie,

to which the bourgeoisified landowners were affiliated, was far more powerful. The country's working class was also small. The war caused the contradictions to be exacerbated between the national forces on the one hand, and the British colonisers and local reaction on the other.

The anti-imperialist forces in Egypt were set in motion under the impact of the October Revolution in Russia. The most extensive strata of the population, embracing the national bourgeoisie, the fellahs and the working class, joined in the anti-imperialist movement. The leading role belonged to the national bourgeoisie, whose eminent figures united into the Wafd political organisation in 1918, which became a party in 1923. The Wafd supporters led the struggle for independence in Egypt and for the abolition of the protectorate established by Britain in 1914. But the leaders of the Wafd, including Saad Zaghlul Pasha, were supporters of "peaceful and lawful" means of struggle and feared the revolutionary protests of the masses.

In November 1918, Saad Zaghlul Pasha and other Egyptian figures demanded that Britain should grant Egypt independence. When the British authorities rejected this demand, the Wafd supporters began a mass movement of protest. At the beginning of March 1919 this movement turned into a big anti-British rebellion. Egypt was swept by demonstrations and strikes. Everywhere the rebels smashed up institutions which were connected with British domination, and demanded that Egypt should be granted complete independence. By the beginning of April 1919 the British had managed to put down this revolutionary protest by means of sanguinary repressions. The indecisiveness of the leadership and poor organisation prevented the Egyptian people from being successful in the struggle.

After the rebellion in March 1919, the British attempted to make a deal with the nationalists. They sent the Milner mission to Egypt, drew up a draft treaty, which formally abolished the protectorate but continued British occupation of Egyptian territory. All these manoeuvres ended in failure. Then the British again reverted to methods of repression against the leaders of the movement. The Egyptian people again responded to this with an uprising in December 1921. In Cairo, Alexandria, and other towns there was hard fighting between the national forces and the British occupation forces. However, this time the uprising enjoyed

less active support, especially on the part of the fellahs and Egyptian bourgeoisie, and the British were able to suppress it comparatively rapidly.

The Egyptian proletariat began to play a considerable part in the anti-imperialist movement. Influenced by the October Revolution in Russia, communist and socialist groups came into being in Egypt (in Cairo, Alexandria, Port Said) in 1918-1919. In 1920, a Socialist Party was set up on their basis, which was renamed the Communist Party in 1921. In 1922, the Communist Party of Egypt became a member of the Comintern. The association of workers into trade unions began on its initiative. In 1921, the General Confederation of Labour of Egypt came into being which had a membership of 50 to 60 thousand workers. The increased organisation and awareness of the working class helped to make the anti-imperialist struggle in Egypt more vigorous, decisive and consistent.

Although the uprisings were put down in 1919 and 1921, the British could no longer control Egypt by the methods they had used formerly. On February 28, 1922, they announced that the protectorate over Egypt had been abolished and proclaimed it "an independent kingdom". However, British troops continued to occupy Egypt just as before, and other signs of British domination persisted in the country. Nevertheless, the granting of independence (albeit pro forma) was an important result of the anti-imperialist movement of the Egyptian masses. To preserve their positions in Egypt, the British assisted in setting up a Liberal Constitutionalist Party, expressing the interests of the landowners and comprador bourgeoisie, at the end of 1922. The new party headed by Adly Yeghen Pasha was in favour of cooperation with the British. In 1923, a Constitution was introduced on the basis of which parliamentary elections took place. The Wafd party had a sweeping victory at the elections and its leader Saad Zaghlul Pasha headed the Egyptian government. The Egyptian people, however, were not satisfied with these concessions and continued their anti-imperialist campaign.

The Wafd party continued to champion the granting of complete independence to the country. This made it possible for the Wafd supporters to uphold their prestige in the country. However, in the struggle for independence this party acted indecisively and inconsistently just as before.

Wafd members perpetrated cruel repressions against the workers at the same time. They used troops to suppress the class battles of the workers in Alexandria and in Maasar (near Cairo) in February and March 1924. In 1924, they utterly destroyed the Communist Party and the trade unions. The Wafd members were afraid of the growth of the mass movement in the country and this cut down the social base of their party and allowed the British to interfere in a gross manner in the affairs of Egypt. From 1924 to 1930, the British dissolved the Egyptian parliament four times and changed the government ten times. The domination of the British acted as a mighty brake on the development of Egypt's national economy. The economic and political situation in the country remained an extremely grave one.

In 1924 relations between Britain and Egypt deteriorated owing to Sudan, which was under the joint control of Britain and Egypt. The Wafd members supported the anti-imperialist movement in Sudan, which greatly irritated the British. In November 1924 the British govern or-general of Sudan, Lee Stack (he was simultaneously commander of the Egyptian army), was killed in Cairo. Britain presented an ultimatum to the Wafd cabinet, demanding, in particular, that Egyptian troops should be withdrawn from Sudan. Zaghlul Pasha refused to satisfy this demand. In response to this, the British began military operations against the Egyptian forces in Sudan. The Wafd cabinet was forced to resign. It was replaced by the government of the Union Party, which expressed the interests of the feudal upper crust.

However, this coup d'état did not pacify the Egyptian people. In the second half of the 1920s there were big strikes and anti-imperialist protests in Egypt staged by railwaymen, tramwaymen, tobacco plantation workers, printers, and so forth. This forced the British colonisers to make concessions to the Egyptian bourgeoisie. According to a law on joint-stock companies approved by them in 1927 the Egyptians could have 25 per cent of the shares in foreign companies in Egypt and also received the right to form 12 trading, industrial and transport companies. In 1931, the British introduced a new customs tariff which did to a certain extent protect Egyptian industry from foreign competition.

In making these concessions, the British did simultane-

ously impose on Egypt an unequal treaty at the beginning of 1928 according to which Britain retained its troops in Egypt, was in charge of the Egyptian army and left its own counsellors and police commissars. The refusal of the Egyptian parliament, where the majority belonged to the Wafd party, to ratify this treaty led to a lengthy political crisis and the establishment of the dictatorship of the British High Commissioner in Egypt.

The world economic crisis of 1929 to 1933 caused Egypt's situation to deteriorate even further. The fall in the demand for cotton and in prices of cotton, which formed four-fifths of Egypt's exports, led to the mass ruin of the fellahs. The exacerbation of class contradictions resulted in an anti-imperialist rebellion. In July 1930, there were anti-imperialist demonstrations in Cairo, Alexandria, and other towns and cities in Egypt. In a number of places they became barricade battles and armed uprisings. Ismail Sidky Pasha, the British protégé and head of the government, suppressed these protests with the help of British troops. But the revolutionary upsurge continued to gain momentum. In October 1930, Sidky Pasha introduced a new Constitution which replaced that of 1923. The new basic law cut down the rights of parliament and extended the authority of the king. This caused great indignation in the country which was manifest with particular force during the elections to parliament in May 1931. On the appeal of the Wafd party, the public at large boycotted the elections. Mass strikes were organised in all the towns and cities in Egypt. The proletariat and the peasantry took a most active part in the May protests. In a number of places the struggle again turned into an uprising. But these popular protests were cruelly put down by means of repressions.

The struggle became even more acute from 1934 to 1936. A strong strike movement appeared in the spring of 1934. The workers protested against price rises and the decrease in wages. During the strikes there were political demonstrations under the slogan "Britain Is Our Enemy". Owing to the pressure exerted by the popular movement the reactionary government resigned in August 1934. The parliament elected in 1931 was dissolved. In January 1935, the Wafd supporters held their first national congress and adopted a programme of economic and political reforms. Owing to the pressure exerted by the popular movement,

the British were forced to make further concessions. The reactionary Constitution of 1930 was abolished. In December 1935 the Constitution of 1923 again went into force. This signified a great success for the national forces in the anti-imperialist movement.

In May 1936, parliamentary elections brought victory to the Wafd party, which formed a government headed by Mustafa Nahas. This strengthened the positions of the national forces in the country. But on August 26, 1936, Britain did nevertheless impose an unequal treaty on Egypt which, although it proclaimed the formal cessation of the military occupation of Egypt by the British troops, gave Britain the right to keep a ten-thousand-strong army in the Suez Canal zone. This allowed the British colonisers to retain their domination in Egypt just as before. The conclusion of the treaty and the refusal to carry out the promised social reforms lowered the authority of the Wafd party among the popular masses. In 1938, the Wafd party suffered a defeat at the parliamentary elections. The struggle of the Egyptian people in the 1930s strengthened the national forces and allowed them to abolish British domination in the subsequent period.

LIBYA

The Italian imperialists also had a share in plundering the possessions and natural resources of the peoples of North Africa. In this region from 1912 the Italians took possession of Libya, the population of which was at the stage of feudal-patriarchal relations and did in the main lead a nomadic or semi-nomadic way of life. Only the coastal zone was inhabited by traders and artisans. The Moslem order of Senoussists, which was a sort of “state within a state”, played an important role in the eastern part of the country (Cyrenaica). The order possessed lands and had administrative, juridical, commercial and military power. It was headed by the feudal aristocracy, who exploited the bulk of the Bedouin population.

In 1912, after the Italian-Turkish war Libya, which had been ruled by Turkey, became an Italian colony. But the Libyan population did not wish to subjugate itself to new colonisers and waged a persistent struggle against them.

During the First World War the hinterland regions of Libya managed to throw off Italian control. In 1915, the sheikhs of the Cyrenaican tribes and the leaders of the order of Senoussists formed a Legislative Council and their own government headed by the Emir Idriss Senoussi. In 1917 the Italians recognised his power over the territory controlled by him.

After the world war, the liberation movement of the Libyans, influenced by the October Revolution, rose to a new and higher stage. In November 1918, the sheikhs of the tribes proclaimed the foundation of a Tripolitanian Republic, and set up a Legislative and an Executive Council. In 1919, Italy was forced to recognise the autonomy of Tripolitania. In that same year, the Constitution of Tripolitania was adopted and the National Reform Party founded.

Italy, however, regarded these concessions as temporary ones. Soon it set about stirring up internal contradictions and strife among the Libyan patriots. The latter, in their turn, bent their efforts to unite their forces. In December 1921, at a meeting of the leaders of Tripolitania, it was decided to unite with Cyrenaica. In 1922, this unification took place under the leadership of Idriss Senoussi.

After the fascists came to power in Italy, they pursued an active colonial policy, and began to prepare for war against the patriots of Libya. In December 1922, Idriss Senoussi emigrated to Egypt. In March 1923, Italian troops attacked Libyan military units in Cyrenaica and announced that all the agreements previously concluded with Senoussists were annulled. In response to this, the Libyan patriots rose in an anti-imperialist struggle headed by the Senoussist Sheikh Umar Mukhtar. Although they possessed the latest arms, the Italian fascists were not able to suppress the resistance of the Libyan national forces for several years. The Libyan patriots displayed tremendous persistence and courage. Many of them perished in the unequal struggle. In 1928, the Italians captured Tripolitania, in 1930, Fezzan, and in 1932, Cyrenaica. The Libyan leader Umar Mukhtar was taken prisoner and hanged by the fascists in 1931.

After the uprising had been put down, Libya became a raw material and agrarian appendage of Italy and a market for the latter's goods. The colonisers took over 230,000 hectares of the best lands. The Italian landlords set up big

capitalist farms on many of the expropriated lands. Having lost its land and cattle, the local Libyan population was in a sorry plight. The country's economy was on the brink of collapse. The national culture, traditions and customs of the Libyan people were not permitted to develop. The Libyan patriots could not reconcile themselves to this lot.

TUNISIA

In the years preceding the First World War Tunisia was a protectorate of France, but the French did in fact establish a colonial regime there. All power was in the hands of the French Governor-General. Most of the ministries were in the charge of Frenchmen. French civilian controllers were posted to the provinces. French troops were stationed in Tunisia. The country's economy was subordinated to French bankers and entrepreneurs. Much of the land belonged to foreign colonisers. At the same time, the local peasant population suffered from a shortage of land. Industry, where mining enterprises predominated, was poorly developed. The small working class was subject to great exploitation. The national bourgeoisie was not a significant political force capable of decisive anti-imperialist action. Its representatives, the Young Tunisians, did not set themselves the task of attaining national liberation, and only advanced demands for reforms within the framework of the protectorate. Influenced by the October Revolution in Russia, the national bourgeoisie attempted to convene a Constituent Assembly, draw up a Constitution, and set up a national government. In June 1920, a delegation of Tunisians went to Paris to submit these demands to the French government. But the French categorically rejected them. Then the Tunisian nationalists headed by Taalibi actively encouraged the population to fight against French domination. The Liberal Constitutional Party Destour (meaning Constitution) founded in 1920 played an important part in this national liberation movement against French domination.

The leader of the party was Taalibi. The party's programme demanded the convening of parliament, the formation of a national government, and proclaiming democratic rights and freedoms. But it did not advance the slogan of na-

tional independence. In 1920, the Destour party sent two delegations to France to present to the French government the demands of the national forces in Tunisia. However, the French authorities arrested Taalibi. Only the mass protest that started forced them to set the leader of the Destour party free and make some concessions.

The evolution of the workers' movement in France also left its mark on the liberation struggle of the Tunisian people. In 1919 and 1920 big strikes were staged in Tunisia. In 1919, the Tunisian Federation of the Socialist Party of France was founded which became the Tunisian Federation of the French Communist Party in 1920. The first congress of the trade unions of Tunisia was convened in 1920. And, although most of the members of the workers' organisations were of French nationality to begin with, they tried to establish close ties with the Arabs.

In 1922, the anti-imperialist struggle became extremely vigorous in Tunisia. When the President of France visited Tunisia, the Tunisians organised stormy demonstrations and strikes, demanding the immediate introduction of constitutional reforms. The French ruling circles were forced to make concessions, and in July 1922 a decree on constitutional reform in Tunisia was issued. The decree provided for the setting up of a Grand Council in Tunisia and of local councils to discuss the budget. The right wing of the Destour party was satisfied with this negligible reform. The rest of the nationalists were in favour of continuing their campaign. This caused a split in the Destour party. The right-wing elements separated into a new party, the Reform Party. The split in the national forces made the movement less forceful, and its activity subsided temporarily.

In 1924, the class struggle of the workers in Tunisia intensified. Dockers, miners, stonemasons, and other workers joined in the strikes. The Communists became particularly active, helping to arrange mass political demonstrations. In August and September 1924, the police used arms against demonstrators in Bizerte. The more vigorous activity of the workers' movement led to the setting up of the Tunisian General Confederation of Labour on December 3, 1924. Communists were elected its leaders. But the French authorities arrested the heads of the confederation in February 1925 and banished them from the country.

A fresh upsurge in the liberation movement ensued from the world economic crisis, which caused the material situation of the workers to deteriorate and ruined the masses of the Tunisian peasants. In the years of the crisis the extraction of phosphorites, iron ore, and lead was cut down. The closure of many enterprises swelled unemployment. The prices of olive oil and wool fell, causing the mass of the peasantry to be ruined. The French authorities tried to prevent the national liberation movement from intensifying by means of repressions. In May 1933, they issued a decree on disbanding the Destour party. This caused some confusion in the ranks of the nationalists. However, the left-wing elements in the Destour, headed by Habib Bourguiba, set up a New Destour party in March 1934 which soon won big popularity in the country. But on September 3, 1934, the leaders of the New Destour party as well as the Communists were arrested and banished to Sahara.

In the mid-thirties a Popular Front movement evolved in Tunisia in which an important part was played by the Communist Party, founded in 1934 on the basis of the Tunisian Federation of the French Communist Party. Workers in a number of towns and cities staged big strikes from March to August 1935. The strike campaign did not abate in subsequent years. As a result, the Tunisian miners managed to get an eight-hour working day introduced. Other progressive reforms were also carried out. When the government of the Popular Front came to power in France in 1936, the Communist Party of Tunisia and the New Destour party were made legal and their leaders and other members were permitted to return from exile or released from prison. There was a certain amount of democratisation in Tunisia, and the lot of the masses was made easier. When the government of France began to depart from the programme of the Popular Front, the New Destour party called upon the inhabitants of Tunisia to join in a campaign of civil disobedience at the end of 1937. The French authorities resorted to cruel measures to stunt the growth of the anti-imperialist movement. When, on the appeal of the New Destour party, mass demonstrations took place in Tunisia under the slogans of convening a Tunisian parliament and a national government, the colonisers sent tanks to quell the demonstrators and opened fire on the unarmed pat-

riots. Repressions, arrests, and disbandment of political parties followed in the wake of these acts.

ALGERIA

Influenced by the October Revolution, the national liberation movement became more vigorous in the countries of North Africa, too.

Algeria was one of the biggest French colonies. It was poorly developed from an industrial point of view, having less than 100,000 workers in the mining and light industries. The Algerian bourgeoisie mainly operated in the sphere of small-scale production. Agriculture was relatively well developed. Huge areas of land had been seized by the colonisers. In a number of regions of Algeria patriarchal-feudal relations persisted. On the whole, Algeria's entire economic and political might was placed under the control of France and its monopoly capital. The country's indigenous population, the Arabs and the Berbers, were deprived of civil rights and did not have access to education and culture. France pursued a policy of national assimilation.

In Algeria conditions ripened for an upsurge in the national liberation movement. When they returned home, the Algerians who had served in the French forces in Western Europe during the First World War, and some of them even in the interventionist forces in revolutionary Russia, brought news with them of the revolutionary events in the world and of the October Revolution. This provided an impetus for the awakening of the national consciousness of the Algerian population. To prevent the anti-imperialist sentiments from gaining in strength, France made certain concessions to the Algerian upper crust. In 1919, a decree was adopted which somewhat extended the rights of the Algerians, particularly at the elections to the bodies of local self-government. But this insignificant reform did not satisfy the Algerian national bourgeoisie. Their representative, Emir Khalid, headed the campaign for new reforms. The Young Algerian Party founded by him in 1920 advanced demands for equality for Algerians and French alike, for the elimination of race discrimination, for Algerians to be represented in the French parliament, and so forth. However, the French opposed the adoption of these moderate demands.

The national liberation movement in Algeria was closely linked with the workers' and communist movement in France itself. In 1920, the French workers who lived in Algeria founded the Algerian Federation of the Communist Party. In its early days the Federation was weakly linked with the Algerian popular masses but by the end of the 1920s Arabs and Berbers began to join it.

At the same time, other anti-imperialist organisations emerged in Algeria. In 1926, the North African Star alliance was founded in France which demanded that Algeria should be granted independence. The setting up of the Congress of Arab Public Figures in Algeria in 1927 was a noteworthy event; it expressed itself in favour of extending the suffrage to the Arabs and abolishing the Native Code. The French authorities strove to put down the growing patriotic movement in Algeria. They banned national organisations and subjected their leaders and members to imprisonment.

In the years of the world economic crisis grain prices fell in Algeria, exports of olive oil diminished, the sown area was decreased and the extraction of raw materials was cut down. Many workers found themselves without a job, and many peasants were ruined.

In the 1930s the anti-imperialist struggle in Algeria became more vigorous. In 1931, yet another influential organisation among the national forces appeared, the Association of Ulemas (scholars). In August 1934 there was a big protest by the Algerian peasantry against the expropriation of their lands by the French. In the autumn of 1935 protests were also staged by the Algerians against the French tax and legal inspectors. The Algerian Communists, who dissociated from the French Communist Party into an independent party in 1936, played an increasingly important role in the national liberation movement. They campaigned for the withdrawal of French troops and for the complete independence of the Algerian people. An important place in the activity of the Communist Party was occupied by the campaign to establish democratic freedoms in Algeria, for the disbandment of fascist organisations, etc. The Communists protected the economic interests of the workers, tried to gain wage rises, and a shorter working day of eight hours, unemployment benefit, and a halt to expropriation of the lands belonging to the Algerian peasants.

The Communists were the initiators of the Popular Front

movement in Algeria. They set up a Committee of Popular Unity which actively campaigned for progressive reforms in the country. In 1936, a Moslem Congress was convened in Algeria which adopted the National Charter. The convocation of this and the subsequent congresses reflected the growth in the unity of the progressive forces in Algeria in the course of their struggle for democratic reforms and against French colonialism. The mounting anti-imperialist movement led to the emergence of the Algerian People's Party in 1937 and of the Algerian Popular Union in 1938. Thus, the national liberation forces in Algeria evolved and grew strong, thereby paving the way for the development of a mass militant movement in the future to champion complete independence for the country.

MOROCCO

Before 1912 Morocco was an independent state but then it was partitioned between France and Spain.[1] France established its protectorate over the territory seized by it in Morocco. At that time, Morocco was a backward, feudal country where vestiges of a primitive communal system persisted in the mountain regions. The greater part of the population (90 per cent) was engaged in crop cultivation and livestock breeding. The French colonisers seized the best land, took charge of the extracting industry, the fisheries, the railways, the ports and so forth. In preserving the colonial power of the Sultan, France did in fact subjugate to itself the whole of political life in Morocco. The Moroccan patriots immediately rose in the liberation struggle, which, under the influence of the October Revolution, became considerably more vigorous. The section of the French Communist Party founded in Morocco in 1920 joined in this struggle. At the beginning of the 1920s the tribes in the mountain province of Rif in the Spanish zone of Morocco attained great success in armed struggle against the foreign invaders. In 1921, the Rif tribes headed by Abd al-Karim subjected the Spanish troops to a crushing defeat. Soon after this, on September 19, 1921, the chiefs of the

[1] The Canary Islands and the Spanish Sahara (now Western Sahara) were also colonies of Spain in North Africa.

tribes proclaimed the foundation of an independent Ril Republic, the president of which was Abd al-Karim. The congress of chieftains of the Rif tribes was made into the national assembly to which the supreme legislative and executive power in the republic belonged. The Rif Republic was a distinctive military alliance of the tribes, a military democracy. It set up its own regular army and repelled the Spanish invaders.

The French imperialists were seriously concerned by the emergence of the Rif Republic and in 1924 they began military operations against it. However, the Riffs repulsed the French attack and in 1925 they themselves launched an offensive. After this, France and Spain began a joint war against the Riffs (1925-1927) in which a 400,000-strong army fought. The Riffs put up heroic resistance but they were greatly outnumbered. The foreign colonisers attacked the Riffs with the very latest armaments, including combat planes. During the war the Riffs repeatedly appealed for peace, only demanding one thing, their own independent republic. But this is precisely what neither the French nor the Spanish imperialists desired. In the spring of 1927 the Spanish and French troops occupied the whole of Morocco. The Rif Republic thereby ceased to exist. The Rif war was the national liberation struggle of the peasant masses guided by the feudal patriarchal upper crust. It had a great influence on the shaping of the national liberation movement of the dependent peoples of North Africa.

After the Riffs had been defeated, for several years individual Moroccan tribes waged a struggle against the foreign colonisers. The French authorities continued military operations in Morocco right up to 1932.

In the 1930s new trends appeared in the national liberation struggle of the Moroccan people. The Moroccan bourgeoisie began to play a more vigorous part in it. As anti-imperialist sentiments became stronger during the crisis of 1929 to 1933 and the concomitant hardships increased, the colonial authorities decided to cause a split in the national movement, to pit the Arabs and Berbers against one another. According to the decree of May 16, 1930, the Sultan's legal bodies in Morocco were deprived of their prerogatives with regard to Berber courts. The latter were made subordinate to the French military authorities. In response to this, mass demonstrations of protest were held in Morocco which

were put down by the authorities.

At the end of 1934 the Moroccan nationalists set up the National Action Bloc whose programme provided for the convening of a national parliament and government, restriction of the powers of the French authorities, the promotion of education, and the introduction of social legislation. A delegation from the Bloc was sent to Paris to submit their demands to the government of France. However, the French authorities rejected the programme of the Moroccan national forces, which led to a wave of indignation in Morocco. The outlawing by France of the activity of the National Action Bloc led to the emergence of new national organisations in 1937, the Party for Satisfying National Demands and the Party of the Popular Movement.

In September 1937 big protests began in the towns of Meknes, Marrakesh, and others. However, the French authorities made short work of those who took part in these demonstrations.

The national liberation struggle in the countries of Maghrib in the 1920s and 1930s revealed the instability of foreign domination and paved the way for boosting a mass movement championing the independence of Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco.

Chapter 13

The Countries of Tropical and Southern Africa

After the First World War the greater part of Tropical Africa with the exception of Ethiopia and Liberia remained in colonial dependence of Britain, France, Spain, Belgium, and Portugal. From a social-economic point of view this was the most backward part of Africa. The national forces were in the incipient stages of their development. In many countries neither a working class nor a national bourgeoisie had taken shape. Nevertheless, the vanguard elements in the young but still small African intelligentsia already had progressive ideas. The outbursts of protest by the masses against foreign colonial oppression were becoming more common in Tropical Africa.

THE INDEPENDENT STATES

Ethiopia

At the time of the partitioning of Africa by the foreign imperialists, Ethiopia managed to defend its independence in a dogged armed struggle. However, its northern province, Eritrea, was seized by Italy. On the whole, Ethiopia remained a backward feudal country in which the vestiges of a clan tribal system persisted, slavery continued, and capitalism was gaining a footing at the same time. The peasants, who formed the most of the population in the country,

were burdened with exacting feudal obligations.

After the palace revolution in 1916 a dual power was established in the country's political life. Besides the Empress Zauditu the regent Tafari Makonnen held supreme power. The latter was the leader of the Young Ethiopians, who represented the interests of those feudal circles and the fairly small commercial bourgeoisie who were increasingly becoming involved in commodity relations. The Young Ethiopians put forward a programme of reform which provided for the centralisation of state power and the alleviation of social oppression, without affecting the basis of the feudal system.

The Young Ethiopians opposed the big feudal lords and the clergy (the Old Ethiopians) who were against any kind of reform and supported the Empress. They were in charge of the most important ministries and the top posts in the provinces but as commodity-money relations developed the Old Ethiopians lost their positions.

In the epoch started by the October Revolution in Russia the activity of the popular masses in Ethiopia's political life became more vigorous. In 1918, big riots occurred among the soldiers who protested against the conservative government circles. The peasant masses also joined the movement. The Young Ethiopians managed to get decrees prohibiting the slave trade adopted in 1918 and 1923-1924. The institution of slavery was limited by these decrees but not completely abolished. But this reform also called forth resistance on the part of the Old Ethiopians. Armed struggle began between the Young and the Old Ethiopians. In 1928, Tafari Makonnen quashed two rebellions by the Old Ethiopians after which he received the highest monarchic title (negus) and did in fact remove the Empress from power. After her death in November 1930 he was proclaimed Emperor of Ethiopia under the name of Haile Selassie I.

At the beginning of the 1930s Ethiopia was still a poorly developed agrarian country. The manufacturing industry had evolved to a certain extent. There were mills, butteries, saw mills, soap-boiling factories, weaving workshops, rope factories and breweries. In the mining industry the extraction of platinum, gold, saltpetre, and mica was developed. Italians dominated at most important enterprises. Foreigners were mainly in charge of foreign trade as well. The national bourgeoisie and the proletariat were extremely

weak. The world economic crisis struck the Ethiopian economy hard and caused the situation of the working masses to deteriorate.

Certain reforms were carried out in this period in Ethiopia. The concession of the Bank of Abyssinia which belonged to the British was bought up, and a National Bank founded. Among other measures of a similar type there was a monetary reform and improvement of the tax system. The building of highways was expanded and model estates and farms were organised. In 1931 and 1935, yet another two laws were passed to combat slavery. In actual fact, however, the abolition of this outmoded institution was achieved rather slowly. In 1931, a constitution was adopted for the first time which consolidated the centralisation o.f the state and the power of the Emperor. The latter had legislative initiative and Parliament only approved bills proposed by the Emperor. The higher strata of the population alone had the franchise. In the 1930s a series of measures was taken to improve the fighting capacity of the country's army. In this period national culture also evolved to a certain extent.

However, Ethiopia developed in what was for it a complicated international situation. The imperialist powers, France, Italy, and Britain, were waging a struggle to penetrate into Ethiopia's economy and subordinate it to their own interests. They worked out a plan for partitioning Ethiopia into their own spheres of influence. Italy became particularly active at the beginning of the 1930s. To consolidate its colonial possessions in Africa Italian imperialism had long had aggressive designs with regard to Ethiopia, which was richly endowed with raw materials and occupied an advantageous strategic position. From the autumn of 1934 Italy started organising provocations against Ethiopia. In this period, under the guise of "non-interference", France and Britain consented to the seizure of Ethiopia by Italy. Taking advantage of the connivance of the French and British imperialists, the Italian fascists began military operations against the Ethiopian state on October 3, 1935. The Ethiopian people rose to defend their country and waged a just defensive war, but they were greatly outnumbered. The Ethiopians did not have modern arms and frequently operated separately whereas the Italians used modem tanks, aircraft, and the latest artillery against the Ethiopian troops,

and to crown it all, began to use chemical agents.

On December 9, 1935, Britain and France signed an agreement on the partitioning of Ethiopia (the Hoare-Laval plan) and the USA, which had passed a law on neutrality in August 1935, refused to sell Ethiopia arms. In May 1936, Ethiopia was seized by Italian troops. Germany, Austria, Hungary, Japan, Britain, France, and Turkey recognised Italy's seizure of Ethiopia.

The seizure of Ethiopia was only possible thanks to the assistance that the imperialists in other countries rendered the Italian fascists. Of the big powers, only the Soviet Union stood up for the Ethiopian people. The Soviet government came out in favour of taking energetic measures against the aggressor and got the Council of the League of Nations to adopt the corresponding resolution on October 7, 1935. The USSR's stand found an extensive positive response among the peace-loving circles of world's democratic public. The communist parties, the trade unions, and the democratic organisations conducted massive campaigns of protest against the Italian aggressors. In the movement of protest an active part was played by the peoples of Africa and Asia. In the Union of South Africa, in Kenya, and Egypt big meetings and demonstrations of solidarity with the people of Ethiopia took place. The Communist Parties of Egypt, Syria, Palestine, Iraq, Algeria, and Tunisia appealed to the peoples in all countries to demand of the aggressors "Hands Off Ethiopia! ". These protests inspired in all the fighters against colonial oppression the hope that the cause of independence of the Ethiopian people would be triumphant.

LIBERIA

Liberia is a small state in the west of Equatorial Africa which was formed in the mid-19th century when free Black American slaves, whose emigration from the USA to Africa was organised by an American Colonisation Society, joined up their settlements. By the beginning of the 20th century Liberia had lost almost half of its territory to colonisers from Britain and France and financially it was greatly dependent upon these countries. In 1917, there were approximately 20,000 Americo-Liberians (as the settlers from

the USA called themselves) who wanted to gain for themselves a privileged position, by means of money and weapons, compared with the one million of indigenous inhabitants. For this reason armed clashes between the country's indigenous inhabitants and the settlers repeatedly flared up.

The Americo-Liberians occupied the main posts in the administrative apparatus, had their own plantations and carried on trade. On the basis of their dominating positions in the country the bureaucratic and comprador bourgeoisie took shape which founded the party of Genuine Wigs in 1869. The indigenous Liberians were at a stage of patriarchal relations with communal ownership of the land.

At the beginning of 1918 Liberia went to war on the side of the Entente countries, allowing them to set up military bases on its territory. When the war ended, American capital began to penetrate actively into its economy. In 1926, the President of the biggest US monopoly, Harvey Firestone, obtained an advantageous concession in Liberia to cultivate rubber. According to an agreement he leased 400,000 hectares of land for 99 years to cultivate rubber. For each hectare he only paid 14.85 cents plus one per cent of the overall value of rubber exports. Firestone got the right to build roads and railways and also a port in Liberia. He was provided with the necessary manpower. Liberia obtained a loan of five million dollars at an annual interest rate of seven per cent. Soon Firestone founded a bank and established control over Liberia's foreign trade. A system of cruel exploitation of labour was introduced on the rubber plantations. All this brought Firestone colossal profits.

The indigenous peoples in the country protested against the intensifying oppression on the part of foreign and local exploiters. In 1931, the Kru people, who lived in the country's littoral areas, appealed to the government with a request to postpone tax payments. In reply to the "recalcitrant" Kru troops were sent to suppress their protest.

THE COUNTRIES UNDER BRITISH DOMINATION

These countries were Sudan (Anglo-Egyptian), Nigeria, the Gold Coast (now Ghana), Gambia, Sierra Leone, British Somalia (now part of the state of Somalia), Kenya, Uganda,

Tanganyika and Zanzibar (now the united state of Tanzania), Nyasaland (now Malawi), Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia), Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe), Bechuanaland (now Botswana), Basutoland (now Lesotho), Swaziland, the British dominion of the Union of South Africa (now the Republic of South Africa) and its mandated territory, the former German colony of South-West Africa (now Namibia).

SUDAN (ANGLO-EGYPTIAN)

From 1899 Sudan was formally under the joint control (condominium) of Britain and Egypt. In actual fact, all supreme military and civilian power was in the hands of the British. The government of Sudan was formed of the British, and the heads of the provinces were the British governors. The British colonisers made it their aim to turn Sudan into a big cotton producer. Owing to this, an extensive irrigation system was set up, new railways were built, the first industrial enterprises appeared and the national bourgeoisie, proletariat and intelligentsia emerged. In 1929, the cotton produced already accounted for 70 per cent of the total exports.

The Sudanese national forces waged a constant struggle against the colonisers. Influenced by the revolutionary events in Russia and Egypt, anti-imperialist demonstrations and rallies were held in various towns and cities of Sudan from 1918 to 1920. The British authorities were forced to enlist the feudal upper crust in the management of the country. In 1922, they introduced the so-called system of "indirect rule" by means of which the big feudal lords and the chiefs of the tribes became paid officials in the colonial apparatus. A considerable part (two-thirds) of Sudan's territory was proclaimed closed and pre-capitalist relations persisted there. The Sudanese from other regions were not permitted to enter the closed regions.

The patriots of Sudan did not agree to compromise with the British. In 1924, they set up an underground organisation, the White Flag League, headed by the officer Ali Abd al-Latif. Anti-British protests were staged under its leadership and ruthlessly quashed by the colonial authorities. In that same year, in connection with the assassina-

tion of the Governor-General of Sudan, Sir Lee Stack, the British withdrew the Egyptian troops and officials from Sudan and made numerous arrests.

The telling consequences of the world economic crisis of 1929-1933 caused the standard of living of Sudan's population to deteriorate drastically. Consequently, an increasing wave of the anti-British protests swept the country. In 1931, the students at Khartoum College went on strike; in 1936, the Sudanese protested in solidarity with the Egyptians against the unequal Anglo-Egyptian treaty. In 1937, the Graduates' General Congress (representing the intelligentsia and officials who had graduated from institutions of higher education) came into being which began to effect progressive propaganda activity, championed reform in the sphere of health protection and education. Gradually the forces matured in Sudan which were capable of waging an active campaign against British domination.

NIGERIA

Nigeria like Gambia, the Gold Coast (Ghana) and Sierra Leone was part of the colony of British West Africa. In Nigeria the British relied for support on the emirs and the chiefs of the tribes whom they turned into their own paid officials. They introduced a direct monetary tax on the population which promoted the development of bourgeois relations. The colonisers also managed to turn Nigeria into an important producer of palm products, cocoa beans, and groundnuts, and make it a producer of mineral raw materials, tin, and coal. The Lagos-Kano railway was built. The first groups of the working class and the national bourgeoisie appeared. After the First World War the imperialists intensified their exploitation of the Nigerian people and their resources.

The population of Nigeria, who lived in tremendous poverty, repeatedly rose in struggle against their oppressors. In June 1918 and the summer of 1919, peasant riots flared up in a number of provinces in the country. The increased burden of taxes was the reason for this protest. The peasants destroyed the enterprises belonging to foreigners, smashed up the railways, and tore down the telegraph wires. The British colonial authorities quashed the uprising of the

Nigerian peasants in an extremely cruel manner.

The upsurge of the anti-imperialist movement led to the appearance of the first national organisations. In 1920, a branch of the National Congress of British West Africa came into being in Nigeria. It began to publish its own newspaper, the *West African Nationhood.* Then, in 1922, the Nigerian National Democratic Party was formed. As anti-imperialist sentiments became more common, the colonial authorities made certain small concessions. In 1922, they introduced the "Clifford Constitution" (named after the governor of Nigeria) in accordance with which a Legislative Council was set up comprising 46 members, including ten Africans. The National Democratic Party took part in the elections and won three seats from Lagos.

Owing to the pernicious effect of the world economic crisis, the struggle of the working people of Nigeria acquired a new scale. When in 1929 the colonial authorities increased the taxes imposed on the inhabitants of the eastern provinces of Nigeria mass demonstrations occurred there. Thousands of demonstrators, mainly women, demanded that the extortionate taxes should be abolished and the fixed purchasing price for palm oil raised. The demonstrators also demanded that the Whites should go back to their own country. The colonisers fired on this demonstration, killing nearly 80 women and children and wounding many others. The Aba Revolt, as this protest began to be called, suffered defeat owing to its lack of organisation and its spontaneity.

But it gave a fresh impetus to the growth of the various Nigerian organisations, frequently set up according to tribal affiliation. In 1933, representatives of the intelligentsia of Lagos set up an organisation called the Lagos Youth Movement. It aimed to get Nigerians access to administrative bodies. In 1938, this organisation, which had been renamed the Nigerian Youth Movement by that time, published its pre-election charter in which its own tasks and goals were formulated. "The main aim of NYM," its leaders announced, "is to create a single Nigerian nation by uniting all the peoples inhabiting Nigeria. We shall support all the forces that facilitate the creation of an atmosphere of understanding and a feeling of common national affiliation of the different peoples in the country. We shall fight against all the trends which may threaten the progress of

unification in the country." The Nigerian Youth Movement demanded that Nigeria should be granted autonomy and that Nigerians should be given the right to control the country's internal affairs themselves. At the elections to the Legislative Council in 1938 the NYM candidates obtained all three seats from Lagos. The authority of the NYM rapidly grew. The first President of Nigeria, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, began his activity in its ranks. The Nigerian Youth Movement created the prerequisites for activating the national liberation movement of the Nigerian people.

THE GOLD COAST

During British colonial domination this country with a population of 2,300,000 (1921) produced cocoa beans. The big planters sold their yields to the British who delivered the cocoa beans to the world market. Moreover, gold and manganese ore were extracted in this colony. At the beginning of the 20th century a working class and a national bourgeoisie had already taken shape in the colony. In 1915, the first trade union of drivers came into being.

The country was completely controlled by the British. The Legislative Council, in which there were only six Africans by the end of the First World War, was answerable to the British governor. These Africans only comprised a small share of the entire Council, and their influence on the country's political life was quite insignificant. After the war the national forces of the Gold Coast began to campaign for a reform of the Legislative Council. In March 1920 the conference took place of representatives of the African population of the Gold Coast, Nigeria, Gambia and Sierra Leone at which an organisation called the National Congress of British West Africa was set up. This organisation, in which the leading part was played by the journalist and scientist J.E.Casely Hayford (1866-1930), was in favour of granting Africans the right to send their own elected representatives to the local legislative councils. This moderate demand was not supported either by the British or the local feudal circles. Being paid officials of the colonisers, the latter regarded themselves as representatives of the interests of the local population.

The peasants spearheaded their anger not only at the for-

eign colonisers but at the latter's underlings as well. In the Gold Coast colony in 1919-1924 they forced 41 tribal chiefs, who had kowtowed to the colonisers, to step down.

To prevent the growth of the anti-imperialist movement the British authorities introduced a new Constitution in 1925 according to which the three major towns were granted the right to elect one representative each to the Legislative Council. In 1927 the first college was opened in Achimoto. Among its graduates there was also the future president of Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah.

During the world economic crisis the peasants and workers of the Gold Coast were in an exceptionally disastrous position. Moreover, in 1931 the British decided to impose a direct tax on the population. In response to this, the peasants staged a series of protests against the taxes, and against the drop in the purchasing price of cocoa beans. At the end of 1932 there was a peasant uprising in the Bensu district. The proletarian masses also joined the anti-imperialist movement. Thus, the workers in gold-fields of Kumasi staged a strike in September 1932. In subsequent years they and the workers of other enterprises as well again went on strike. In a number of places there were sanguinary clashes between those involved in the anti-tax protests and the police. In the final count, the British renounced their decision regarding taxes and prices. However, after the crisis, they tried to keep the fixed prices of cocoa beans at a low level. This led to a boycott on the part of the cocoa producers which lasted from October 1937 to April 1938. The colonisers were forced to give way.

GAMBIA AND SIERRA LEONE

Similar processes have evolved in Gambia and Sierra Leone. The workers were very vigorous in their activity in Sierra Leone. Thus, the railwaymen's trade union, which was set up during the First World War, called a successful strike in 1919. However, the campaign of this trade union in 1926 for wage rises and for a shorter working day was quashed by the authorities and the union was suppressed. In Sierra Leone the National Congress of British West Africa and the Youth League championed demands similar to those made by their counterparts in

Nigeria and the Gold Coast.

In the period between the two wars the liberation movement came into being in Gambia. Its representatives joined in setting up the National Congress of British West Africa. In 1929, the dockers and the sailors staged a successful strike in Bathurst (now Banjul— *Tr.*) and got the authorities to recognise their own trade union. However, this union was subsequently abolished.

But on the whole the anti-imperialist forces in British West Africa were consolidated in this period.

KENYA

Before the First World War, in East Africa Kenya, Uganda, and Zanzibar belonged to Britain, and Tanganyika to Germany. After the war, Tanganyika also became a British possession. In Kenya the colonisers acquired the best lands for themselves and founded settlements there. On the big plantations coffee, sisal, and tea were produced by the cheap labour of the Africans. Soon after the First World War the British colonisers intensified their exploitation of the Kenyan population. They compelled the African tenants to work 180 days per year for the European colonisers, the owners of the land, essentially legalising forced labour. In 1920, the colonisers introduced a system of special passes for the Africans in Kenya which served as a means of preventing the agricultural workers from quitting the plantations. Then the British authorities introduced a law on the compulsory labour conscription of African men. The rise in taxes and the decrease in the wages of the Africans activated their participation in the anti-imperialist struggle. Besides the peasants and workers, the emerging local bourgeoisie and the intelligentsiajoined the movement.

In the summer of 1921 the Africans held a rally in the environs of Nairobi, protesting against wage cuts. Those who attended the rally proclaimed the establishment of a Young Kikuyu Association headed by the African office employee Harry Thuku. This first anti-imperialist organisation in the history of Kenya campaigned against expropriation of land, and began to draw up a petition to be submitted to the British king. Then the authorities arrested Harry Thuku, and this provoked a mass political

demonstration in March 1922. The British ruthlessly put down this protest by the Kenyan working people, killing 150 workers. The association ceased to exist.

To consolidate their own domination, back in 1921 the British put forward the idea of founding a federation of British possessions in East Africa comprised of Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika. At the suggestion of a commission headed by Ormsby-Gore which was sent specially to East Africa in 1925, a body of this federation was set up in 1927 consisting of the governors of the three countries. However, the African population of these countries resolutely opposed the foundation of this federation, and the British were forced to abandon the idea.

At the end of the 1920s and the beginning of the 1930s a new upsurge in the anti-imperialist movement occurred in Kenya. The Central Kikuyu Association emerged in the country whose programme advanced the following demands: that expropriation of the Africans' lands should cease, that the Africans should be granted political rights, that they should be represented in the Legislative Council, that the chiefs and members of the local councils should be elected, and that European and African industrial and office workers be granted equal rights. The Association, together with other similar organisations, was active in conducting propaganda and agitation, but in 1940 it was banned.

Concomitantly, anti-imperialist protests were staged by the Kenyan masses. In 1932, the peasant masses made anti-imperialist protests in the Kakamega region in response to the expropriation of their lands by the colonial authorities. Unrest among the Kenyan peasants continued right up until the beginning of the Second World War.

UGANDA

In Uganda the British colonisers found support among the local feudal lords. They handed over to the feudal lords a considerable part of the communal lands, turning some of the peasants into tenants. Vast areas of land were taken over by the British. The Africans who cultivated these lands paid monetary taxes.

After the First World War the anti-imperialist movement

began to gain in strength in Uganda. In 1918, the first political organisation of the African population, the Young Buganda Association (Buganda is one of the provinces of Uganda) came into being. In 1921, the Association of Bataka (peasants) was founded. The two organisations merged, taking the name of the latter. The Association demanded that Africans should have access to the local bodies of government and that their lands should be returned to them. In 1927, a law was passed in Uganda which somewhat limited the arbitrariness of the feudal lords. The peasants gained the inheritable right to rent land. After this law was passed, the Bataka Association disbanded itself.

In the 1930s Uganda became a major producer of cotton within the framework of the British Empire. Among-the cotton producers a group of Ugandans formed, mainly of Asian origin, who comprised the local bourgeoisie. Before the Second World War Uganda had approximately 80,000 workers, who were also involved in the anti-imperialist movement. In 1939, a trade union of African drivers came into being. A noteworthy role in the anti-imperialist movement was played by the political organisation Sons of Kintu, which was formed in 1938 (Kintu was the mythical founder of the African state of Buganda which existed from the 15th to 19th centuries). The new organisation opposed economic discrimination against the Africans and campaigned for the democratisation of the life of society, but it was soon banned.

TANGANYIKA AND ZANZIBAR

In Tanganyika the British established a system of indirect rule and developed a plantation economy. The best lands were expropriated by the British colonisers. In Zanzibar the power of the Sultan was retained and a large part of the lands remained in the possession of the Arab feudal lords. Zanzibar became a producer of cloves and clove oil.

In 1924, workers in Tanganyika were prohibited by law from leaving their jobs. In cases where the law was violated a fine was enforced or even a term of imprisonment of up to six months. Just as in Kenya male Africans were obliged to take part in public works. All this meant that hired labour could be used on an ever more extensive scale. On the

eve of the Second World War there were 310,000 workers in Tanganyika.

The peasants' dissatisfaction with the colonial regime expressed itself in their struggle against the purchasing agents: marketing cooperatives were set up at the end of the 1920s. In 1929, the Association of Africans of Tanganyika was formed which conducted cultural and educational work among the African population. During the world economic crisis of 1929-1933 trade unions appeared in Tanganyika. In 1932, 12,000 miners in the gold-fields went on strike, demanding higher wages. The strike was quashed. The authorities imposed a similar ban on the establishment of workers' associations. At that time, the dockers in Dar Es Salaam went on strike, demanding better living and working conditions.

NYASALAND, NORTHERN RHODESIA, SOUTHERN RHODESIA

These three countries were also colonies of Great Britain. In Southern Rhodesia the British seized the gold-bearing areas and the fertile lands. By the end of the First World War there were already approximately 30,000 inhabitants of European origin in the country out of a total population of 850,000. They set up large plantations growing tobacco and maize. The mining industry was also developed to a certain extent.

In Northern Rhodesia lead, zinc and copper deposits were worked. There, just as in Southern Rhodesia, the best fertile lands were seized by the colonisers. The local African population was driven into reservations. But there were fewer colonisers in Northern Rhodesia (3,000 to 950,000 Africans). There were even fewer colonisers (approximately 1,000) in Nyasaland. The difficult climatic conditions for Europeans and the lack of prospected minerals did not attract white settlers there.

After the First World War Britain changed the status of Southern and Northern Rhodesia, where the British South Africa Company had been completely in charge before that. Following a referendum conducted among the colonisers in August 1922, Southern Rhodesia had become a "white" colony with a parliament, the deputies to which were elect-

ed solely by white men. Six months later Northern Rhodesia was proclaimed a British protectorate. After this, the accelerated colonisation of both the Rhodesias began. The Africans got nothing out of the new status of these states.

The British authorities paid great attention to the landed possessions in Southern Rhodesia. In 1926, they sent a special commission there. A Land Apportionment Act was passed as a result of its activities in 1930. In accordance with this law there appeared regions in the country which were exclusively populated by Europeans. Africans were not allowed to own lands in these regions. They were settled in 94 reservations. The well-to-do Africans there had the right to buy land and set up farms. As a result of this law a large part of the land was taken away from the Africans, which led to the mass impoverishment of the local peasants. Similar legislation was passed in Northern Rhodesia in 1928-1929. The Native Purchase Areas Regulation was issued in Nyasaland in 1936. Although reservations were not set up in this colony, the African population suffered from a lack of land. The European planters seized the best lands in Nyasaland. Many Africans were forced to rent land from the white men and work for them as hired labourers. An insignificant part of the African peasantry became wealthy farmers.

In the period between the two wars the mining industry developed both in Northern and Southern Rhodesia. Gold extraction continued, and deposits of asbestos, chromium ore, tin, tungsten, antimony, coal, copper, and cobalt began to be worked. At the end of the 1930s Northern Rhodesia was a leading producer of copper and cobalt. In Southern Rhodesia almost 90,000 people were engaged in the mining industry in 1937.

The situation of the local African population, the peasants and the workers, remained exceptionally hard. Besides the savage exploitation, they experienced the yoke of racial discrimination and the concomitant restrictions and lack of rights. Gradually, the class and national struggles of the African population in these three countries began to gain in strength. In 1935, the first big strike was staged at the copper mines in Northern Rhodesia, the reason for it being the low level of wages and the discriminatory labour conditions. With the help of the armed forces the authorities put down the strike, killing six people

and wounding 22.

The ties between the working people in these three countries and the population of the Union of South Africa promoted the development of class and national consciousness. In the Union of South Africa a national association of Nyasalanders emerged which championed the interests of its countrymen who lived in the Union of South Africa. In Southern Rhodesia an Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union and the Rhodesia Bantu Voters' Association were founded. In both the Rhodesias Welfare Associations came into being which united the intelligentsia and the other urban strata. In Nyasaland a religious organisation was formed under the name of the Watchtower and then the "native associations" appeared. All these were the embryos of the national organisations.

BECHUANALAND, BASUTOLAND, SWAZILAND

Formally regarded as protectorates of Great Britain, these countries were in fact its colonies. In all these countries, the British established a system of indirect rule. From an economic and political point of view these protectorates were affiliated to the Union of South Africa. The population of these countries was engaged in livestock breeding and subsistence farming. Many Africans left to earn money in the Union of South Africa.

The British did not bother much about developing a system of education and medical services for the population in these countries. Nevertheless, certain successes were attained in education in Basutoland thanks to the efforts of the more advanced representatives of the local population. In the period between the two wars the country had more literate inhabitants than any other in Africa.

In political life the British relied on the power of the chiefs, using the contradictions among the ruling tribal elite in their own interests. However, their policy was not always successful. Thus, in Swaziland, as a result of the struggle with the princess regent, the young heir came out on top and in 1922 became the supreme ruler under the name of Sobhuza II. Once he was in power he demanded that the British should return the lands taken away from the Africans. The ruler rallied about him considerable strata of the

population of Swaziland, thereby arousing the hatred of the British colonisers.

In Bechuanaland, after the three-year-long struggle for power (1923-1926) Chekede Khama became the regent and protested against the British domination. In 1933, Chekede subjected to public flogging a white man by the name of Mackintosh for "insulting African women". The British authorities attempted to remove Chekede from power with the help of punitive forces, but failed. Remaining the regent until 1951, Chekede continued to pursue an anti-imperialist policy and managed to restrict the power of the British in the country.

The anti-colonial movement assumed the most vigorous character in Basutoland where it was headed by the progressive intelligentsia. The Progressive Association of Basutoland founded in 1916 pressed for access to education, trade and government for Africans. In 1918, the Africans who were in Europe as soldiers of the Labour Corps returned to the country. They disseminated the liberation ideas among the local population, told them about the revolutionary events in Russia and protested against the foreign colonisers and chiefs of the tribes at rallies. In 1918, the programme of the Poor League, which became the vanguard force in the anti-imperialist struggle, was worked out. The League set its goal as the abolition of the system of colonial rule. By the mid-1920s it had become a mass organisation. From 1928 onwards, the League maintained close cooperation with the Communist Party of South Africa and the African National Congress. It played no small part in the campaign to prevent the inclusion of Basutoland in the Union of South Africa where a racialist white supremacy regime reigned.

THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

In 1910, a British dominion, the Union of South Africa (now the Republic of South Africa), was formed from the two British colonies, Natal and Cape Colony, and the Boer states, the Orange Free State and Transvaal. Its total population was approximately seven million of whom 20 per cent were whites and the rest Africans and people of Asian origin (three per cent Indians). The main occupation of the

population was farming. The white farmers went over to commerical livestock breeding and crop cultivation (the production of wool and wine for export). However, land was expropriated from the indigenous population and handed over to the colonisers or retained as a reserve. The Africans could run independent farms only on the reservations which comprised less than 13 per cent of the country's territory. As a rule, the inferior lands were allotted to the reservations. Accoring to the law of 1913, only corvee was permitted provided that the Africans would work no less than 90 days per year for the white farmers. The lack of land and the taxes forced the Africans to go and work at industrial enterprises or on the farms of the white colonisers.

The mining industry developed rapidly owing to the extraction of diamonds and gold, and railways were built. Large monopoly associations appeared among which De Beers, the diamond company of Cecil Rhodes, was noteworthy. Britain intensively invested capital in South Africa. Proletarianisation of the African population was going ahead rapidly.

During the First World War economic development in the Union of South Africa gathered momentum. The country began to supply itself with many goods which it had formerly imported and increased its exports of agricultural produce. The extraction of coal, gold, and the products of the mining industry as a whole grew. In 1920, there were already 7,000 enterprises of the manufacturing industry, compared with 4,000 in 1915. An iron and steel state-monopoly trust (ISCOR) appeared. The working class swelled correspondingly. Along with the British and Boers, there was a steep rise in the number of African workers. Thus, there were almost 270,000 African miners alone by 1920. Many of the African workers were employed in unskilled jobs.

Owing to the crisis of 1920-1921 world gold prices fell, causing the economic situation in the Union of South Africa to deteriorate and leading to a rise in the cost of living. The social and national contradictions in the country became more acute. Racialism on the part of the white population acquired even more cynical forms with regard to the coloureds. The peoples of the Union of South Africa were increasingly involved in the class and anti-imperialist strug-

gle. The International Socialist League (South Africa), which came into being in 1915 and united the vanguard representatives of the intelligentsia and workers of European origin, was very vigorous in its activity. Under the influence of the October Revolution in Russia Marxist internationalist ideas took root in the League. In the Declaration of Principles, approved at the 4th Congress of the League (January 1919) the goals of the struggle by the working class of the Union of South Africa were proclaimed to be a proletarian revolution (the path of which had already been cleared by the glorious socialist revolution in Russia on November 7, 1917), and the founding of a Socialist Republic of South Africa. The declaration called for solidarity among the white and coloured workers.

The League strove to disseminate revolutionary ideas among the masses, and issued leaflets for this purpose. These leaflets contained the following appeals: "Down with British militarism!", "Down with allied intervention against Russia!" and "Down with the capitalists in all countries!" At the Constituent Congress in Cape Town in mid-1921 the League united with other socialist groups to form the Communist Party of South Africa. William Henry Andrews and Sydney P. Bunting were among its leaders. The League's weekly *International* became the organ of the Communist Party. Somewhat later the Zulu, Albert Nzulu, was elected secretary of the Party's Central Committee. In spite of its small membership, the Communist Party of South Africa actively championed the interests of the country's working population (both whites and coloured alike).

The African National Congress founded in 1912, the organisation called Industrial Workers of Africa, the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of Africa, and other trade unions played a noteworthy part in the workers' and anti-imperialist movement concurrently with the Communist Party of South Africa. The African National Congress championed the granting of the lands to the African peasants, the abolition of forced labour, the elimination of racial prejudice, tax cuts, and so forth. All these organisations joined in the workers' strikes. In 1918, civil servants in Johannesburg went on strike. Concurrently, tens of thousands of African miners in Witwatersrand boycotted the shops belonging to the mine owners for two months. In 1919, the dockers and railwaymen went on strike and in

1920 tens of thousands of miners.

One of the major protests at the beginning of the twenties was the strike by the white miners of Witwatersrand in January 1922, when tens of thousands of people went on strike to protest against wage cuts. The Communists, who explained to the strikers the need for all the workers to unite, irrespective of the colour of their skin, played an important part in the strike. Many Communists were elected to the strike's leading bodies. In March 1922, the strike ended in an armed clash between the workers and a twenty-thousand-strong army (the Red Revolt). For five days, the workers, almost unarmed, fought heroically against the regular troops. Many of them were killed and approximately five thousand were arrested. The leaders of the revolt were hanged.

Taking into account the experience of class battles, the ruling circles in the Union of South Africa revised their policy considerably. They were aware of the danger posed by the possible union of white and coloured workers and set about using racial prejudice to further the split in the workers' movement. They began to create a privileged situation for white workers. Consequently, the activity of the white workers in the class struggle drastically abated in the following years.

The alliance between the landowners of European origin and the British industrialists was increasingly consolidated in the political life of the Union of South Africa. The South African Party headed the government until 1924. Until 1919, the head of government was Louis Botha, who was replaced by Jan Christian Smuts. The successive governments of the Union of South Africa were in favour of compromise with the British. This policy was opposed by the Nationalist Party, which expressed the interests of the extreme nationalists of European origin (Boers or Afrikaners). The members of this party were demagogically opposed to the British and campaigned for the complete state sovereignty of the Union of South Africa. Simultaneously, they preached extreme racialism, advanced the myth about the "Black threat" and suggested that a "colour bar" should be set up to preserve the privileged position of the Afrikaners.

The Nationalist Party attained considerable success at the elections in 1924, and drawing support from the deputies of the Labour Party, formed a cabinet headed by their

leader James Hertzog. The new government passed a number of laws further increasing the exploitation and inequality of the African population. Whites were to take over from Africans all the qualified jobs at institutions and private firms. Africans were not permitted to obtain engine drivers' licences, mining technologists' diplomas, etc. Ghettos, where the coloured people were resettled, were set up in the towns and cities.

During the world economic crisis of 1929-1933 world diamond prices fell, causing many mines to be closed and swelling the army of unemployed. Famine ensued from the drought of 1931. Many peasants fled to the towns and cities from the reservations. The exacerbation of class contradictions and the increased racialism led to a more intensive struggle in the Union of South Africa.

Left-wing sentiments became stronger in workers' and national organisations. The left wing took over the leadership of the African National Congress. The Communist Party of South Africa put great efforts into creating trade unions of African workers (the African Federation of Trade Unions). The Communists strove to promote and strengthen a united national front. In mid-1929, the Communist Party and other national organisations formed the League of African Rights as an organisation embracing a broad national front. The League protested against the government's racialist laws, and demanded that Africans should be granted democratic and civil rights. At the suggestion of the League, December 16 (in memory of the battle between the Africans and the Boers in 1838) was proclaimed the democratic forces' manifestation day. Big demonstrations and rallies were held on that day in 1930. The police perpetrated sanguinary reprisals against the demonstrators. After this, the League fell apart.

The world economic crisis gave fresh impetus to the workers' and peasants' movement in the Union of South Africa. In 1930, there was peasant unrest in Cape province, and there was also a general strike of the railwaymen and port workers in East London. At that time, a mass movement was developing to campaign for the abolition of permits for the African population, by means of which all kinds of racial restrictions were imposed on the Africans. In Natal province in 1933 and 1934 the popular masses protested against the excessive taxes. The Communists played

an active part in this movement, setting up action committees in a number of villages. The population of the Union of South Africa also joined the movement of solidarity with the struggle of the Ethiopian people against Italian aggression. In the face of such a wide-scale effort, the government of the Union of South Africa was forced to resort to certain reforms as well as repressions. In 1936, the Natives Land and Trust Act was passed which provided for the allotment of land to Africans. As a result, the peasant movement waned somewhat, although the workers' unrest in the towns and cities did not cease.

In the first half of the thirties a certain regrouping took place in the ruling camp for internal and external reasons. Among the latter was the Statute of Westminster adopted in 1931, which considerably expanded the rights of the British dominions, including the Union of South Africa. This helped to smooth out some of the differences between the main bourgeois parties in the Union of South Africa. In 1933-1934, they merged to form the South African United Party and set up a coalition government whose Prime Minister was Hertzog and deputy Prime Minister Smuts. Some of the members of the former parties were opposed to the merger. The Anglophils set up the Dominion Party, which favoured closer ties with Great Britain. The extreme nationalists formed the Nationalist Party allied with the patently fascist organisations.

The coalition government continued to pursue a racialist policy. According to the 1937 Industrial Conciliation Act, Africans were proclaimed servants; they did not have the rights of workers and did not therefore have the right to set up trade unions. The Africans in Cape province were struck off the general electoral register. The group of natives formed from them could elect three deputies to the lower chamber of parliament, but these had to be of European origin.

In the second half of the thirties the fascist movement became more active in the Union of South Africa. This stemmed from racialism and also the hope that the Anglo-German conflict would undermine Great Britain's domination in South Africa. The big Boer landowners and bourgeoisie encouraged fascist and racialist organisations. One of these, the secret Union of Brothers, became a major political tool in the hands of South African reaction.

SOUTH-WEST AFRICA

After the First World War, the Union of South Africa received the mandate of the League of Nations to govern South-West Africa (Namibia), which had belonged to the German empire before the war. South-West Africa was a poor, underdeveloped country. Its natural resources had not yet been prospected. The German colonisers had set up horse and astrakhan sheep farms there and had engaged in livestock breeding. The mining of diamonds and copper had only just been started. The government of the Union of South Africa fairly swiftly took under its wing the whole of South-West Africa, resorting to armed punitive expeditions against the recalcitrant tribes. In May 1922 the Smuts cabinet sent 400 soldiers armed with machine-guns to South-West Africa, and also ordered the shelling of African villages. Approximately 100 people, women and children among them, were killed, and 150 were thrown into prison. In 1925, the Union of South Africa conducted a similar punitive operation against the metis community in the central part of South-West Africa. The cruel punitive acts perpetrated by the South African racialists against the population of South-West Africa were discussed at the League of Nations, but no sanctions at all were taken against the Union of South Africa.

The authorities in the Union of South Africa increasingly expropriated the lands of the tribes living in South-West Africa. It was partitioned into two zones, the police zone and the tribal zone. The greater part of South-West Africa (the south and central regions) was included in the police zone where Africans had been driven into reservations and could only move about if they had permits. The police zone was intended for the European colonisers. The latter did not settle in the tribal zone (the northern part of the country), and land there was not expropriated. In 1926, the authorities in the Union of South Africa decided to put up barbed wire round the reservations. They encouraged the resettlement of white colonisers from the Union of South Africa in South-West Africa. Consequently, at the end of the thirties there were four Whites to every ten Africans in the police zone.

To boost the development of the mining industry (the extraction of diamonds and copper) and farming, the South

African authorities began to encourage the enrolment of cheap African manpower at enterprises and on farms belonging to whites.

Politically, the authorities in the Union of South Africa insisted on complete annexation of South-West Africa. They did not, however, gain the consent of the League of Nations to do this. In 1925, a Legislative Assembly was set up in South-West Africa which consisted solely of white settlers. In 1934, on the demand of the government of the Union of South Africa, it took a decision on South-West Africa being annexed to South Africa. But this resolution did not receive support in the League of Nations either. Nevertheless, the South African racialists continued to pursue their policy of completely annexing South-West Africa.

THE COUNTRIES UNDER FRENCH DOMINATION

These countries were the following: Mauritania, French Sudan (now Mali), Upper Volta, Niger, Senegal, Chad, French Somalia (now Djibouti), French Guinea (now the Republic of Guinea), Ivory Coast, French Togo (now the Republic of Togo), Dahomey (now Benin), French Cameroon (now the Republic of Cameroon), Oubangui-Chari (now the Central African Republic), Gabon, Middle Congo (now the People's Republic of the Congo), and Madagascar (now the Democratic Republic of Madagascar).

France's extensive possessions in Africa expanded owing to the First World War, when it received part of the German colonies. The French colonial empire in Tropical Africa consisted of two governor-generalships—West Africa and Equatorial Africa, and also the colony of Madagascar and two mandated territories, Togo and Cameroon.

THE COUNTRIES OF FRENCH WEST AFRICA AND FRENCH EQUATORIAL AFRICA

The French colonisers exploited their colonies by means of trade and taxes, and using the forced labour of the Africans. In a number of places France granted a small part of the African population the right to French citizenship in the hope of providing itself with a social buttress in the

colonies. The situation in the mandated territories (Togo and Cameroon) hardly differed from that in the colonies.

From an economic point of view, these French possessions were extremely backward. Primitive patriarchal production prevailed. Slavery still persisted. In some regions (West and Central Sudan) feudal methods of exploitation were used, and the feudal rulers preserved their power (Chad, Upper Volta). Commodity production was developed in Senegal and Ivory Coast, where groundnuts, coffee and cocoa, intended for export, were cultivated. Hired labour was increasingly being used. In West Africa there were approximately 100,000 workers in the twenties, employed at the ports, on the railways, and on the plantations. There were also seasonal workers among the hired hands. There was, however, hardly any national bourgeoisie in these colonies.

In its colonies in Tropical Africa France mainly used a system of direct rule. The power of the local chieftains was considerably lessened. However, many of them received posts in the institutions of the colonial administration and formed a kind of reliable staff for the colonisers.

During the First World War natives of Tropical Africa fought in the French units (for example, 134,000 Senegal riflemen). When they returned home, they brought with them the ideas of liberation sown by the revolutionary events in Russia and other countries in Europe. Strikes and spontaneous protests by the masses flared up in the more developed centres of the colonial empire. In 1919, the railwaymen of Senegal went on strike and also the port workers and other workers in French Guinea. The revolts of the nomads in Sahara, which had begun back in the war years, continued (the Touaregs of Sahara, the Arabs of Mauritania and French Sudan).

In the post-war period France intensified its exploitation of the population of West and Equatorial Africa. Soon after the war the Minister for the Colonies, Albert Sarraut, worked out a fifteen-year plan for the economic development of the colonies (the Sarraut Plan) which envisaged the construction of railways and highways, the development of agriculture and so forth. The implementation of this plan meant a heavier burden of taxes on the African population and the expansion of the system of forced labour.

The French trading firms set up an extensive network of

purchasing posts and shops, exported raw materials and manufactured goods and encouraged a one-crop system: in Senegal—groundnuts, in Dahomey—palm oil, in French Guinea—bananas and pineapples, in Gabon—valuable types of timber, and in Ivory Coast, Togo, and Cameroon—coffee and cocoa. A number of colonies such as French Sudan, Upper Volta, Middle Congo and Oubangui-Chari provided manpower for the construction of roads and railways. As they were livestock-breeding countries, Chad, Niger, and Mauritania exported animal products.

Industry in the colonies was poorly developed. Besides timber mills, enterprises processing agricultural produce appeared. In some places, gold was extracted and in Middle Congo, copper ore. In the countries along the Atlantic seaboard, railways were constructed, making it possible to increase the export of raw materials and manufactured products from the French colonies. The railways were also of strategic significance to the colonisers in maintaining their domination.

The increasing exploitation, the extensive use of forced labour, and the deterioration of the living standard of the Africans activated the anti-imperialist movement in West and Equatorial Africa, which had become better organised. The progressive elements in the African population began to set up their own organisations. In Senegal a Young Senegalians movement appeared and in Dahomey, a Young Dahomeyans movement. In 1922, in Porto-Novo in Dahomey the Young Dahomeyans staged anti-French protests, which the colonial authorities suppressed by sending the troops in. There were also anti-imperialist protests in Cameroon, Togo, and other French colonies. In 1927, rebellions flared up in Chad, Middle Congo and Cameroon.

The world economic crisis of 1929-1933, hit hard the countries where a one-crop system was practised, such as Senegal, French Guinea, Ivory Coast, and Dahomey. The prices of the produce grown by them fell by 50-70 per cent. The ruined population of the colonies had to sell themselves and their children to the Europeans in slavery or flee to other countries. France was forced to cut taxes somewhat, to pare the apparatus of government in the colonies and decrease the funds needed to keep it there. During the crisis the colonisers forced the peasants in a number of colonies (Upper Volta, French Sudan) to produce cotton,

which was bought up at extremely low prices.

In the thirties the anti-imperialist movement in the French colonies became more vigorous, a greater part being played in it by the working class and the intelligentsia. In some of the colonies newspapers and the works of African writers began to be published. Progressive Africans criticised the colonial regime. Thanks to the activity of the French Communist Party, Marxist study groups emerged in a number of places (Senegal, French Sudan).

The victory of the Popular Front in France was of great significance for the liberation movement in the colonies. During its term of government the activity of the workers' organisations in the colonies was made legal. The first trade unions of Africans were set up in Senegal and Ivory Coast, and there were strikes there. In September 1938 large numbers of the railwaymen in Senegal went on strike and repulsed the strikebreakers. Troops were sent in to deal with the strikers, and, as a result, six people were killed and fifty wounded. But the authorities were forced to grant the railwaymen wage rises and pay allowances to the families of the dead strikers. A successful strike was staged by African office workers in Senegal in 1938, after which tbe employers recognised the trade union and its right to collective bargaining. Thus, the peoples of West and Equatorial Africa were increasingly drawn into the movement to combat colonial oppression.

MADAGASCAR

After they established political domination in Madagascar, the French colonisers took charge of all the main branches of its economy. Before 1919 the French made state capital investments in Madagascar to the tune of 2,300 million francs (at 1940 rates). From 1920 through 1933 another 4,600 million francs were invested in Madagascar. Concurrently, by the start of the Second World War private investments amounted to 1 1,500 million dollars. By means of taxes and forced labour the French colonisers managed to attain a growth in the production of export items such as coffee, vanilla, and cloves. The extraction of such minerals as graphite, mica, and gold was boosted. Madagascar's home and foreign trade was placed under French control. Ten mil-

lion hectares of ploughland and forests were taken over by the colonisers.

The introduction of commodity-money relations led to pronounced social changes. The peasants became ruined, many of them leaving for the towns in search of employment and a livelihood. Thus wage workers appeared in the towns, numbering 130,600 people in 1939. Simultaneously, a stratum of wealthy peasants was taking shape in the countryside. Native Malagasy entrepreneurs and traders, who were connected with the French colonisers, appeared in Madagascar, and even a native, although quite sparse, intelligentsia.

After the First World War, the Malagasy soldiers who had fought in Europe brought back news of the revolution in Russia. In 1919, former soldier Jean Ralaimongo founded in Paris the French League for Granting the Indigenous Population of Madagascar the Right to French Citizenship in Paris. In June 1925, the first strike was staged in Madagascar. In the following years the peasants organised protests against the confiscation of their lands and forced labour. The three-thousand-strong anti-imperialist demonstration held on May 19, 1929, was an important event.

Owing to the hardships caused by the world economic crisis and also under the impact of the Popular Front's victory in France, the Malagasy national forces became more active in their struggle, advancing the slogan of setting up a National Malagasy Front. At the same time, a Malagasy section of the French Communist Party emerged. The strike movement became increasingly wide-scale. In 1936 and 1937 the workers at the meat-canning factory in Tananarive (now Antananarivo) in Madagascar went on strike. In 1937, the first trade unions, although illegal ones, appeared. They soon gained the right to exist legally and joined the French General Confederation of Labour. Concerned by the growing liberation movement, the colonisers began to encourage the setting up of terrorist groups in Madagascar and banned the Malagasy section of the French Communist Party.

THE COUNTRIES UNDER BELGIAN DOMINATION

These countries were the Belgian Congo (now Zaire) and Ruanda-Urundi (now Rwanda and Burundi).

THE BELGIAN CONGO

The Belgian Congo was a colony. It was an important source of mineral and vegetable raw materials, a market for industrial goods and a sphere of application of Belgian capital. After the First World War the colonisers took particular interest in the development of the mining industry. The extraction of copper, tin, cobalt, and zinc grew considerably, besides that of gold and diamonds. Big ore-dressing enterprises and metallurgical works appeared, and railways and power stations were constructed. Manufacturing enterprises also emerged along with building firms and repair workshops. The powerful firm Union minière began to play a leading part in the exploitation of the Congo.

The colonisers tried to adapt the agriculture of the Congo to their needs. They were no longer satisfied by the rubber, oil palm fruits and other wild produce gathered by the Congolese. They took measures to compel the Congolese peasants to grow cotton, oil palm and coffee, all of which they bought up at low prices and sold on the world market at a high profit to themselves. The Anglo-Dutch concern Unilever specialised in exploiting the agricultural wealth of the Congo.

The colonisers relied on the tribal chieftains and the feudal lords, who helped them to exploit the peasants and keep them subservient. The patriarchal subsistence system of agriculture gradually disintegrated, and commodity-money relations were introduced in farming. The expropriation of the peasants' lands by the colonisers speeded up this process. The foreign landlords set up extensive plantations and livestock-breeding farms.

The development of colonial production caused changes in the social structure of the Congolese population. Whereas in 1915 there were 37,000 wage workers in the Congo, in 1920 there were 125,000, and in 1930 the number of Congolese wage workers was 388,000. The army of people with permanent jobs swelled like that of those doing temporary work (peasants going to cities).

From a political point of view, the African population had absolutely no rights. According to the Colonial Charter (1908), supreme power in the colony was wielded by the king and the parliament of Belgium through the governor-

general of the Congo. A Colonial Council existed under the king, and a Governmental Council under the governor-general. The Congolese were not allowed to sit on these councils. Besides this, there were also provincial and municipal councils, which did not have any real rights. The colonisers tried to interpret their oppression of the Congo as "paternal concern" for its population.

In 1922, a law was passed on the labour contract, and this made Congolese workers utterly dependent on the' colonisers. The workers were not only prohibited to quit their jobs during the term of the contract, but they did not even have the right to go for a distance of more than 25 km from their place of work without permission. Fines and imprisonment were meted out for breaking the law. By means of this law and getting the workers into debt, the colonisers were able to tie them down to their enterprises for the' whole of their lives. Besides this, a system of racial discrimination was established in the Congo. In the towns, for example, the Whites lived in districts equipped with services and utilities, and the Africans in slums.

The colonial yoke called forth a gathering storm of protest on the part of the Congolese population. After the First World War the anti-imperialist movement in the Congo became even more vigorous than before. Peasant unrest led by the tribal and feudal nobility flared up and was joined by the political and religious movements Kimbangism, the Leopard Men, and Kitawala. Kimbangism, an anti-imperialist movement in the guise of the religion, developed in the Congo at the beginning of the twenties. The former protestant priest, the Congolese Simon Kimbangu, was proclaimed by his followers the Messiah whose lot it was to save the Africans. Kimbangu gathered around him twelve "apostles" who controlled the prophets operating in different parts of the country. Kimbangu's followers prophesied the downfall of all Whites, who were to be consumed by heavenly fire. They put forward the anti-imperialist slogan "The Congo for the Congolese". The leaders of the movement appealed to the peasants not to pay the poll-tax and not to expand the area on which agricultural crops were sown. Under the leadership of Kimbangu's supporters mass protests were made in some places and riots flared up.

The Belgian authorities perpetrated severe repressions against Kimbangu's supporters. In 1921, they arrested Simon Kimbangu and sentenced him to death, but this was commuted to a life sentence. Other members of the movement were imprisoned or banished. Kimbangu spent thirty years in jail, until he died. But the Kimbangu movement left its mark all the same. In some periods it flared up again with fresh force. In spite of its religious hue, Kimbangism was of a progressive, anti-colonial nature.

Besides Kimbangism, there were other anti-colonial movements in the Congo. In 1919, rebellions flared up in the districts of Sankuru, Equatorial, and Lake Leopold, which continued for two years. The population in the province of Kivu did not recognise the authority of the colonisers for a number of years. It was not until 1923 that the Belgians with the assistance of military force were able to assert their power there.

The deterioration in the situation of the popular masses owing to the world economic crisis called forth fresh protests by the Congolese population. In May 1931, the popular masses in the Kwango province staged an uprising, which lasted for four months. In protest against the hard working conditions and repressions, the workers left their jobs and disappeared into the forests. The official who arrived to punish them was killed. Troops were sent from Leopoldville to put down the rebellion, which ended in a bloodbath, hundreds of people being killed and many prisoners being shot on the spot. Simultaneously, there were big armed clashes between the Congolese and the colonial forces in the province of Kasai. Four thousand inhabitants of the province who had managed to get hold of arms resolutely resisted the regular troops. These and other protests were evidence of the deepening crisis affecting the colonial domination of the Belgian imperialists in the Congo.

RUANDA-URUNDI

These territories became Belgian possessions owing to the defeat of Germany to which they belonged before the First World War. The League of Nations confirmed Belgium's mandate over these territories. According to the 1925 statute, the territories of Ruanda-Urundi joined the

Belgian Congo to form an administrative union. The vice-governor-general, who was answerable to the governor-general of the Congo, was in charge of them.

A system of indirect rule was retained in the territories of Ruanda-Urundi. The local aristocracy chose a king for Ruanda and a king for Urundi. The heads of the two "states" received a salary from the Belgian authorities. From an economic point of view, both countries were exceptionally backward. In the countryside patriarchal relations were intermingled with feudal exploitation. The beginnings of industrial development had only just appeared. Belgium did not make big capital investments in the economy of these countries, keeping them in "reserve" as it were. The historical destiny of the peoples of Ruanda-Urundi are closely connected with the struggle of the African population of the Congo and other countries on that continent against foreign imperialism.

THE COUNTRIES UNDER PORTUGUESE DOMINATION

These countries were Cape Verde, Portuguese Guinea (now Guinea-Bissau), São Tomé and Principe, Angola, and Mozambique. These regions were distinguished by an extremely low level of economic development, and the monstrous exploitation and poverty of the population. Primitive crop cultivation, marked vestiges of clan relations, and the absence of private peasant ownership of the land were all typical of the way of life of the majority of the population in the Portuguese colonies. Besides cultivating the land, the local inhabitants were engaged in livestock breeding, fishing, and hunting.

The Portuguese colonisers, who did not have big capital at their disposal, were slow to develop the wealth of their colonies. They did not have great opportunities for industrial exploitation of overseas possessions and mainly carried on a trade in wine and textiles with the local population. The Portuguese colonisers were engaged in a small plantation economy, using forced labour.

Simultaneously, British imperialism widely penetrated into the Portuguese colonies. The British placed under their control foreign trade, the production of sugar, sisal and

other export products in Angola and Mozambique. They ran the development of the diamond mines and constructed the railways and highways they needed. Belgian capital as well as British capital penetrated into the Portuguese colonies. On the eve of the Second World War Portugal also offered German capital extensive opportunities to exploit Angola.

The manufacturing industry was poorly developed in the Portuguese colonies. By the end of the twenties there were four sugar refineries, three tobacco factories, 33 flour mills, and also small food-packing enterprises in Angola. In Mozambique 13 enterprises processing sugar cane, sisal, and tobacco had emerged. In Guinea there were several enterprises engaged in the primary processing of groundnuts and timber. Small peasant farms growing maize, cocoa, coffee, and bananas predominated on the islands.

The foreign monopolies cruelly exploited the local population in the Portuguese colonies. Forced labour was common everywhere. Laws passed from 1928 to 1933 regulated the employment of forced labour. Every "unemployed" African was obliged to work for the state or for a private entrepreneur for from three months to one year. The peasants who had not paid the poll tax also had to do forced labour, which was widely used in constructing the highways and railways. In Guinea the colonisers had difficulty in imposing forced labour as the Africans went away to other countries. Practically every entrepreneur could take advantage of forced labour for a bribe. The export of manpower from the Portuguese colonies to other countries was promoted to a considerable extent, workers from Mozambique, for instance, being exported to the Union of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia.

In spite of the backwardness of the Portuguese colonies, a working class did take shape there all the same, and organised a series of protests. In 1924 and 1925 there were rebellions of Angolan workers in Porto Amboim and Ambriz, respectively. In 1925, transport workers and dockers in Mozambique went on strike. In Guinea there were rebellions in 1917, 1925, and 1936, all of which were ruthlessly quashed by the colonisers. At the end of the twenties, the first national organisations began to appear in the Portuguese colonies. In 1929, the National African League of Angola and the Regional Asso-

ciation of the Natives of Angola were founded. These were legal organisations mainly engaged in educational work. At the same time, there were members of the National African League who were active in the political struggle against colonialism. These organisations played a definite part in getting the population at large to join the anti-colonial struggle.

During the world economic crisis of 1929-1933 Portugal intensified its exploitation of the colonies. On the suggestion of Salazar, a new system of taxes was introduced in the colonies. The Africans were obliged to pay a "natives' tax", while indirect taxes continued to rise. In 1930, a colonial act was adopted which formalised a system of direct rule of the colonies. This system was supervised by the governor-general to whom the district governors and other officials were subordinate. Portugal also implanted a network of fascist organisations among the colonisers. A network of police and informers was set up. Troops were billeted in all the big populated centres. The colonisers tried to somehow justify their activities on the African lands seized by them. For this purpose, Portugal and the colonies were depicted as a "great multiracial community" developing towards the formation of a single nation. In this community, however, "civilised" Portuguese and "uncivilised" Africans were to be distinguished. Only an insignificant number of Africans were able to join the ranks of the "civilised".

However, no political measures or deceitful propaganda could stay the rising tide of the anti-imperialist struggle in the colonies. In 1930, the Western regions of Angola were swept by a wave of major anti-colonial protests. In the wake of the rebellion by the port workers of Luanda, the plantation workers joined the struggle. The authorities sent troops from Portugal to put down this rebellion.

On the whole, the protests by the population in the Portuguese colonies were of a spontaneous nature and not organised. The masses of the peasantry took little part in them. True, in 1939, there was a revolt by the Angolan Mukuba and other small-scale peasant protests, which were cruelly put down by the Portuguese fascists. The motive forces of anti-colonial revolution in the Portuguese colonies were extremely slow in maturing owing to the tremendous backwardness of these colonies.

THE COUNTRIES UNDER ITALIAN AND SPANISH DOMINATION

After the First World War the territory of what is today the state of Somalia was divided up between three colonial powers. As already mentioned, one part of this territory (so-called British Somalia) formed part of Britain's colonial possessions in Africa, and another part of it (French Somalia, now Djibouti) was included in France's possessions. At the end of the nineteenth century its third part had been captured by Italy, which had turned it into its own colony (Italian Somalia). Italy's colonies in Tropical Africa also included Eritrea (part of Ethiopia seized by Italy in the nineteenth century).

However, the national forces in all parts of Somalia'waged a persistent armed struggle against the foreign invaders. This struggle was headed by Muhammad Abdille Hasan. On the eve of the First World War he and his supporters managed to found a national state union in the hinterland. But after the war the British perpetrated punitive actions and crushed the rebel forces in 1920. From 1925 to 1927 there was a big wave of anti-imperialist protests in Italian Somalia.

The colonisers hindered the economic and social development of all three parts of Somalia which remained backward agrarian countries where nomadic livestock breeding prevailed. Other exports besides the products of livestock breeding were bananas, cotton, and salt. In these colonies there were a few sugar refineries, cotton ginneries, oil mills, and salt works. Forced labour was extensively used. The Italian colonisers expropriated land and set up big plantations to cultivate bananas, sugar cane, cotton, sesame, and groundnuts. Ports, which were of great strategic significance, were built in the French and British parts of Somalia.

The Somalians did not have any political or civil rights. Slavery and the slave trade persisted in the country. The official languages were those of the colonial powers. Representatives of the Somalian intelligentsia made attempts to create a Somali written language. But any one who used it was severely punished by the colonial authorities.

The situation in Italian Somalia became drastically worse when the fascists came to power in Italy as they intensified the exploitation of their colonies. The Somalians had their

lands confiscated on a massive scale. All this aggravated the contradictions between the national forces and foreign imperialism.

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The Spanish colonial possession in Tropical Africa was Spanish Guinea (which included the continental part, Ri'o Muni, the island of Fernando Poo and a number of other small islands; now the state of Equatorial Guinea) with a population consisting mainly of Bantu.

Cocoa, coffee, bananas, palm oil, and valuable types of wood were produced in the colony for export to Spain. Industry (the primary processing of agricultural produce and timber) was extremely poorly developed. Harsh colonial oppression and the concomitant low standard of living and cultural backwardness of the indigenous population impeded the development of the liberation movement in this colony.

AMERICA

Chapter 14

The Countries of North America

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

1. The Rise of the Workers' Movement in the USA After the First World War

The economic and political situation of the USA after the First World War. The American imperialists grew tremendously rich on the First World War. The USA entered the war when it was drawing to a close, in April 1917, and American troops only began to fight in Europe in June and July 1918. During military operations they lost a total of 130,000 men, and some 200,000 were wounded. Throughout the war the American imperialists gained huge profits from supplying armaments and materiel. The military operations were taking place far away from the United States, and the country did not therefore suffer any destruction. Most of the American population had an extremely vague idea about the horrors of a world war.

The American monopolies took advantage of every possible opportunity at the USA's disposal to gain enormous profits in this war. During the war the monopolists in the USA obtained more than 35,000 million dollars in profits, several times more than in the preceding period. American imperialism boosted the export of its capital to other countries. The USA's capital investments abroad increased sixfold compared with the pre-war period. During the war the USA turned from a debtor into a major creditor. Whereas before the First World War it owed the European countries more than 6,000 million dollars, after the war the countries of Europe were in debt to the USA to the tune of 10,000 million dollars, twenty countries owing money to Uncle

Sam. "The American multimillionaires," wrote Lenin, "were, perhaps, richest of all, and geographically the most secure. They have profited more than all the rest. They have converted all, even the richest countries into their tributaries. They have grabbed hundreds of billions of dollars."[1] The USA had in its hands approximately 50 per cent of the world's gold reserves. After the war the American bourgeoisie not only marketed their goods extensively in Europe, but also widely exported capital there, too. The USA ultimately became the leading country of capitalism, the centre of the financial exploitation of the capitalist world.

US industry was boosted during the war, especially heavy industry which was tuned to the needs of the war. In 1920, the USA produced 85 percent of the world's motor vehicles, 67 per cent of its oil, and more than 60 per cent of its ferrous metals. It smelted 4.5 times more steel than Britain, and 14 times more than France. From 1914 to 1920 the USA's national wealth grew 2.5 times. Industrial development was characterised by increasing concentration of its major branches in the hands of a few big monopoly groups. In 1919, enterprises belonging to the largest monopolies in the USA comprised approximately 5 per cent of the country's enterprises, but some 55 per cent of the workers were employed at them, and they produced almost 60 per cent of the total industrial output. The growing economic might of the monopolies gave them the opportunity to subordinate the state apparatus to themselves completely and wield it to obtain huge superprofits. Wealth and poverty in the country became increasingly polarised. While 2 per cent of Americans possessed 60 per cent of the national income, only 5 per cent of the national income belonged to two-thirds of the inhabitants.

Whereas the war had brought the monopolists tremendous profits and wealth, the material condition of the American working people had deteriorated during the war. The working class and the poorest farmers in the USA experienced the burden of growing taxes and prices of consumer goods. In 1920, there were 32,700,000 industrial and office workers in the USA, including 17,000,000 immigrants from Italy, Poland, Germany, Great Britain,

[1] V. I. Lenin, "Letter to American Workers", *Collected Works*, Vol. 35, p. 64.

Ireland and the Scandinavian and Balkan countries. From 1913 to 1919 wages only increased by 55 per cent, while the cost of living grew by 104 per cent. Approximately 900,000 American working people were unemployed during the war. When the war ended, unemployment swelled to an even more significant extent. All this testifies to the difficult material condition of the bulk of the American working class. After the war the ruling circles in the USA pursued a policy of getting rich at the expense of the working masses. William Burr, the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Hardware Manufacturers' Association, demanded that the war-time wages should be abolished.

The USA's farming population was also in a difficult position. According to the 1920 census, there were approximately eight million small and medium farmers in the country, including 2,500,000 tenants and 1,800,000 sharecroppers. There was not a sufficiently extensive market for the farmers' produce; taxes and the prices of consumer goods had risen. The drop in purchase prices further aggravated the situation of the most indigent farmers. The hardest hit were 560,000 croppers and poor tenants in the South, mainly members of the Negro population. The ruling circles in the USA continued to cruelly exploit the American Negroes.

The home and foreign policies pursued by the US government were subordinated to the interests of big monopoly capital. The ruling circles in the USA intensified their exploitation of the working class and the farmers, established high protective tariffs, carried on an arms race, practised race discrimination with regard to Negroes and other "coloured" inhabitants of the country, and cruelly suppressed the working-class and progressive movement.

After the war Woodrow Wilson (1856-1924) remained US President until 1920, a post he had held since 1912. Wilson, who had a reputation in bourgeois circles of being a liberal, a democrat, and a reformist, did in fact pursue a policy of bolstering the positions of American financial capital. In its foreign policy under him the USA pursued a course of expansion in Latin America and the Far East. On April 6, 1917, the President announced that the USA had entered the war for the purpose of "saving the world for democracy", a hypocritical pretext. In January 1918, he put forward the notorious Fourteen Points for a peace settlement. The real significance of them was the striving to establish American

supremacy in world trade and in politics by means of the League of Nations. The Wilson government acted as a violent enemy of Soviet Russia and the revolutionary movement in other countries. "The idealised democratic republic of Wilson," noted Lenin, "*proved* in practice to be a form of the most rabid imperialism, of the most shameless oppression and suppression of weak and small nations."[1]

From the moment Soviet Russia emerged, the ruling circles in the USA began to pursue a hostile policy with regard to the first workers' and peasants' state and became an organiser of and active participant in the armed intervention against the Soviet country. In December 1917 Woodrow Wilson's government began to prepare for open armed intervention against the Soviet Russia, trying to disguise its plans to seize and partition Soviet Russia in demagogic "liberal" phrases. In April 1918, the US armed forces together with those of Britain, France, and Italy landed near Murmansk and Archangel and in August of that year an American corps commanded by General Graves arrived in the Soviet Far East.

The troops of the foreign invaders met with a resolute rebuff by the workers of Soviet Russia. In the USA itself the people vigorously protested against the anti-Soviet intervention. The government of the USA was forced to renounce its policy of open intervention and withdraw the American forces from Soviet territory. However, the American imperialists continued to try to destroy Soviet power by giving support to all the counter-revolutionary forces. The Americans supplied materiel to the White Guard Admiral Kolchak, granted loans to bourgeois Poland which was attacking the Soviet Republic. Thus, American imperialism acted as the most furious enemy of the world's first socialist state.

After the First World War, pursuing a policy of establishing their own world hegemony, the ruling circles in the USA made an attempt to use the Paris Conference in 1919 for putting its own plans into effect. It hoped to realise its intentions by means of the League of Nations, the idea for founding this organisation being put forward by Woodrow Wilson. However, Britain and France acted in a united front

[1] V. I. Lenin, "The Valuable Admission of Pitirim Sorokin", *Collected Works*, Vol. 28,p. 189.

to oppose the USA's attempts to play a decisive part in the League of Nations. The hegemonistic plans of the USA suffered failure. Then the US Congress refused to ratify the Versailles Treaty, and the USA did not become a member of the League of Nations. In 1921, the USA concluded separate peace treaties with Germany and its former allies. Part of the American bourgeoisie considered that the US plans for world domination could successfully be achieved without the participation of the USA in the League of Nations, under the guise of the policy of "isolationism".

The United States waged a persistent struggle for the world raw materials and sales markets and the spheres of investment. Its main efforts were thereby spearheaded against Britain. Soon after the First World War the capitalists in the USA bought up quite a few industrial and commercial enterprises in Germany, Austria, Italy, Belgium, Switzerland, and other countries in Europe. The biggest American monopolies established extremely close ties with heavy industry enterprises and banks in Germany. The economic and political pressure exerted by the USA was also intensified in the countries of Central and South America. The United States decided to enslave these countries completely and drive out their competitors, first and foremost, the British imperialists.

The rise of the workers' movement in the post-war years. The formation of the Communist Party USA. The growth of exploitation and the deterioration of the standard of living of the working masses, the repressions against the forces of democracy and the aggressive anti-Soviet policy led to the aggravation of class contradictions and the upsurge of the mass revolutionary movement in the country.

However, the class protests on the part of the American workers were not as vigorous as they might have been for a number of reasons. There was, for instance, a considerable stratum of wealthy workers (up to 20%) who were the social mainstay of the bourgeoisie. The lack of a clear idea of the essence of the nationalities question and of ways of resolving it also had a telling effect. Reformist, trade union and anarcho-syndicalist views were widespread in the working-class movement. All this served as the reason for the ideological and organisational weakness of the US working class.

The American proletariat did not have its own mass political party. The Socialist Party and the Socialist Labor Party did not enjoy great influence. The Industrial Workers of the World, a left-wing anarcho-syndicalist organisation, was persecuted by the authorities for its anti-war position. The leadership of the American Federation of Labor, the biggest trade-union organisation, was deeply immersed in reformism. When revolutionary sentiments were gaining in strength, in June 1918, the AFL's leaders set about manoeuvring, putting forward a so-called reconstructive programme. Their attempts to achieve the participation of the trade unions in meetings of the boards of enterprises, in accordance with this programme, failed. A year later they put forward the Plumb Plan, which envisaged the participation of workers in the management of the country's railways. But this plan was not implemented either. Meanwhile, for the trade union officials it was important to create the illusion of a campaign in the interests of the working class.

However, in spite of all this the post-war revolutionary upsurge affected the American workers as well. The ideas of the socialist revolution in Russia began to receive recognition among the American working class. Big rallies were held in the USA at which the state of affairs in Russia was discussed with enthusiasm and approval.

Such progressive US figures as the journalist and writer John Reed communicated the truth about Soviet Russia to the American workers in his book *Ten Days That Shook the World*, Albert Rhys Williams[1] in his book on Lenin, *Lenin, the Man and His Work*, and others. The left-wing Socialists in the USA actively disseminated the ideas of the October Revolution in the country and stressed its enormous historical significance. Our hearts are with the Bolsheviks of Russia, said the eminent figure in the American working-class movement, Eugene Debs, the sun of capitalism is setting, the sun of socialism is rising.

In the USA just as in other countries the movement of protests against anti-Soviet intervention was getting under-

[1] John Reed (1887-1920) was one of the founders of the Communist Party USA, a participant in the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia and from 1919 a member of the Executive Committee of the Comintern.

Albert Rhys Williams (1883-1962) was an American current events journalist, an internationalist and a participant in the Civil War in Russia.

way. The American workers were playing a particularly vigorous part in this movement. In Pittsburg and other towns and cities mass rallies were being held in protest against US participation in the intervention. Under the pressure exerted by the working class the leaders of the AFL demanded that the government should withdraw foreign troops from Russia, although at the same time they opposed recognition of the Soviet government. Organisations such as the League of Friends of Soviet Russia, the Truth on Russia League, and others appeared in the country. The League of Friends of Soviet Russia organised the collection of signatures on a petition to the Wilson government demanding that the intervention against the Soviet state should be ceased. The petition was supported by 90 trade unions uniting hundreds of thousands of workers. In 1'918, 3,500 Americans joined the Red Army as volunteers. But the American government did not allow them to leave for Russia.

As the anti-Soviet intervention failed, increasingly wide circles of the American public protested against its continuation. Senator William Borah, for example, announced that the American people did not want war with Russia. If this question were to be put to them, then they would unanimously vote against war with Russia or with any part of the Russian people. It is interesting that a poll held among groups of American soldiers confirmed their unwillingness to participate in the anti-Soviet intervention. Only 1,074 or one per cent of the 100,000 soldiers asked were in favour of going to Russia. The American soldiers did not wish to fight against Soviet Russia and increasingly refused to be conscripted. The demonstrations of the American workers in defence of the Soviet Republic helped to get the ruling circles in the USA to withdraw American soldiers from Russia.

At the same time, the broad working masses in the USA rose in the campaign for civil rights and better working conditions. This was expressed primarily in the considerable intensification of the strike movement. The wave of strikes was at a peak in 1919. The strike movement embraced 4,100,000 workers compared with 1,200,000 in 1917. That year the workers of New York port went on strike, in a campaign to get an eight-hour working day. Their demonstration was so serious that on the orders of the US Presi-

dent Wilson the authorities had to interfere to put an end to the strike in a combined effort with the trade union officials.

On February 6, 1919, the workers of the Pacific port city of Seattle went on strike. The 35 thousand workers from the dockyards demanded wage increases. In their wake industrial enterprises and institutions in the city stopped working. A general strike began in Seattle which made a great impression on the whole country. All in all, 60,000 workers went on strike in Seattle. The strike committee elected by the workers took over the running of the town. All this was of great concern to the ruling circles in the USA. Troops were sent into the city, and the strike was put down.

One of the biggest strikes in 1919 was that of some 370,000 workers of the steel industry which began in September. It was headed by the outstanding figure in the American working-class movement William Z. Foster (1881-1961). The strikers tried to get an eight-hour working day, wage rises, and the right to set up trade unions and so forth. During the strike an industrial trade union of workers of the steel industry was set up. The steel industrialists put every effort into crushing the strike. Wilson's government and the right-wing figures in the AFL gave complete support to the Steel Trust. Troops and detachments of strikebreakers were sent to Pittsburg, Cleveland, Youngstown, Johnstown, and other cities to put an end to the strike. The authorities introduced a state of emergency and together with the entrepreneurs and trade union officials they broke up the ranks of the strikers. In January 1920 the strike was defeated. However, the entrepreneurs were forced to abolish the twelve-hour working day and improve working conditions somewhat, although they refused to recognise the trade union, which soon disbanded.

The leader of the steelworkers' strike, William Z. Foster, subsequently became an outstanding figure in the working-class and communist movement in the USA. He joined the working-class movement while he was still a young man. From 1901 to 1909 he was a member of the Socialist Party from which he was expelled for his revolutionary views. In 1921, William Foster became a member of the Communist Party and in 1924 he was elected a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party. From

1929 to 1957 he was its chairman, and from 1957 its honorary president. William Z. Foster played an important part in starting and promoting the communist movement in the USA and was a major Marxist theoretician.

Following the steelmen's strike on November 1, 1919, an extremely big strike of 500,000 miners began in the USA who demanded wage rises of 60 per cent, the abolition of fines and remuneration of one and a half times normal pay for overtime work. The strike was ended with the help of the chairman of the AFL, Samuel Gompers, and other trade union officials. In 1919, there were 3,577 strikes in the USA. Although the biggest strikes ended in failure, in a number of branches as a result of the strike campaign workers gained wage rises and improved working conditions.

The upsurge of the working-class movement led to the growth of a left wing within the Socialist Party, the prominent leaders of which were Charles Ruthenberg[1] and John Reed. Left Socialists published their own newspapers and journals by means of which they disseminated the ideas of Marxism-Leninism among the masses. They tried to get the Socialist Party to take a revolutionary stand and become a member of the Comintern. In May 1919 the left wing achieved great success at the elections to the Executive Committee of the party. However, the reformists expelled the left-wing party organisations uniting 55,000 people from the party. After this, the left-wingers held a national conference in New York at which the question of founding a Communist Party was discussed.

But there was no ideological unity among the left-wingers. Part of the left-wing supporters headed by John Reed insisted that the struggle within the Socialist Party should continue which was aimed at making it a revolutionary organisation. Other left-wingers headed by Ruthenberg considered it necessary to leave the Socialist Party and set up an independent Communist Party. On August 30, 1919,

[1] Charles E. Ruthenberg (1882-1927) was an eminent figure in the working-class and communist movement in the USA, one of the founders of the Communist Party. From 1909 through 1919 he was a member of the Socialist Party. From 1919 he was a member and secretary of the Communist Party USA, and from 1921, secretary of the Central Committee of the united Communist Party. From 1920 he was a member of the Executive Committee of the Comintern. He was repeatedly sent to prison where he died. His ashes were brought to Moscow and interred in Red Square.

the extraordinary conference of the Socialist Party began in Chicago. On that day, the left Socialists were driven out of the conference hall by the police. On August 31, 1919, the left Socialists who supported John Reed formed the Communist Labour Party of America with 10,000 members, and on September 1, 1919, the Communist Party of America emerged made up of the left-wing group headed by Ruthenberg with approximately 58,000 members. Thus, two communist parties emerged in the USA simultaneously. In the programmes of both parties the task was put forward of fighting to gain power and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

But the communist parties did not assess the situation in the USA correctly and suffered from sectarian and "leftist" tendencies (refusal to join in protests with the Socialist Party, the setting^ up of new revolutionary trade unions and so forth). Lenin welcomed the formation of the communist parties in the USA.

The communist parties in America took shape at the moment when reaction had already launched its onslaught. In 1920, both parties were proclaimed outlawed and went underground. In May 1921, on the recommendation of the Comintern they united into a single Communist Party USA. The formation of the united Communist Party in the country was of great significance for the further ideological growth of the US working class. However, working underground doomed the Communist Party to isolation from the broad working masses. Therefore, the American Communists decided to set up a legal organisation. In December 1921, on the initiative of the Communist Party, a legal Workers' Party was organised which took a Marxist-Leninist stand. In April 1923, when the situation in the USA had changed, the Communist and the Workers' Party merged into a single Workers' (Communist) Party of the USA which had 25,000 members. The emergence of the communist movement was a vital outcome of the upsurge of the workers' movement in the USA in the post-war years.

The setting up of the Trade Union Educational League (a union of the left-wing elements within the framework of the AFL) in Chicago in November 1920 on the initiative of William Z. Foster was also of great significance. The League actively participated in the strike movement and strove to change the theory, structure and tactics of the trade unions

in the AFL. It formed a revolutionary opposition within the US trade union movement. In 1921, the League joined the Trade Union International (Profintern), and its leaders became members of the Communist Party. The League upheld the idea of founding a mass revolutionary workers' party in the USA and considered it its ultimate goal to struggle to eliminate capitalism in the USA and institute a workers' republic. The Communists worked actively in the League. The Trade Union Educational League took the stand of proletarian internationalism, tried to get recognition for Soviet Russia and send delegations of workers there. In 1923, it embraced 325,000 trade union members. Its activity did to a significant extent promote the growth of the trade union movement in the USA.

The economic crisis of 1920-1921. The onslaught of capital on the working class. The growing strike campaign, the emergence of the Communist Party USA and its increasing influence among the workers caused serious anxiety in the US ruling circles. The bourgeois press started a campaign of hounding the Communists, and the Wilson government began repressions. Numerous trials were organised in the USA. People suspected of revolutionary activity began to be banished. In 1919, the prominent figure in the socialist movement in the USA, Eugene Debs, was sentenced to ten years in prison. The trials began of such progressive figures as Tom Mooney, Warren Billings, William Haywood, and the Italian immigrant workers, Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti.

The anti-communist campaign was actively supported by the Department of Justice of the USA headed by Alexander Mitchel Palmer and his assistant Edgar Hoover. In January 1920, the American police made raids on the "reds" in 70 towns and cities as a result of which approximately ten thousand people were arrested.

In that same period, the commission to test loyalty headed by Senator Clayton Riley Lusk began its inquisition activity in New York state. The commission paid particular attention to discovering the reliability of students and teachers in schools and institutions of higher education. "The campaign against the reds" was aimed at suppressing the working-class and democratic movement in the USA.

In this period, too, the policy of suppressing the Negro

movement also became considerably more vigorous. The ruling circles in the USA strove to prevent the growing struggle of the Negro people for equal rights and freedoms. In 1917, the Ku Klux Klan conducted pogroms in the Negro districts of the town of Saint Louis and in 1918 in Chicago, Washington, Knoxville, Omaha and 22 other towns and cities in the USA. In 1919, they organised a massive pogrom against Negro sharecroppers and hired hands in the Phillips county of the state of Arkansas. From 1917 to 1939, 679 inhabitants of the USA were lynched. The anti-Negro organisation, the Ku Klux Klan, became more vigorous in its activity. In 1919, the paramilitary reactionary organisation, the American Legion, emerged.

Only the Communist Party USA was openly opposed to the racial discrimination against the Negroes and other coloured citizens of the USA. The American Communists, however, did not immediately outline ways of solving the Negro question. They were mistaken in defending the programme of national self-determination of the Negroes, including the formation from the southern states (the so-called "Black Belt") of a special Negro state. This was evidence of the sectarian approach, the lack of understanding of the fact that the struggle of the Negro people was an inseparable part of the anti-monopoly movement of all American workers. Later on, the Communist Party revised its stand and selected the correct way for the Negro population to struggle for social and national equality.

The struggle between the forces of reaction and the working masses became more acute owing to the economic crisis. Economic prosperity after the war continued for a comparatively short time. In 1920, the USA found itself in the throes of economic crisis, as a result of which industrial production had fallen by one-third by March 1921. A decline in production gave rise to short time and, in a number of cases, the bankruptcy of enterprises. The number of industrial enterprises diminished from 210,000 in 1919 to 192,000 in 1921. The number of unemployed swelled to between five and six million people. The crisis in industry was intertwined with an agrarian crisis. The workers' wages fell by 20 per cent. Owing to the sharp decrease in exports of American foodstuffs to Europe, and especially the drop in demand at home, the situation of the farming population drastically deteriorated. By 1921, the farmers' debts had

increased to 5,000 million dollars. One-tenth of the farmers were forced to sell their farms by auction to pay their debts.

The approaching crisis had a serious effect on the political situation in the country, in particular intensifying the stand taken by the adherents of "isolationism", the opponents of Wilson's Democratic government. In 1920, a struggle flared up between the Democratic and Republican parties of the USA during the presidential elections. The Democratic Party candidate, President Wilson, could not keep up to the expectations of monopoly capital regarding the establishment of US world domination. The ruling circles in the USA could not forgive him for the USA's failure at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919. All this considerably lessened the Democratic Party's chances of gaining victory at the presidential elections.

The Republican Party and its leader, Senator Lodge, skilfully took advantage of the bankruptcy of Wilson's foreign policy to cause the Democrats' downfall. Wilson's opponents widely propagandised the policy of "isolationism" which enjoyed certain popularity among a considerable part of the farmers and certain other strata of the American population, who were in favour of the USA remaining on the sidelines of the stormy events in Europe. However, the high-ranking "isolationists" from the Republican Party used the slogan "isolationism" merely to disguise the USA's aggressive policy, to allow the USA complete freedom of action in the international arena, especially in the Far East. To them "isolationism" meant being free from any kind of agreements and obligations, which were disadvantageous to US expansionist policy and prevented it from playing the part of arbitrator in world affairs.

At the next presidential elections on November 2, 1920, the Democratic Party suffered a serious defeat. The Republican candidate, Senator Warren Gamaliel Harding from the state of Ohio, was elected President of the USA. The governor of the state of Massachusetts, Calvin Coolidge, became vice-president. Warren Harding (1865-1923) was one of the reactionary statesmen and did not play an independent part in outlining government policy. Under him corruption, black-marketeering, and embezzlement of public funds were widespread. The American bourgeoisie sought a way out of the crisis by intensifying the exploitation of the working class and the working farmers and also by foreign

policy expansion. Harding's government put into effect a series of measures in the interests of big monopolies: the law on the superprofits tax was repealed, price control was abolished, the monopolies had complete freedom to exploit the country's working masses. As a result of the abolition of the superprofits tax alone, the big monopolists obtained more than 1,500 million dollars per year.

There was a fresh wave of strikes in response to this antipopular policy. In 1920, 1,400,000 workers went on strike in the USA, in 1921,1,100,000, andin 1922,1,600,000 workers. In 1922, big strikes were staged by the miners in which more than 600,000 people took part, and by as many as 400,000 railwaymen. These strikes were spearheaded against the policy of cutting wages and were of a defensive nature. During the strikes the workers advanced political demands, announced their solidarity with the working people of Soviet Russia, and demanded that the government of the USA put an end to its aid to the White Guard generals and establish normal diplomatic and trade relations with the Soviet Republic. The leaders of the AFL, Samuel Gompers and William Green, however, preaching "peace in industry" refused to uphold the demands of the workers and helped the authorities to quell the strike campaign.

In its foreign policy the Harding government strove to further American expansion in Latin America and the Far East. In this connection, Anglo-American and Japanese-American contradictions were gravely aggravated. The race for naval armaments in the USA and the attempts to subjugate China gave rise to serious opposition on the part of Britain and Japan. At the Washington Conference in 1921-1922 the USA and other imperialist powers made an attempt to come to an agreement among themselves on the partitioning of China and the regulation of naval armaments. But the conference did not eliminate the contradictions rending the imperialist countries apart.

The ruling circles in the USA continued to pursue a policy hostile to the Soviet state. In 1921, when Soviet Russia was swept by famine, American reaction began yet another slanderous anti-Soviet campaign. The American Relief Administration headed by Herbert Hoover was sent to the Soviet Russia to conduct espionage and reconnaissance work under the guise of "rendering aid". The USA attempted to exert pressure on those countries that wished

to establish normal relations with the Soviet state in order to isolate Soviet Russia and compel it to capitulate in the face of world imperialism. The US government put tremendous effort into putting an end to the Genoa and Hague conferences.

This policy, however, evoked growing protests on the part of the progressive American public. It was precisely in this period that the progressive workers in the USA displayed initiative in rendering assistance to Soviet Russia in rehabilitating its dislocated economy. Several teams of American skilled workers arrived in Soviet Russia to help in setting up industrial enterprises and model state farms. This was a manifestation of the proletarian solidarity of the American workers with the workers of Soviet Russia.

2. The USA in the Years of the Partial Stabilisation of Capitalism

The economic and political situation in the country. The relative stabilisation of capitalism began in the USA in 1922, earlier than in other countries. This can be explained by the more stable positions of American imperialism. There was a considerable economic boom during the years of stabilisation in the USA, promoted by the great demand of the war-ravaged European countries for American goods and credits. The steel, iron, and oil output increased in the USA. The automotive, aircraft, radio and cinema industries and some other branches developed rapidly. As a result, from 1923 to 1929 the volume of industrial output grew by 20 per cent. The USA produced 44 per cent of the capitalist industrial output, i. e. more than Germany, France, Britain, Japan and Italy taken together.

In this period the American capitalists renewed their fixed capital, introduced the latest technology in industry, rationalised production, established extensive standardisation, and implemented production specialisation. These processes were particularly characteristic of the development of new industries. The automotive industry, which produced between four and five million vehicles per year, was boosted in particular. The mass production of motor vehicles brought in its wake the rapid development of a

network of highways embracing the whole of the country and had an impact on construction in towns and the countryside. On the whole, all this brought huge profits to the American capitalists and made them more competitive.

At the same time, the concentration and centralisation of production and capital continued intensively. From 1922 to 1929 there were approximately 5,400 "mergers" in American industry as a result of which many small and medium-size enterprises disappeared. By 1929 the biggest monopolies had amalgamated almost half of the country's industrial enterprises at which 90 per cent of all the workers were employed and which produced 92 per cent of the industrial output (in terms of value). The number of banks diminished as well, while their capital increased. In agriculture the small farms were ruined, and in 1930 the big agricultural enterprises of 1,000 acres and more accounted for 28 per cent of the farms as compared with 23 per cent in 1920. Owing to the process of monopolisation, big capital fortified its sway in the economy and the country's political life.

During the years of stabilisation the foreign economic expansion of American imperialism became more vigorous. From 1920 to 1931, 11,600 million dollars were pumped into other countries by the USA. The bulk of the capital went to Europe and also to the countries of Latin America. Exports of American goods were boosted as well. Simultaneously, high tariffs were imposed on imports of foreign goods in the USA. From 1921 to 1929, US exports exceeded imports by 7,700 million dollars. All this testifies to the fact that the United States intensified its exploitation of other countries.

Bourgeois ideologists christened the period of partial stabilisation in the USA the era of "prosperity". However, the stabilisation of capitalism did not eliminate the pronounced contradictions inherent in it. Just as in other countries this stabilisation was relative and shaky. In such industries as the textile, coal, ship-building and the production of railway rolling stock a slump was observed. The production capacities in mechanical engineering and metallurgy were on short time. A long-drawn-out crisis became evident in agriculture.

The stabilisation was, moreover, achieved on account of the greater intensification of the labour of the American

workers and robbing the peoples of other countries of their natural resources and the fruits of their labour. Frederick Taylor's sweating system was extensively introduced at American enterprises with the help of which every effort was squeezed out of the workers. Many workers, especially at the Ford works, could not keep up with the set work rates for more than five years. The working week was fifty hours and more. The number of unemployed swelled. Although the wages of workers in the USA rose severalfold, many of them were forced to buy things on an installment plan, counting on future incomes, which they might well not receive. The condition of the majority of the American farmers continually worsened, a considerable part of whom were ruined and had to leave the countryside for the towns. From 1920 to 1930, 4,500,000 people moved from the countryside to the towns and cities. The small and medium-sized enterprises in the towns and cities went bankrupt which is evidence of the hardships experienced by part of, the petty bourgeoisie. The condition of the Negro population of the USA continued to be extremely grave. Just as before, most of the Negroes were doing the hardest and lowest paid work, employed as farmhands in agriculture and did not have equal rights with the white people. All this aggravated the internal contradictions of American imperialism and made stabilisation insecure.

The ruling circles of the USA strove to benefit by stabilisation to further enrich the biggest monopoly amalgamations. President Harding's cabinet wallowed in corruption. By giving bribes, the oil magnates bought up state lands richly endowed in oil. Affairs even went as far as big political scandals and court examinations. Three ministers from Harding's cabinet were forced to resign. Legal proceedings were instituted against two of them which ended in the acquittal of one of them and a year-long prison sentence for the other. Jealously protecting the interests of big capital, President Harding's government introduced severe repressions against the strike movement of the working class.

In 1923, President Harding died in extremely mysterious circumstances. The Vice-President, Calvin Coolidge (1872-1933), took over the highest state appointment in the USA and continued to pursue a policy in the interests of the financial and industrial magnates.

The undisguised defence of big monopoly capital by the Republican government called forth a mass movement of protest in the country on the part of the anti-monopoly circles. This movement assumed large proportions during the 1924 election campaign. The progressive strata made attempts to create a third main party in the USA. The conference of the supporters of progressive political actions in 1922 which was attended by representatives of the workers, farmers, and petty bourgeoisie put up a liberal senator, Robert M. LaFollette, as their candidate for the presidency from the third, Progressive, Party. His nomination was supported by the Socialist Party, the trade unions, and other democratic organisations. LaFollette put forward a programme of bourgeois liberal reforms: democratisation of the state apparatus, the abolition of anti-strike decrees, easy credits for farmers, and tax increases on big capital.

The LaFollette movement is evidence of the crisis of the two-party system in the USA and of the growth of democratic sentiments among the broad strata of the population. However, those who joined the movement came from many different walks of life, and its goals varied very greatly. Therefore the progressive bloc headed by LaFollette did not last for long. At the elections LaFollette obtained 4,800,000 votes, considerably less than the candidates of the Republican and Democratic parties. After the elections the movement of the third party came to nought.

The representative of the Republican Party, Calvin Coolidge, was elected President for the next term of four years (1925-1929). His cabinet included Andrew Mellon (Secretary of the Treasury), a representative of one of the biggest financial groups in the USA, Herbert Hoover, who expressed the interests of John Pierpont Morgan and other pillars of the financial oligarchy. The new government pursued a policy of cutting taxes on big capital, granted the monopolies large subsidies, and allotted enormous means for the race in naval armaments. Coolidge's government opposed the bill to help farmers and encouraged a policy of class co-operation between labour and capital. In its foreign policy the USA pursued an expansionist course. The policy of President Coolidge led to the enrichment of the American monopolies, but not only did it fail to eliminate the main contradictions in the country, on the contrary, it even promoted their further aggravation.

The decline of the working-class movement. Stabilisation paved the way for the bourgeoisie's onslaught on the working class. For the purpose of driving a wedge into the working-class movement the entrepreneurs organised or encouraged "company" unions, which opposed the main trade union organisations in the USA. At the end of the 1920s, these company unions had 1,400,000 members. The capitalists did, moreover, continue to "butter up" the top group of workers with higher wages, pensions, and social security. Besides this, it became common for workers to share in the profits of corporations and to set up "workers' banks".

In the years of capitalist stabilisation the reformists in the workers' organisations of the USA, in the wake of the bourgeois ideologists, propagandised the theory of class cooperation between labour and capital. In practical terms, this was expressed in the Baltimore-Ohio agreement worked out in 1923. The owners of the Baltimore-Ohio railway lines reached an agreement with the trade union leaders to the effect that the workers would not go on strike and would try to improve labour productivity, while the entrepreneurs promised to raise the workers' wages. Thus, the trade union officials made deals with the capitalists to prevent the economic campaigns of the proletariat and turn the trade unions into an appendage of the monopolies.

The tactics of class cooperation and also a certain rise in wages led to a decline in the strike movement and the political activity of the workers in the USA. During the partial stabilisation of capitalism the American workers only staged defensive strikes, the number of which decreased considerably. In 1924, 645,000 workers went on strike, and in 1928, 314, 000 workers.

The activisation of trade unionism and reformism acted as a tremendous impediment to the growth of the communist movement in the USA. Before 1923, moreover, the Communist Party had been outlawed. In June 1923 a decision was taken by the American Communists to abolish the Communist Party's underground apparatus and merge with the legal Workers' Party. When the Communists came out into the open, it allowed them to make a more vigorous effort to overcome sectarianism and expand their ties with the masses. In July 1923 the Workers' Party and some other workers' and farmers' organisations set up the Farmer-Labor Party whose programme contained demands for the nation-

alisation of a number of enterprises and the improvement of the condition of the workers and farmers. The new party supported the effort of the democratic forces in the USA to set up a Progressive Party in 1924 to participate in the election campaign. The Communists actively participated in the election campaign, but mistakenly refused to support the Progressive Party's candidate for the presidency at the elections, Robert LaFollette, on the grounds that he did not want to put forward the programme of the Farmer-Labor Party and advanced his own election platform. After this, the Workers' Party decided to put up their own candidate, William Foster, for the presidency. But this caused a split in the progressive movement, so that the candidate from the imperialist circles won the election.

In the years of stabilisation the Communist Party actively came out in defence of the economic interests and democratic rights of the American people. The Communists were in the front ranks of the champions of the rights of the Negro population, and strove to get mass public organisations to join the movement. The Trade Union Educational League played a definite part in this respect. In June 1925, on the initiative of the Communists, the organisation The International Labor Defense, came into being in Chicago; it was the aim of this organisation to promote mass political demonstrations in defence of the workers and Negro fighters to counter police persecution. In November 1925, the Communists founded the American Negro Labor Congress headed by Lovett Fort-Whiteman. The Congress spoke out against the persecution of Negroes, and against discrimination against them, particularly in the trade unions.

Striving to strengthen their ties with the working class, the Communists became more active in the strike campaigns. Under the leadership of the Communists, a strike was successfully staged by 16,000 textile workers in Passaic in 1926 which lasted for 13 months. During the strike of the coal-miners in Pennsylvania and Ohio in 1927, the Communists set up the Committee for Aid to the Strikers. All this promoted the growth of the Communists' influence among the working class.

The Communists actively joined in the democratic movement, attempting to unite the working class to counter reaction. Thus, the Workers' Party organised a mass political campaign to save Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti,

active participants in the working-class movement in the USA, Americans of Italian extraction who were falsely accused of murder for the purpose of robbery in 1920, although there was not sufficient proof of their guilt and sentenced to death on the electric chair. Defence committees were set up in many towns and cities. The Communists appealed to the workers to call a general strike. But the leaders of the AFL and the Socialist Party refused to actively champion the defence of Sacco and Vanzetti. In 1927, in spite of the big demonstrations of protest in many towns and cities in the USA and in other countries, thousands of letters and telegrams from indignant people to the American authorities, Sacco and Vanzetti were executed.

The Communists paid great attention to work in the trade union organisations. The Trade Union Educational League operated under the leadership of the Communists. Some trade union leaders, however, forbade any kind of contacts with the members of the League. In these circumstances, the Trade Union Educational League began to set up independent left-wing trade unions. In 1928, it assisted in creating the United Mine Workers'Union and the National Textile Workers' Union. Later on, trade unions of seamen, steelmen, sewing and footwear industry workers, and so forth were formed. Gradually, the League became an independent trade union centre. In 1929, it was renamed the Trade Union Unity League. The founding of an independent progressive trade union organisation resulted in the Communists becoming less vigorous and even ceasing their activity in the reformist trade unions, which still commanded the support of the majority of workers' organisations. This was a mistake, a manifestation of sectarianism in the trade union movement.

The isolation of the Communist Party from the majority of the working class, and also the penetration into its ranks of petty-bourgeois fellow-travellers made strife within the party more acute. During the years of partial stabilisation opportunist elements appeared in the Communist Party who began setting up factions, thus undermining the unity of the party. The opportunist James Cannon and his supporters, for instance, came forward with a Trotskyist platform in 1928. They proposed that the united front tactics should be renounced and appealed to their supporters to leave the trade unions. In the autumn of 1928 the Cannon group was

expelled from the Communist Party USA for its factional campaign against the Communist Party and the Comintern. The leaders of the other group, Jay Lovestone and John Pepper, came out with the opportunist theory of the "exclusiveness of the USA". They denied the general principles governing the development of capitalism in the USA. In their opinion, owing to the "exclusiveness" of the country's development, firm stabilisation had set in and a "second industrial revolution" had taken place which had alleviated the class contradictions. The right-wingers were opposed to democratic centralism and proletarian internationalism. Such views disorientated the working class, distracted it from the struggle and helped to make the Communists passive in the face of reformism. Therefore, in March 1929, the Lovestone-Pepper group was also expelled from the Communist Party. From 1929 the Workers'Party was renamed the Communist Party. The purging of the Party of opportunist groupings helped to promote Bolshevisation in the party's ranks. But the fact that the Communists were isolated from the main mass of the working class is evidence that the Communist Party USA was far from having taken shape properly as a Marxist-Leninist party of a new type.

US expansion. In the years of capitalist stabilisation American imperialism pursued a foreign policy of expansionism and tried to capture new raw materials and sales markets and find new spheres of capital investment. For this purpose, the USA extensively granted loans to other countries; the loans were intended both for economic as well as political purposes. Thus, in 1926 Morgan Bank granted Mussolini's fascist government a loan of 142 million dollars which assisted it in consolidating fascism and suppressing the democratic movement in Italy, At the same time, Coolidge's government was opposed to granting credits to the Soviet Union, hindered the development of American-Soviet trade and refused diplomatic recognition of the USSR. In 1928, the US Secretary of State, Frank Kellogg, declared that the United States did not approve of loans to or the utilisation of American credit by people offering an advance to the political regime in the USSR.

The USA played an important and sinister part in restoring Germany's economic and military potential. In 1924,

under the supervision of the American banker, Charles Gates Dawes, a reparations plan for Germany was worked out, the so-called Dawes Plan. In accordance with this plan, Germany received loans worth thousands of millions of US dollars and pounds sterling. In 1924-1929, the USA and Britain (mainly the USA) granted Germany credits totalling almost 21,000 million marks. Morgan's Bank subsidised Germany to the tune of 800 million marks. Naturally Uncle Sam was not disinterested in granting such loans to the German capitalists. The US monopolies wanted to lay their hands on the German economy. It was precisely in this period that General Electric acquired the controlling block of shares in the German electrical concern AEG, Standard Oil concluded a cartel agreement with IG Farbenindustrie, while General Motors laid their hands on the automobile firm Adam Opel. The Dawes Plan and the American loans restored the German economy and nurtured German militarism and fascism. Like Britain and France, the USA saw in Germany a force that could be employed against the revolutionary movement in Europe and also for a war with the Soviet Union.

The USA displayed great interest in extending its influence in the Far East, mainly in China. Competing with Britain and Japan in this region, the American imperialists pursued a policy of "open door" and "equal opportunities" in China just as before, in the hope that their economic superiority would allow them to oust its British and Japanese rivals from China. At the same time, the USA along with the other imperialist powers was opposed to the Chinese revolution, seeing in it a threat to its own expansion. On March 24, 1927, the warships of the USA and Great Britain mercilessly shelled the city of Nankin which had been entered by the People's Revolutionary Army of China. In April 1927, the American imperialists, like those of other countries, helped the reactionary forces of China, headed by Chiang Kai-shek, to stage a counter-revolutionary coup. When Chiang Kai-shek came to power, the USA established a dominating influence in China. It counted on using its positions to crush the national liberation revolutionary movement in China and set up an anti-Soviet bridgehead in the Far East.

The USA also pursued a policy of expansion in Latin America, where its interests clashed with those of the

British imperialists. The USA made big capital investments in the countries of Latin America, growing rich on the huge profits obtained. By the beginning of the 1930s American capital investments in Latin America amounted to 5,700 million dollars, as much as British investments. The finances in most of the Latin American countries were controlled by the USA. US penetration into Latin America was consolidated by force of arms. Coolidge's government used troops to establish the influence of the American dollar in Honduras, Nicaragua, Cuba, Haiti, the Dominican Republic, and Panama. Thus, for example, at the beginning of 1927, Coolidge sent American troops to Nicaragua to put down the liberation movement there. These actions were perpetrated without the sanction of Congress. The intervention in Nicaragua evoked great indignation among the progressive public in the USA.

The imperialistic-essence of US foreign policy was also manifest in questions of international security and disarmament. Coolidge's government opposed any kind of progress in the sphere of disarmament, further promoted international tension, and upheld the plans of world reaction for intervention against the Soviet Union.

Thus, in the period of the partial stabilisation of capitalism there was a certain economic boom in the USA, and American imperialism considerably furthered its expansion abroad. This did not, however, eradicate the internal contradictions inherent in capitalism. Although the working-class movement declined temporarily owing to the favourable state of the market, by the end of this period the USA found itself menaced by economic and social upheavals.

3. The USA in the Period of World Economic Crisis and on the Eve of the Second World War

The USA during the world economic crisis. At the end of the period of stabilisation, in 1928, the regular presidential elections took place in the USA. They were accompanied by such propaganda slogans as "prosperity" and the "exclusiveness" of the development of American imperialism. The Republican Party put up as its candidate Herbert Hoover, a representative of the big monopolies. The Democrats nominated as their candidate for the presidency, the gover-

nor of New York State, Alfred Smith. The Republican Party won the election; it had promised the voters that it would continue to pursue a policy spelling "prosperity" for the United States. Hoover became the new President of the USA (1929-1933).

With the help of machinations and trickery, Herbert Hoover had in his time made a fortune of many millions and had capital investments in Russia which were nationalised as a result of the October Revolution. This was the cause of his anti-Soviet policy and his part in organising the intervention against Soviet Russia. In 1919-1923, Hoover was the head of the American Relief Administration, whose official goal was to provide foodstuffs and other types of aid to the European countries that had suffered in the First World War, including Russia. As mentioned above, however, under the guidance of Hoover the ARA was used for espionage and subversive operations against Soviet power. From 1921 to 1928 he was US Secretary of Commerce.

Once he was President, Hoover put forward his widely publicised programme to "eliminate poverty". In actual fact, his entire policy was aimed at safeguarding the interests of big monopoly capital. In his cabinet he allotted the post of Secretary of the Treasury to the extremely influential multimillionaire Andrew Mellon. In 1929, on instructions from the White House a group of economists published a study on the state of the American economy, in which the conclusion was drawn that the USA's situation was favourable and it was moving ahead at an amazing rate.

Hoover's presidency, however, coincided with the most destructive economic crisis in world history, which hit the USA especially hard. In the autumn of 1929 shares plummeted at the New York stock exchange. The scare selling of shares began. Following this, factories and plants started to close down, there was large-scale unemployment, economic life in the USA was disrupted, and a new crisis began.

The onset of the economic crisis was the inevitable outcome of the development of capitalist contradictions. The Communists, who had pointed out the temporary nature of capitalist stabilisation and forecast the coming crisis, had been right. The peculiarity of the crisis in the USA was its unprecedentedly pernicious nature. A grandiose financial crash occurred in the USA in a short time. Shares

fell from 216 points in September 1929 to 34 points in January 1932. In the four years of the crisis 5,761 banks "went bust", the total sum of their deposits being 5,000 million dollars. In the spring of 1933, all the banks in the United States were closed. The crisis spread to industry, commerce, agriculture, and to the whole of the economy. During the crisis industrial production in the USA fell by 46 per cent compared with 1929. The coal output decreased by 42 per cent, the pig iron by 79 per cent and the steel by 76 per cent, and the production of motor vehicles by 80 per cent. Industrial production in the USA fell to the 1905-1906 level.

The intermingling of the industrial crisis with the agrarian one imparted special depth to it. Cotton consumption decreased by more than 30 per cent. Grain exports fell by 82 per cent. In 1932-1933, the prices of agricultural produce fell by 60 to 75 per cent compared with 1929. The farmers' gross receipts declined by over 50 per cent. The national income decreased by 50 per cent, and the volume of foreign trade fell by 66 per cent. Tens of thousands of small firms were ruined and had to close down. Owing to the crisis, economic life in the country largely came to a standstill.

The ruling circles in the USA tried to take measures to counter the crisis. Hoover's government proposed investing 8,000 million dollars in capital construction. The owners of the industrial and railway monopolies decided to invest 3,000 million dollars in their enterprises. The National Credit Corporation (which was later renamed the Reconstruction Finance Corporation) and the Federal Farmers' Bureau were set up to render financial aid to big industrial capital and the most wealthy farmers. Import tariffs were also raised. But all these state-regulating measures could not stay the tide of crisis.

The broad masses of the working class, the farmers, the middle urban strata, and the intelligentsia were hard hit by the crisis. At the beginning of 1933 the army of completely unemployed comprised 17 million people. The workers' wages were lowered by 60 per cent. A considerable part of the top-paid workers suffered as a result of the crisis. This meant that the social base of reformism and trade unionism in the workers' movement was narrowed down. More than one million farmers were ruined during the crisis. The govern-

ment took no measures at all to ease the plight of the broad working masses, who bore the onerous burden of the crisis. On the contrary, it was the government's policy to shift the entire weight of the crisis onto the shoulders of the people. To stifle the protests of the latter, the government banned strikes and quashed the working-class movement by means of repressions. But the crisis inevitably invigorated the mass, militant working-class movement, creating a threat to the domination of monopoly capital. There was a marked swing to the left in the working-class movement in the USA. The influence of the opportunist leaders of the AFL declined noticeably, and the prestige of the Communist Party and the left-wing trade unions grew.

In the years of the crisis the strike battles in the USA were primarily of an economic defensive nature.' The workers in the motor, steel-smelting, mining, textile and other industries fought for wage rises, a shorter working day, and recognition of the trade union organisations. In mid-1931, the miners in Pennsylvania and West Virginia went on strike under the slogan "Strike Against Starvation". The authorities and the colliery owners dealt ruthlessly with the strikers. Over one thousand of them were arrested. The strike movement had reached its highest notch by 1933, when it embraced 1,170,000 workers. But the crisis situation was unfavourable for successful strikes.

The mass movement of the unemployed, the "hunger marches", assumed the most imposing dimensions. The Communist Party USA was highly active in organising the battles of the unemployed. On March 6, 1930, the American workers, like those in other capitalist countries, held an International Day of Struggle Against Unemployment. The 1,250,000 participants in rallies and demonstrations demanded guaranteed employment and the introduction of a system of social security. In the course of the movement of the unemployed they gradually became better organised. An important part was played in this respect by the National Conference of the Unemployed in July 1930. At the Conference a programme for the fight to render assistance to the unemployed and for the introduction of social security was worked out, and the National Unemployed Council was set up to organise and direct the movement.

In 1931 and 1932, national "hunger marches" were arranged. One striking event in the movement was the

"hunger march" on Washington by unemployed veterans of the First World War in July 1932. When they came near to Washington, the veterans pitched camp. They put forward their demand that the pensions promised them during the war should be paid and social security introduced for the workers. The veterans wanted to submit their demands to the President, but the latter refused to receive the veterans. Then the participants in the march organised pickets around the Congress building and the White House. In response to this, on the orders of Hoover, tanks, cavalry, and infantry were sent against the veterans. This "military operation" was commanded by General Douglas MacArthur. The veterans were driven out of Washington by force of arms, and their camp was destroyed and razed to the ground. But this reprisal did not halt the movement of the unemployed.

The Communist Party strove to create a united front of the unemployed to rebuff the onslaught of capital. In August 1933, at the suggestion of the Communists, a trade union conference was held in Cleveland. In the following year the National Conference of the Unemployed was convened in Washington which demanded that a law should be passed on social security during unemployment. The bill was submitted to Congress by the trade unions. Representatives of the left-wing trade unions and the AFL attended both conferences. The unemployed set up their own councils, which, in spite of their temporary nature, played a definite part in the organisation of the movement.

The Communists insisted on convening a broad national congress to combat unemployment. But the reformist trade union officials did not wish to cooperate with the Communist Party. The Communists, on the other hand, could not completely get rid of their dogmatic methods. The Communist Party did, for example, advance such abstract slogans as "Unemployment—the Unavoidable Companion of Capitalism". At the same time, it did not display sufficient initiative in attaining any definite improvement in the situation of the unemployed (the collection of money, provision with free meals, and so forth). The movement of the unemployed made a great impression on public opinion in the USA. The government was forced to promise to introduce social benefits for the unemployed.

The farmers' movement also assumed large proportions. The United Farmers' League founded back in 1923 urged

the farmers to hold mass rallies, to set up action committees to fight against the compulsory sales of the farmers' property and against eviction. The farmers fought against the sale of their property by auction to cancel debts. At these auctions the farmers from all the neighbouring places agreed that they would not give more than one penny for a farm sold under the hammer. The farmers did not allow anyone to offer a higher price at the auction. Owing to this manner of opposing sales of the property of a farmer who was not able to pay his debts during the crisis, the farmers managed to keep their farms.

Another organisation, the National Farmers' Union, agitated that the farmers should not sell agricultural produce and should not buy industrial goods, so that the prices of agricultural produce would be raised. Many farmers responded to this appeal, set up pickets on the roads and did not allow agricultural produce to be transported to the purchasing depots. In 1932, this movement had spread to Iowa, Nebraska, North and South Dakota, Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Illinois. The authorities sent the police to quash this original strike on the part of the farmers.

In December 1932, a national conference of farmers was held in Washington which was attended by 250 representatives from 26 states. At the conference appeals resounded to unite with the working class and step up the fight against monopoly capital. The National Farmers Action Committee founded at the conference was of great significance in organising the farmers' movement.

The Communists actively worked in the farmers' movement. In 1933, they organised a Share-Croppers Union. The next year the Farmers' League was set up by them. All this made for better organised actions on the part of the farmers.

In response to the increased resistance by the workers and farmers, the American authorities intensified the policy of repressions and quashing the class protests of the workers by force. In the years of the crisis many workers were arrested, and the reactionary organisations stepped up their activity. In May 1930, a Congress commission was set up to inquire into the activity of Communists and suggested that the Communist Party should be banned.

During the crisis, reaction became more vigorous in its racialist persecution of the Negroes. In March 1931, the trial was held in Scottsboro of nine Negroes who were

sentenced to death on false evidence. This trial called forth a large-scale democratic movement in defence of the innocent Negroes who were condemned to death. As a result of the campaign of protest, four of the Negroes were acquitted and the rest were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment.

After the fascist dictatorship was established in Germany, the American fascists became more vigorous in their activity. The biggest reactionary organisations in the USA were the American Legion and the Ku Klux Klan. They organised the persecution and assassination of progressive statesmen, revolutionary workers, Communists, and Negroes. Their tasks included the quashing of the workers' strikes, and also any kinds of progressive and democratic movements. The peculiarity of the fascist movement in America was that it camouflaged itself, hid behind a mask of Americanism, defence of the American way of life and democracy. In 1934, the American fascists prepared a coup d'etat. But the conspirators were exposed in time, although they were left unpunished.

The world economic crisis led to the aggravation of the contradictions and struggle among the imperialist powers for new markets, and for a redivision of the world. The Hoover government strove in its foreign policy to preserve and extend the economic and political positions of the USA in the world arena. In those years, however, Britain and Germany jostled American imperialism in South America. But instead, the USA was in the lead in trade with China in 1931, partially squeezing out Britain and Japan. The United States placed under its own control air postal and passenger traffic within China itself and instituted a branch of the New York National Bank in Mukden. Concurrently, when Japan attacked China in 1931* the USA increased deliveries of military-strategic materials to Japan calculating on directing Japanese aggression towards the Soviet Union. However, Japan preferred to extend its onslaught on China in a southern direction. This led to the exacerbation of the contradictions between America and Japan.

Just as before, the ruling circles in America encouraged the revival of aggressive German imperialism. They spoke in favour of easing the burden of reparations on Germany, and then of releasing the latter completely of these payments. American financial capital placed great hopes in Germany as

a strike force against the Soviet Union. The USA, which along with other imperialist powers torpedoed the International Disarmament Conference, officially recognised Germany's right to rearmament in December 1932. President Hoover pursued a policy hostile to the USSR. The years of the crisis were one of the most difficult pages in the history of the USA.

The class essence of F. Roosevelt's New Deal. The economic crisis, which had aggravated all the capitalist contradictions led to the growth of a deep-rooted political crisis in the USA. In this situation, the next presidential elections were held in November 1932. The candidates nominated for the presidency were the following: Herbert Hoover for the Republicans, Franklin Roosevelt for the Democrats, William Foster for the Communist Party, and Norman Thomas for the Socialist Party. Herbert Hoover put forward his programme for getting out of the crisis. However, a considerable part of the American population did not believe him and did not give him their support. The representative of the Democratic Party, Franklin Roosevelt, who came out with the New Deal programme, won the elections. He promised the unemployed jobs, to raise the price of agricultural produce and provide financial aid to the farmers.

Franklin Roosevelt (1882-1945) came from the family of a big entrepreneur and landowner and was related to the families of the multimillionaires, the Du Ponts and the Astors. When he had graduated from Harvard University and the Faculty of Law of Columbia University, Roosevelt engaged in commerce, finance, and politics. From 1913 to 1920 he was assistant to the Secretary of the Navy. In spite of a serious illness in 1921, he continued his political activity and in 1928 he was elected Governor of the State of New York. In this post he put into effect a number of measures to expand the labour legislation and managed to secure some types of assistance to the farmers. All this helped to make him more popular and promoted his victory at the presidential elections. In spite of the established traditions, Roosevelt was elected President not twice, but four times (1932, 1936, 1940, and 1944).

Roosevelt was an eminent statesman who tried to consolidate the position of capitalism in the USA by means of reforms. During his term as President, monopoly capital

gained considerably in volume and strength, the profits of the biggest corporations increased to a large extent and state monopoly capitalism widely developed. Roosevelt understood, however, that it was impossible to preserve the capitalist system without certain concessions and reforms to improve the working people's lot. Therefore, he implemented a number of limited reforms, thereby anticipating the more substantial transformations demanded by increasingly broader strata of the American people.

When he set about fulfilling his duties, Roosevelt managed to get 70 legislative acts passed by Congress straightaway aimed at bringing about a "recovery" in industry, agriculture, commerce, and the credit and monetary system. All these measures were dubbed the New Deal reflected in the policy of state-monopoly regulation of the economy. In June 1933, Roosevelt managed to get a law passed on the recovery of national industry. In accordance with this law, the so-called National Industrial Recovery Act (N.I.R.A.) was instituted which effected compulsory cartelisation on the basis of the "codes of fair dealing". Correspondingly, in American industry, which was divided up into 17 groups, monopoly prices were established, the terms of commercial credits were stipulated, and the volume of output, and markets were allotted. The principal condition of the "codes of fair dealing" was that it was prohibited to sell goods for less than the set price. This helped to keep the monopoly prices high and considerably boosted the profits made by the monopolists.

The law guaranteed a minimum wage, the maximum length of the working day, the conclusion of collective agreements, the right to set up trade unions and the rendering of assistance to the multi-million-strong army of the unemployed. Roosevelt set up the Public Works Administration, which found jobs for the unemployed. Camps were also set up for unemployed young people who were engaged in public work for a pittance. From 1933 to 1937, 12,000 million dollars were allotted for public works.

To overcome the agricultural crisis, a law was passed in May 1933 on aid to the farmers and the Agricultural Adjustment Act was instituted. This body regulated the prices of agricultural produce and established the volume of output. The cutting down of the sown area by the farmers was encouraged. As a result of this policy, millions

of hectares of land sown to cotton and wheat were ploughed up again, millions of head of cattle were destroyed and huge stocks of grain were burned. This was done at a time when there were millions of unemployed in the country who did not have a means of subsistence. In 1933, the Farm Credit Administration was also instituted which granted credit to a sum of two thousand million dollars (by the beginning of 1935), mainly to the big farmers. The measures taken by Roosevelt's government in the sphere of agriculture facilitated its concentration and caused the ruin of the small farmers. These and other measures in industry and agriculture were aimed at pulling the country out of the economic crisis. But they could not radically change the essence of capitalist production with the anarchy and crises inherent in it. Roosevelt's legislation to combat the' crisis helped American imperialism to recover from the crisis at a minimum of expense, and the positions of state-monopoly capitalism expanded and became more stable.

Franklin Roosevelt paid great attention to the settlement of relations between the working class and the capitalists. A special National Labor Bureau was set up for this purpose which was not so much concerned about the well-being of the workers as about preventing strikes. Roosevelt's measures resulted in major public works, the building of highways, bridges, and so forth. All this helped to deplete unemployment somewhat.

Roosevelt's New Deal, as noted by the Communist Party USA, was aimed at consolidating the foundations of capitalism and undermining the class struggle of the workers. It could not play a determinant role in pulling the USA out of the crisis. Roosevelt began his activity at the same time as the world economic crisis came to an end. After the crisis had reached its peak and economic revival had begun, the biggest monopolists in the USA started to oppose Roosevelt's "anti-crisis" legislation. In 1935 and 1936, on the demand of the monopolies, the US Supreme Court repealed the laws on the activity of the National Industrial Recovery Act and the Agricultural Adjustment Act. The attempt at capitalist planning in the form of the New Deal turned out to be insolvent. In the conditions of capitalism and its anarchy of production and competition it was impossible to resolve socio-economic contradictions by means of regulatory measures.

The New Deal could not establish class cooperation between labour and capital. The situation of the workers still remained a hard one, and the strike movement continued to become ever fiercer. In 1934, there were big strikes at the automobile equipment factory in Toledo, and at the textile mills in California. The general strike in San Francisco in 1934 was especially wide-scale. Work came to a standstill in all the ports along the West coast. The workers demanded higher wages, a shorter working day, and recognition for industrial trade unions. A united strike committee of 50 people directed the strike. The leader of the workers, Harry Bridges, headed the strike committee. The Communist Party enjoyed great influence among the strikers. In this connection, the bourgeois press in the USA declared that the strike was "a communist rebellion" aimed at overthrowing the existing system in the USA. The authorities sent 4,500 soldiers to quash the strike as well as police squads and groups of terrorists. The entrepreneurs managed to put an end to the strike with the help of arms and terror. The workers' main demands were satisfied all the same. The entrepreneurs recognised the longshoremen's trade union and its right to control the hiring of manpower.

The strike in San Francisco was one of a series of big strike protests of that time. In September 1934, a general strike of textile workers flared up in which 475,000 workers at 2,780 factories in 22 states took part. The strike was foiled by the joint efforts of the ruling circles, the entrepreneurs, and the trade union officials. From 1934 to 1939, there were 16,000 strikes in the USA in which more than seven million people took part. The farmers' and general democratic movement evolved concomitantly with the strike campaign. All this made a great impression on the ruling circles in the USA.

Roosevelt's government was forced to satisfy a number of the demands of the working class such as wage rises, the right to paid vacations, and higher overtime rates. The Wagner Law (the National Labor Relations Act) passed in July 1935 prohibited the persecution of workers for setting up trade unions and going on strike. The law obliged the capitalists to recognise the trade union organisations and conclude collective agreements with them. The entrepreneurs were forbidden to create "company" unions. The Wagner

law was a substantial attainment on the part of the workers, the outcome of their dogged class struggle. In August 1935, the US Congress passed a law on social security. According to this law, pensions were stipulated for workers, who had reached the age of 65, unemployment benefits were introduced and allowances for invalids, orphans and widows. The social security fund providing for old age pensions and allowances for invalids and loss of the bread-winner were built up from contributions by the workers and deductions from the capitalists. Although the law did not embrace all categories of the American proletariat, it was indubitably an achievement.

The leaders of the AFL praised Roosevelt's workers' policy in every possible way. They called the Wagner Law "the great charter of labour". Under Roosevelt, the trade union officials increasingly preached class cooperation, trying to eliminate the strike movement completely. The right Socialists tried to convince the Americans that Roosevelt's policy was "a step towards socialism" (Norman Thomas). The General Secretary of the Communist Party USA, Earl Browder, who subsequently became a renegade, either overestimated the significance of Roosevelt's New Deal or put it on the same shelf as fascism. Incorrect appraisals hindered the party in working out tactics with regard to Roosevelt's policy. But, on the whole, the Communist Party was correct in defining the bourgeois essence of the New Deal and supported Roosevelt's progressive measures.

The struggle for the unity of the working-class movement. When the economic crisis had ended, the American Communists fought for a united front to stay the onslaught of capital, fascism and war. The Communists were active participants and leaders in a number of strikes. They exposed the reformist leaders of the AFL who hindered the development of the strike campaign and set about torpedoing it.

The Communists were extremely active in creating a united front. Back on September 29, 1933, the Communists convened the first convention to fight fascism and war in New York which was attended by 2,700 delegates from 35 states. The convention laid the foundations for the American League of Struggle Against War and Fascism. A year later, the second convention to fight war and fascism

was held in Chicago. The 3,320 people, who attended it, represented organisations with a total membership of 1,600 people. Youth organisations were also involved in the movement for unity of action. In May 1935, representatives of the 1,300,000 young organised Americans held a conference of unity of youth action. The Communist Youth League took part in its work.

The Communists continued to work actively among the unemployed. At the beginning of January 1935, a national convention on unemployment and social security was held in Washington. Thanks to the efforts of the Communist Party, the trade unions in the USA gathered in strength considerably, and its left wing was fortified. The influence of the Communists in the trade unions grew. But the Communists had still not rid themselves of sectarianism in trade union work. In 1934, they planned to found an independent labour federation from the progressive trade unions, in opposition to the AFL. This was an obvious mistake, and the Communists soon renounced such ideas.

Concurrently, by means of the Trade Union Unity League, the Communists helped to promote the growth of the left wing in the trade union movement. Fighting for the unity of the working class, in 1935 they managed to get the League disbanded in order to prepare for the amalgamation of the independent trade unions with the AFL. Under the pressure of the working masses, the leaders of the AFL were forced to allow the progressive trade unions to join their association. The left-wing trade union officials campaigned to set up industrial trade unions within the AFL. They managed to found eight trade unions of this type which united to form the Committee of Industrial Organisations at the end of 1935. The Committee was extremely active in getting unorganised workers involved in the trade unions and soon set up a few more industrial trade unions. The left wing consolidated itself even further in the AFL. Frightened by the turn that things took, the leaders of the AFL expelled eight trade unions in 1936.

The Committee of Industrial Organisations, and from 1938 the Congress of Industrial Organisations, became an independent organisation. Thus, the reformists were to blame that the split in the trade union movement in the USA was not healed. The formation of the Congress of Industrial Organisations was, however, a great attainment for

the left wing in the trade union movement. In spite of the fact that John Lewis was elected the chairman of the Congress of Industrial Organisations, who tried to take charge of the industrial trade unions in the disguise of a progressive figure, in order to pursue the previous reformist policy, the Congress of Industrial Organisations, with the active participation of the Communists, further promoted the unification of unorganised workers. At this time, industrial trade unions emerged in the steel-smelting, aluminium, automotive, building and petroleum industries. The membership of the Congress of Industrial Organisations rose to four million in 1937.

In 1936, the next election campaign began in the USA. The Democratic Party again nominated Roosevelt as their candidate for the presidency. The candidate put forward by the Republican Party was the Governor of the State of Kansas, the reactionary Alfred Landon, who was supported by the biggest bosses in American business. The Communist Party campaigned for the elections under the slogan of a united front. At their convention in June 1936 the Communists put forward the slogan of setting up a Farmers' and Workers' Party in the new conditions as the main form of a united popular front in the USA. In a number of places grass-roots cells of the Farmers' and Workers' Party emerged. In the election campaign the Communists came out independently, nominating their own candidate. Roosevelt again won the elections.

Roosevelt's second term in office again coincided with the new economic crisis. In 1938, production fell by 23 per cent compared with 1937; the steel output decreased by 44 per cent, the output of pig iron by almost 50 per cent, coal extraction by 22 per cent, and motor vehicle production by 52 per cent. Once again the crisis affected agriculture, trade, and credit. Unemployment increased anew, and the condition of the working class worsened. In March 1938, the number of completely or partially unemployed had risen to 13 million. The monopolists started a fresh offensive on the living standard and rights of the workers. Under the pressure exerted by them, Roosevelt renounced his New Deal policy. The allocations for public works were cut. The forces favouring fascism and war became more vigorous in their offensive. In 1938, the House Committee on Un-American Activities (the Dies Committee) became extremely active.

The Committee was not fighting against fascist organisations, but mainly against the Communist Party. Numerous other reactionary organisations had, moreover, appeared, which were engaged in persecuting everything that was progressive. By 1939 there were more than 700 reactionary, pro-fascist organisations.

In these circumstances, the organisation of the struggle for unity of action and against the offensive of capital, fascism and war acquired even greater importance. Under the leadership of the Communist Party and Committee of Industrial Organisations the strike struggle of the American workers intensified. At the beginning of 1937 the Committee of Industrial Organisations staged two big and successful strikes of workers at the motor works of the General Motors and Chrysler corporations. The workers managed to get their trade unions recognised and working conditions improved. All in all, 1,860,000 people went on strike in 1937, and the number of strikes had doubled compared with 1936 to reach 4,740. In 78 per cent of the strikes the workers came out victorious.

In 1938, the workers continued to fight doggedly against the onslaught of capital. At the beginning of February 1938,100,000 unemployed in Detroit staged a big demonstration, demanding higher unemployment benefits and lower rents. In July 1938, the railwaymen prevented the entrepreneurs from cutting their wages by threatening a general strike. The strike campaign made the American proletariat better organised and promoted its class consciousness. By the beginning of 1939 the trade unions had a membership of 8,500,000, i.e. it had doubled compared with 1936. But there was still no unanimity in the trade union movement. The leaders of the Congress of Industrial Organisations repeatedly appealed to the leaders of the AFL with a proposal for their organisations to unite. But the reactionary members of the AFL frustrated trade union unity.

The Communists strove to organise a mass movement against fascism and war. They energetically joined in the activities of the American League for Peace and Democracy founded in 1937. The membership of the League swelled to four million. It fought for the economic and political rights of the workers. The League was a distinctive form of popular front to oppose fascism and war. The League and

the Communist Party actively joined in the campaign in defence of the Spanish Republic. More than three thousand American Communists, arms in hand, fought the Spanish fascists as members of the Lincoln international brigade. In May 1938, the Congress of the Communist Party worked out a definite programme for settingup a popular democratic front for the elections to Congress. On the eve of the Second World War the prestige of the Communist Party grew. In 1939, it had 90,000 members compared with 17,000 in 1933. But the Communist Party had still not consolidated its position among the working masses in the main industrial regions. Moreover, the opportunists headed by Earl Browder, who had started to revise the ideological principles of communism even at that time, were acquiring increasing influence.

Thus, amidst the world economic crisis the mass working-class movement became more active, the strike campaign and the farmers' movement became more vigorous, there were major protests by the unemployed, the left wing of the trade unions grew in strength, a new trade union organisation, the Congress of Industrial Organisations, was founded which took a progressive stand at that time, and the influence of the Communist Party, which was fighting for a united front against the onslaught of capital, fascism, and war, increased. All this meant that the working-class movement in the USA was consolidated organisationally and ideologically and resulted in a number of important gains for the working class. But, just as before, reformism and trade unionism predominated in the American working-class movement, while the Communist Party had not yet rid itself of the sectarian and opportunist elements in its ranks.

US foreign policy on the eve of the Second World War. Roosevelt's government displayed flexibility and realism in its foreign policy. One of Roosevelt's first foreign policy acts was the establishment of diplomatic and commercial relations with the Soviet Union. Amidst the economic difficulties that the USA was experiencing, some of the country's business circles began to express a desire for trade with the USSR, which was successfully constructing socialism. On the other hand, the broad strata of the working population in the USA ever more energetically demanded normalisation of relations with the Soviet Union.

On November 16, 1933, the Soviet Union and the United States exchanged notes on the establishment of diplomatic relations. Trade agreements were concluded between the USSR and the USA in 1935 and 1937 which promoted mutually advantageous economic ties between the two countries. The recognition of the USSR testified to the utter failure of the anti-Soviet policy pursued by the reactionary forces in the USA for many years.

On the whole, the US foreign policy in the thirties was aimed at expanding the influence of American imperialism throughout the world just as before. In this period, the USA consolidated its positions in Latin America. In December 1933, Roosevelt proposed the "good neighbour" policy with regard to the Latin American countries. These were new tactics, more flexible, better disguised than before, calculated to subordinate the Latin American countries to the US monopolies and to suppress the national liberation movement of the oppressed peoples. The United States considerably extended its capital investments in Latin America, and enhanced its trade expansion there. In 1936, eleven trade agreements were concluded between the USA and Latin America. In the struggle for domination in Latin America, the American imperialists came up against competition from Great Britain, Germany, and Japan. However, the USA skilfully used the idea of pan-Americanism to jostle its rivals. The three Pan-American conferences held at that time helped to consolidate US hegemony in Latin America.

US foreign policy in Western Europe and in the Far East was aimed at encouraging the aggressive countries—Germany, Italy and Japan—to attack the USSR. Together with the other imperialist powers, the USA supplied the aggressors with materiel. The "neutrality" proclaimed by the USA in August 1935 signified a refusal to help the victims of aggression and encouraged the fascist states in their aggressive actions. The USA also hoped to occupy the most advantageous positions in the war prepared by imperialism. The law on "neutrality" did not, at the same time, prevent either Italy, Germany, Franco's fascists or Japan from obtaining military-strategic materials from the USA. Japan, for example, when it started its big war in China in 1937, continued to purchase more than half of its materiel from the USA. The ruling circles in the USA bear great

responsibility for preventing a system of collective security and for supporting the Munich policy of encouraging the aggressor.

On the eve of the Second World War the contradictions between the USA, on the one hand, and Germany and Japan, on the other, began to become increasingly manifest. The short-sighted policy of encouraging the aggressor was dangerous for the interests of the American monopolies themselves. Therefore the ruling circles in the USA started to be more active in getting their country ready for war. The USA set about increasing arms productions and setting up military bases in the Pacific. In 1938, the US War Department worked out a "plan of industrial mobilisation" should war break out, then the government instituted the Energy Committee of National Defence. At the beginning of 1939, measures were taken to reinforce the army and the navy and set up a powerful airforce. All this testifies to the fact that the United States was intensively preparing for a world war. "No one can make me believe," announced Senator Frazier in Congress in January 1939, "that appropriations, running into the billions of dollars for building battleships ... are being built for peace and not for war.... We are making preparation for war."

Thus, the American monopolies, which so insistently supported the aggressive strivings of Germany and Japan, bear great responsibility for the world war unleashed by those countries.

The workers in the USA headed by the Communist Party actively opposed the reactionary tendencies in the American government's foreign policy. So, in connection with the delivery of military-strategic materials by the USA to Italy, which was invading Ethiopia, the Communist Party USA and the other progressive organisations arranged a series of rallies and demonstrations under the slogans: "Put an End to Deliveries of Arms and Materiel to Italy! ", "Every Possible Support for Abyssinia". During the Civil War in Spain the workers in the USA came out with an appeal to help the Spanish Republicans. In January 1937 the League Against War and Fascism protested against the embargo on purchases of American arms by the anti-fascists in Spain. In the USA committees for assistance to republican Spain sprang up which collected money and medicaments for the workers in Spain.

In the summer of 1937, when Japan had set about its massive offensive on China, the American workers organised a movement of solidarity with the Chinese people. The American League of Friends of China, the Committee for Assistance to China, and many other organisations demanded that trade in strategic materials with Japan should be ended. The inhabitants of the USA began to boycott Japanese goods.

The policy of Nazi Germany was also a cause of increasing concern to the American people. On March 14, 1938, a wave of rallies and demonstrations of protest against the seizure of Austria by the German fascists swept the USA, on the appeal of the Communist Party, under the slogan "Hands Off Austria". The progressive forces in the USA were just as active in their protest against the "Munich betrayal". The peace-loving forces in the country appealed to the democratic public in the USA to resist the threat of war. However, they acted separately and could not compel the ruling circles to renounce the policy of encouraging the aggressors which soon resulted in the Second World War breaking out.

CANADA

The upsurge of the working-class and farmers' movement in Canada after the end of the First World War. Canada, a British dominion, fought in the First World War on the side of the Entente. More than 400,000 soldiers found themselves in the European theatre of war. The orders for arms and materiel boosted heavy industry. Britain extensively used deliveries of materiel and foodstuffs from Canada. The Canadian bourgeoisie grew considerably wealthier during the war. From 1917 to 1921 a coalition Cabinet of the Conservatives and Liberals was in power.

The ideas of the October Revolution made a great impact in Canada and helped to promote the working-class and national movement in the country. The organisation Canadian Friends of Soviet Russia collected money, clothing, foodstuffs and medicaments for the Soviet working people. The working masses actively protested against the participation of the Canadian forces in the anti-Soviet intervention. The progressive forces in Canada prevented military

units and weapons intended for the anti-Soviet intervention from being dispatched. The population, especially the French-speaking inhabitants, protested against the introduction of conscription. In Quebec there were clashes between the masses and the troops. In 1920, Canada set about gradually normalising relations with Soviet Russia, recognising it de facto in 1921.

The inspiring example of the Russian revolution and the aggravation of the class contradictions in Canada itself, noted Tim Buck, the Chairman of the Communist Party of Canada, raised the working-class movement in the country to a new level. In 1918 the class struggle of the proletariat in Canada became more vigorous, and there were 244 strikes. In 1919, the number of protests in the form of strikes rose to 336. The biggest general strike of those years took place in Winnipeg from May to June 1919. The metalworkers and builders went on strike on May 1, demanding an eight-hour working day, wage rises and recognition of the right of the trade unions to conclude collective agreements. Then the strike became a general one. The strikers set up their own committee, which did in fact govern the town for six weeks. Solidarity strikes began throughout the country. Only by means of force did the authorities manage to quash the strike.

In 1919 and 1920, 148,915 people went on strike, and the total number of working days lost in strikes was 3,500,000. Big strikes were also called by the lumberjacks and the longshoremen in 1919 and 1922. In the course of the struggle the workers became better organised. Trade union membership rose from 205,000 in 1917 to 249,000 in 1918 and 378,000 in 1919. The farmers also joined the class struggle alongside the workers. In 1919, they managed to set up the first farmers' and workers' government in the province of Ontario. In the provinces of Alberta and Manitoba they gained the majority at the legislative assemblies. The farmers' movement led to the formation of a petty-bourgeois national Progressive Party in 1920 which spoke in favour of cuts in tariffs on agricultural produce and lower tariffs on rail freight. Some of the members of the party also advanced demands that the railways and power stations should be nationalised.

In 1920, Canada was hit by an economic crisis. As the war had ended, deliveries of Canadian wheat to Europe had

in fact ceased. The cultivation of wheat and other agricultural produce had revived in Europe, making European produce competitive with Canadian. The agrarian crisis, which hit the country's economy particularly hard, became even more acute in 1921. Consequently, the condition of the working masses greatly worsened, including that of the farmers. Moreover, the trade monopolies and the owners of the railways increased charges for their services, thus greatly hitting the farmers. As a result, the farmers' movement became more and more active. At the general elections in 1921, drawing support from the farmers, the Progressive Party received 65 mandates. This allowed it to have a definite influence on the policy of the Liberals, who had received 117 seats out of 245 at the elections and had formed a cabinet headed by Martin King. The Liberal government manoeuvred between the farmers in the West and the industrialists in the East. It cut customs duties and tariffs on the transportation of flour by rail in the interests of the farmers. But, simultaneously, it managed to attain advantageous conditions for the export of certain goods (cars, footwear, paper) which were of benefit to the industrialists.

The Great October Socialist Revolution promoted the development of the communist movement in Canada. The first illegal groups of Communists appeared in 1918. They helped to disseminate the ideas of Leninism among the more advanced groups of the working class. Excerpts from Lenin's letter to American workers were published in the Canadian press. Then Lenin's work *"Left"-wing Communism—an Infantile Disorder* came out in English. In June 1921, at a unifying congress in the town of Guelph (province of Ontario), the Canadian Communists formed into an illegal party. The delegates to the congress approved the theses and rules of the Comintern, announced that they would join it, adopted the party programme and elected the party's Central Committee. The congress held in February 1922 announced the foundation of the legal Workers' Party of Canada which was renamed the Communist Party of Canada in June 1924. The party was still weak and poorly linked with the broad mass organisations. But in April 1922, under its leadership the Trade Union Educational League came into being which opposed the policy of class cooperation and worked to organise unorganised workers. The Communist Party paid great attention to

founding a farmers' and workers' party.

After the war Britain's positions in Canada were weaker. This can be explained by the growth and consolidation of the Canadian bourgeoisie as well as by the growing influence of the United States in Canada. By the end of 1922 US investments in Canada amounted to 2,593 mln dollars, and those of Britain to 2,464 mln dollars. In 1917, Britain agreed to have a representative of Canada (and of the other dominions as well) in the empire's war cabinet. Canada signed the Versailles Treaty and the other peace treaties independently and joined the League of Nations. In 1920, Canada managed to obtain Britain's consent to send its own diplomatic representative to the USA. It supported the United States at the Washington Conference in 1921-1922. Having refused to join in the intervention against Turkey, Canada did not send its representative to the Lausanne Conference, and tried to gain equality of rights for the dominions with the metropolis in the sphere of foreign policy.

Greater independence for Canada. In the period of capitalist stabilisation Canada made yet another step forward in its economic development. Monopoly capital began to play a dominant role in its economy. British imperialism increasingly gave way to the US monopolies in Canada, which were actively invading that country. The Liberal Party whose representative Martin King headed the government from 1926 to 1930 predominated in the country's political life. Together with the other dominions, at British Commonwealth Conference in 1926 Canada managed to obtain legal equalisation with the metropolis in all rights. There was a decline in the working-class movement in this period. By 1925 the number of trade union members had fallen to 250,000. The right-wing leaders of the trade unions actively pursued a policy of class cooperation. The leftist elements were expelled from the Canadian Trade Union Congress.

The dissatisfaction with the reformist policy of the trade union leaders instigated the workers to fight for new trade unions. In March 1927, the All-Canada Congress of Labor was founded which insisted on the complete independence of the Canadian working-class movement (since the Canadian trade unions were a component part of the trade unions in the USA). The Communist Party spoke out in favour of

setting up industrial organisations and unity of the working-class movement. In this period it entered into an acute ideological and political struggle with the Trotskyites and the right-wing opportunist elements who had been removed from the leading posts in the Canadian Communist Party. Tim Buck was elected the general secretary of the Communist Party.

From 1929 to 1933 Canada was hit by a grave economic crisis in the wake of the USA. Industrial production in the country fell by more than 50 per cent in the years of the crisis. In 1930, more than half the workers in industry were unemployed. The prices of agricultural produce fell. The price of wheat, for instance, decreased by 88 per cent. As a result of the crisis, 240,000 farms (out of 480,000) were ruined. Inflation raged in the country. On average, the per capita income of the working people diminished by 48 per cent. At the same time, in the years of the crisis there was greater concentration and centralisation of capital and production, state-monopoly capital developed, and the US monopolies increasingly penetrated into Canada's economy.

The general elections took place on July 28, 1930. The Liberal government of Martin King, which had done nothing to overcome the crisis, did not receive the backing of the voters. The elections were won by the Conservatives whose leader Richard Bedford Bennett formed a government (1930-1935). He started off by raising duties on industrial goods. Concurrently, Bennett promised to put an end to unemployment. In September 1930 the Canadian Parliament passed a law on unemployment benefits. At the beginning of 1935 Bennett put forward a programme of reform (New Deal). Concomitantly, the Conservatives ruthlessly quashed the protests of the working class, the farmers, and the unemployed, using the armed forces against demonstrators and strikers. Following the example of the USA, "labour camps" were set up for the unemployed in Canada in 1932, where hard labour was rewarded with a pittance.

The authorities were particularly cruel in dealing with the Communists. In August 1931 they arrested and threw into prison the general secretary of the Communist Party, Tim Buck, and seven other party members. The Communist Party was outlawed. It was not until 1934 that, in view of the mass protest, Tim Buck and the other leaders of the Communist Party of Canada were released. All in all, some

10,000 people were arrested under Bennett's government. In those years, the Workers' Unity League founded in 1929 on the initiative of the Communist Party played an important part in defending the interests of the workers. From 1929 to 1935 there were 797 strikes in Canada in which 166,000 people took part. On June 3, 1935, a march of the unemployed on Ottawa began.

During the crisis a certain regrouping of the political parties occurred in Canada. This largely ensued from the vacillating position of the petty-bourgeois strata. Some of them inclined towards the fascist movement. Numerous fascist-type groupings had appeared in Canada. Others supported the right Social-Democrats who organised themselves into the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, in 1932. This party combined the anti-monopoly strivings of the farmers with the ideology of labourism. Its programme contained demands for the nationalisation of a number of industries, the democratisation of political life in the country, the fight for disarmament and world peace, and so forth. In spite of the discrepancy between the statements and actions of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, it played a definite positive part in offering opposition to the monopoly bourgeoisie.

Those tendencies developed in Canada's foreign policy, which were defined after the First World War. On December 11, 1931, the British Parliament adopted the so-called Westminster Statute on mutual relations between Great Britain and the dominions. It took into account the increased independence of Canada and the other dominions. According to the Westminster Statute, Canada was granted the right to repeal and change the laws of the British Parliament which applied to it. Henceforth, laws in respect of Canada could not be issued in London without the consent of the Canadian government. At the same time the Statute restricted the legislative initiatives of Canada's federal government in relation to its provinces. Great Britain also retained its individual right to change the Canadian Constitution. Nevertheless, the adoption of the Westminster Statute signified further confirmation of Canada's sovereignty.

Bennett's government came forward with the initiative of concluding agreements within the framework of the British Empire on imperial preferences (preferential duties). It hoped thereby to promote sales of goods within the frame-

work of the empire. This question was discussed at the British Commonwealth Conference on economic questions held in July-August 1932 in Ottawa, the capital of Canada. Britain made concessions at the conference. It was decided to establish preferences in trade among the countries of the British Empire. The share of the dominions in British imports increased. Although the decisions taken at the Ottawa conference were to a certain extent of advantage to Canada, nevertheless, the latter was not able to find markets for its surplus industrial goods and agricultural produce. Therefore, in 1935, Bennett began negotiations with the USA on a trade agreement.

At the next general elections on October 14, 1935, the Conservative Party lost. The Liberals came to power who formed a government headed by Martin King (1935-1948). The Cooperative Commonwealth Federation obtained 400,000 votes at the elections and sent seven deputies to Parliament. The Social Credit Party founded in 1935, which advanced demands to restrict the power of the monopolies, gained 17 seats in parliament.

In the second half of the 1930s Canada was increasingly drawn into the orbit of the US policy. Consequently, by the end of the 1930s the American monopolies had taken under their control more than 1,500 Canadian companies. They had cartel agreements with hundreds of other firms. In 1939, foreign capital investments in Canada amounted to 6,913 mln dollars including US investments of 4,151 mln dollars. Production and capital were largely concentrated and centralised under foreign control in Canada. The Canadian monopolies began to export capital. In 1939, the total sum of Canada's capital investments abroad was 1,865 mln dollars. Capital investments were mainly being injected into the countries of Latin America and the USA.

In its foreign policy, Martin King's government, following in the footsteps of the USA, Great Britain, and France, pursued a policy of non-interference and encouraging the aggressor. It approved the Munich deal on the partitioning of Czechoslovakia. An anti-Soviet tendency was clearly manifest in Canada's foreign policy on the eve of the Second World War.

The Canadian workers, however, actively spoke out against the onslaught of capital, the danger of fascism and the threat of war. The Canadian Communists were in the

vanguard of this movement. During the crisis the Communist Party headed the struggle of the working people against unemployment and against the reactionary offensive of the ruling circles. It organised an extensive campaign for the release of the arrested party leaders. In June 1936 the Canadian Parliament amended Article 98 of the Criminal Code on the basis of which the Communist Party was outlawed. The Communists again began to operate legally. Under the leadership of the Communist Party anti-war conferences were organised in the country. In October 1934, a congress organised by the Communist Party and the Cooperative Federation was convened against war and fascism representing more than 375,000 members of the movement. A remarkable page in the history of the Communist Party is its participation in the international assistance to Spain. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, a battalion of Canadian volunteers was formed, named after William Mackenzie and Louis Papineau which fought in the International Brigade in Spain. All in all, more than 1,200 Canadians joined the fight against fascism in Spain, and many of them gave their lives in this struggle. In 1937, the Communist Party of Canada had 15,000 members (compared with 3,300 in 1931). It began to cooperate with the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation on a nation-wide scale.

During the second half of the 1930s the strike movement became more vigorous. In 1937, there were 278 strikes in which 72,000 people took part. The struggle of the textile workers became extremely wide-scale, especially in Quebec province. The workers of the automotive industry staged a militant strike in Ontario province. There were strikes in the rubber, footwear and wood-working industries as well. The number of trade unions swelled again, their membership reaching 382,000 in 1938. In 1936-1939 industrial trade unions sprang up. By the end of 1939 there were 25 of them, and their total membership numbered 50,000. Thousands of Canadians joined the organisations League for Peace and Democracy and Friends of the League of Nations. Together with the peace champions in all countries, the Canadian working people protested against the unleashing of the Second World War.

Chapter 15

The Countries of Latin America

During the First World War the countries of Latin America remained neutral. Only Brazil and Cuba declared war on Germany in 1917. The war had a considerable impact on the economies of the Latin American countries, increasing the demand for their foodstuffs and raw materials on the world market. The severing of the traditional ties with Europe stimulated industrial development in Latin America. Capitalist relations evolved there, the positions of the national bourgeoisie were consolidated, and the proletariat increased.

But after the war the countries of Latin America still remained highly dependent on foreign, mainly British and North American, imperialism. The United States was particularly active on the continent, largely ousting its rivals, in particular Great Britain. The sway of foreign capital prevented the development of the national economies in the countries of Latin America and helped to preserve feudal and semifeudal relations, especially in the countryside. In many countries big landed estates dominated in agriculture. Thus, the possessions of five thousand latifundistas in Argentina accounted for more than half of the country's territory. Some latifundia comprised as many as 800,000 hectares of land. In Brazil 0.3 per cent of the farms had more than 10,000 hectares of land each. On the whole, one-fourth of all the agricultural land belonged to them. Five hundred and ninety-nine Chilean latifundistas owned more than 5,000

hectares of land each. Making up 0.7 per cent of all the farms, they owned 56 per cent of the land. The same picture was observed in Mexico and other Latin American countries.

Foreign capital took over huge tracts of land in the countries of Latin America. In Mexico 32 million hectares of land belonged to it, including more than 16 million hectares to North American monopolies. The oil monopolies of the USA seized many millions of hectares of land in Bolivia, Venezuela, and Colombia. The broad masses of the peasants experienced the yoke of foreign capital on the coffee, banana, cotton, and other plantations. The foreign owners used such methods of exploitation as share-cropping, extortionate leases, and forced labour to work off debts.

During the First World War there was a temporary economic boom in Latin America. But immediately after the war a slump began. During the economic crisis of 1920-1921 work came to a standstill at the meat-packing houses in Argentina, the oil-fields in Mexico, the saltpetre and copper mines in Chile and at the sugar refineries in Cuba. The cultivation of crops for export decreased. This was accompanied by a rise in the prices of industrial goods and agricultural produce. Great numbers of unemployed appeared in the towns and cities. The peasants grew poorer in the countryside. Many representatives of the urban petty bourgeoisie were ruined. The national commercial and industrial bourgeoisie, which had gained in strength somewhat in the war years, now began to experience considerable difficulties.

The dependence on foreign imperialism, the existence of feudal and semifeudal relations in all spheres of life in the Latin American countries led to a growth of contradictions and an upsurge in the class struggle and the liberation movement. The industrial working class, whose organisation and ideological and political level had risen considerably, began to play a growing part in this struggle. The national bourgeoisie also began to act more vigorously against foreign capital and the vestiges of feudalism.

The Great October Socialist Revolution stimulated an upsurge of the national liberation movement in the countries of Latin America. The working masses warmly welcomed the revolutionary events in Russia. They held demonstrations of solidarity, sent messages of greetings to the Land of Soviets, protested against the intervention of the Entente

countries and unanimously upheld Lenin's peace policy. The ideas of the October Revolution rallied together the left Socialists and undermined the influence of the reformists and anarcho-syndicalists. Communist groups and parties began to mushroom. José Carlos Mariategui (Peru), Luis Emilio Recabarren (Chile), Julio Antonio Melia (Cuba), Victorio Codovilla and Rodolfo Ghioldi (Argentina), Astrogildo Pereira (Brazil) and Manuel Diaz Ramires (Mexico) were among those who played an important part in disseminating the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and organising the communist parties.

Important events in the revolutionary struggle against local and foreign exploiters can be noted in many countries in Latin America from 1917 to 1923. Although this struggle did not result in any radical changes in the situation of individual states, it made some headway in liberating them from imperialist and feudal oppression.

During the years of partial stabilisation of capitalism foreign, chiefly American, capital began to penetrate the countries of Latin America more and more intensively. The United States unceremoniously interfered in the internal affairs of the states on that continent, sent troops there, quashed the revolutionary protests of the masses, and removed the governments that were not to its liking. Latin America's financial dependence on foreign capital became very much greater than before.

In these circumstances, the struggle of the popular masses for their national interests and against imperialism became more vigorous. In a number of cases, it acquired especially acute forms. The national liberation struggle in Nicaragua in 1926-1933 which turned into a civil war is just one example of this.

As the national liberation movement grew, its organisation and unity were consolidated. In 1927, on the basis of the national anti-imperialist leagues, the Anti-Imperialist League of America was founded. The communist parties gained in strength in parallel with the anti-imperialist and working-class movement. From 1924 to 1929 communist groups and parties were formed in Peru, Paraguay, and other countries. At the first conference of the communist parties of Latin America in June 1929 it was noted that the revolutionary process on the continent was not of a socialist, but of an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal nature. This proposition

armed the Communists of Latin America with a correct understanding of the tasks and strategy of the liberation movement. At the same time, the communist parties still had a small membership and had not competely freed themselves of the influence of anarcho-syndicalism and reformism.

The dependent position of the Latin American countries on foreign imperialism was the reason why the world economic crisis hit the working masses on that continent very hard. The one-sided development of the economy in individual countries led to the accumulation of one kind of product or another, which could not be sold on the world market. The value of exports from the Latin American countries decreased by 64.3 per cent in the years of the economic crisis. The slump in industry and the neglect of the fields resulted in mass unemployment, the number of jobless in industry and agriculture reaching between five and seven million.

The drastic deterioration in the material situation of the working masses led to a fresh upsurge in the class struggle and the national liberation movement. The strike campaign became more vigorous, peasant unrest grew in scale, and mutinies in the army and the navy became increasingly common, which testified to the growing national awareness of the peoples of Latin America. A communist movement evolved. Communist parties were formed in Venezuela, Panama, Colombia, Salvador and Costa Rica.

The crisis led to the aggravation of the interimperialist struggle in Latin America. The differences between the USA and Britain sometimes turned into conflicts between the Latin American countries (Bolivia-Paraguay, Peru-Colombia, and others).

The slight recovery of the economies in Latin America in 1933 was an extremely slow one. In 1938, many countries on the continent had already been hit by a new economic crisis. In the 1930s the fascist powers penetrated Latin America apace. In 1937, German imperialism had already become the leading exporter of goods to Brazil and Chile. In an acute competitive struggle Britain lost its status in the economies of the Latin American countries. The United States retained its influence with great difficulty. Germany and the other fascist powers penetrated more and more intensively into the political life and the army of the Latin

American states. In Hitler's plans Latin America was conceived as a German colony called "New Germany". German fascism encouraged emigration to the states of Latin America, making the emigrants its agents. In some countries fascist ideas began to be disseminated and methods of fascist administration were copied.

The vital task of repelling fascism, foreign capital and preventing war faced the working class and all the anti-imperialist forces in Latin America. The mobilising part in tackling these tasks was played by the communist parties and other progressive organisations. The Confederation of Workers of Latin America, a progressive trade union association founded in 1938, was of great significance in defending the class and national interests of the working people. In some countries on the continent the working class was in the vanguard of the movement to set up a united anti-fascist, anti-imperialist popular front.

MEXICO

The bourgeois-democratic revolution, which had begun in 1910, came to an end in Mexico in 1917. It cleared the way for the accelerated development of capitalism in the country. The anti-feudal, anti-imperialist nature of the revolution was reflected in the 1917 Constitution. According to the Constitution, the right of the Mexicans to all the mineral and other natural resources in the country was recognised. The Constitution advanced the task of implementing an agrarian reform, and established the principles and procedure for putting it into effect: the dividing up of the latifundia, the returning of the land taken away from the peasants and the communes. The fundamental law proclaimed an eight-hour working day, a day off on Sundays, a minimum wage, and the right to set up trade unions and to go on strike. The working masses did, however, have to wage a dogged struggle to get even part of these clauses implemented.

The liberal-constitutionalist government headed by the President, Venustiano Carranza (1914-1920) took an anti-imperialist stand, but on the whole it expressed the interests of the bloc of the national bourgeoisie and the landowners. The agrarian reform was put into effect slowly. At the end

of 1919 some 36,000 peasants received land, although more than 2,700,000 people were landless. Therefore, the peasant masses continued to fight for land, arms in hand. The guerrilla detachments of Emiliano Zapata and Francisco Villa were active in the country. Government troops carried out big operations against the guerrillas. Zapata was killed in 1919, and Villa in 1923.

The news of the October Revolution in Russia was received with enthusiasm by the Mexican revolutionaries. The first communist organisations began to spring up in the country. Representatives of the revolutionary youth set up the Group of the Young Red Socialists which started its own printed organ *El Soviet.*

Under the pressure of the popular movement, Cartanza's government made an attempt to restrict the arbitrariness of foreign capital somewhat. In February 1918, a decree was issued which raised the tax levied on the oil industrialists, and in July a decree on the compulsory re-registration of all the foreign possessions in the country. Foreign capital, primarily US capital, actively opposed the restricted measures of the Mexican government. In the USA, the Senator Fall Committee came into being which urged intervention against Mexico. The differences between the two countries again became acute.

Simultaneously, the internal situation in Mexico became more complicated. The peasants continued to occupy the landed estates. The workers made attempts to take over the mines, set up Soviets, and demanded that the mines should be socialised. The tussle between the various trends in the working-class movement became fiercer. While the anarcho-syndicalists were losing their influence among the masses, the reformists were, on the contrary, becoming more vigorous in their activity. In May 1918, they founded the Mexican Regional Workers' Confederation, and in 1919, the Workers' Party. By outlawing the activity of the anarcho-syndicalist centre, the House of the Workers of the World, and throwing its leaders into prison, the Carranza government helped the reformists to assert their influence in the working class.

But the vanguard part of the workers began to go over to communist positions. Translations of Lenin's works and other Marxist works appeared in the country. In September 1919, representatives of the Marxist circles and the

socialist groups held a congress in Mexico City and announced the foundation of the Mexican Communist Party, which also joined the Comintern. The young Communist Party began to set up its own printed organs, to champion solidarity with Soviet Russia, and to fight for the unity of the working-class and the anti-imperialist movement. But it was still weak ideologically and organisationally and could not extend its influence among the broad working masses.

Dissatisfaction with Carranza's policy led to the emergence of strong opposition in the country. It was headed by General Alvaro Obregon, who entered into a secret agreement with the leaders of the Workers' Party in August 1919. The opposition set up its own armed forces and in April 1920 they launched an offensive on the capital. In May 1920, Carranza and his ministers tried to flee from Mexico, but he himself was killed.

In 1920, Mexico was hit by an economic crisis. Industrial and agricultural output fell drastically. A numerous army of unemployed came into being in the country, and the class struggle was activated again. In a number of places Soviets emerged. The government of Obregon, who had become President (1920-1924) pursued a policy of repressions against the revolutionary movement. In so doing, it relied on leading figures in the Workers' Confederation who were members of the government and frustrated the strike protests of the proletariat.

At the same time, the Obregon government was forced to make certain concessions to the working people. The agrarian reform began to be implemented more actively. In 1921-1923, the peasants were granted permanent ownership of 600,000 hectares of land. An even larger area of land was handed over to them for temporary use. Consequently, the positions of the latifundistas were somewhat undermined. Capitalist development became more intensive in the countryside.

In its foreign policy the Obregon government came up against opposition from foreign imperialism. The capitalist powers did not wish to recognise Obregon's government. The US and British oil companies cut down oil production in the country. Obregon was forced to agree to pay the Americans compensation for the land confiscated from them by the revolution. It was also decided not to extend to foreigners the restrictions in the Constitution on property

acquired by foreigners before the Constitution came into force, i.e. before May 1, 1917. After this, in August 1923, the USA resumed its relations with Mexico. To consolidate its international position, the Obregon government took steps towards normalising relations with the Soviet Union as well.

In December 1923, the reactionary elements made an attempt to overthrow Obregon's government. But the working masses countered the rebels, and the conspiracy failed.

In the elections of 1924 Plutarco Elias Calles, who had held the post of Minister of the Interior in Obregon's cabinet, was elected President of Mexico (1924-1928). The agrarian reform was put into effect more vigorously under him, and capitalist development was encouraged in the countryside. Calles managed to get a law passed depriving the church of the right to own real estate and prohibiting the clergy from engaging in political activity. The monks' orders were disbanded, and secular education was introduced. This met with tremendous opposition on the part of the church. The clergy began their own type of strike, stopping church services for three years. It did, moreover, organise armed bands, who terrorised the population in many towns and villages.

The Calles government tried to launch an offensive on the rights of the foreign owners of oil-fields, thereby coming into conflict with the USA. According to the so-called oil law of December 1925, the owners of the oil deposits were deprived of ownership which was replaced by right to lease property for up to 50 years. The USA protested and threatened armed intervention against Mexico. Finally, owing to the pressure exerted by foreign capital and local reaction the Calles government was forced to retreat.

On the whole, Calles' activity helped to consolidate the positions of the national bourgeoisie and boost the country's economic development. At the same time, the condition of the working people remained a hard one. This further aggravated the class struggle. However, Calles' stooge, the leader of the Workers' Confederation, Luis Moronez, who held the post of Minister of Industry, Commerce, and Labour, did everything he coud to counter the workers' strike campaign and quashed them by force of arms.

The election campaign of 1928 was held in an atmos-

phere of acute political struggle. Calles supported Obregon's nomination, and he managed to return to Obregon the post of the country's president. But less than two weeks after the elections Obregon was assassinated.

During the world economic crisis zinc, lead, copper, gold, and oil extraction in Mexico decreased. The output of agricultural produce diminished. In 1932, there were approximately 340,000 unemployed in the country. To take the edge off the class struggle, the government banned political strikes and introduced compulsory arbitration. But these and other anti-workers' measures did not stay the gathering movement of the working masses to prevent their living conditions from deteriorating. The railwaymen, the miners, the workers in the power, textile and shoe industries and other detachments of workers joined in the strike campaign. The movement of the unemployed and the protests by the peasants and agricultural workers grew in scale.

In 1929, Calles' protege, Pascuale Ortiz Rubio, was elected President. The attempt by clerical and feudal reaction to restore their influence in the country, which turned into a mutiny in the armed forces headed by General Escobar, failed. But it called forth a wave of repressions by Calles' supporters, especially against the Communists. In September 1932, Ortiz Rubio resigned. The new president was Abelardo Rodriguez (1932-1934). Under him the agrarian reforms stopped by his predecessor, were further implemented. In 1934, a participant in the Mexican revolution, General Lazaro Cardenas, was elected President and remained in that post until 1940. Unlike Ortiz Rubio and Rodriguez, he did not wish to be a puppet in Calles' hands, who played the part of the "supreme leader''. The attempt by Calles and his supporters to remove Cardenas from power met with the resistance of the masses, who gave the president their support. Calles and his active supporters were banished from the country.

The Cardenas government implemented deep-going socio-economic reforms, which speeded up the development of the national economy. The democratic freedoms that had been severely curtailed under his predecessors (freedom of the press, of unions, assembly) were restored. The Communist Party came out from underground. The right to strike and an eight-hour working day was recognised: the agrarian reform was further implemented, and the right to receive

plots of land was extended to agricultural workers. All in all, from 1934 through 1940 more than 18 million hectares of land were confiscated from the big landowners and handed over to a million peasants, i.e. double the amount of land granted by all the preceding governments. Then a number of agricultural cooperatives were set up, including producer cooperative societies.

The government began to carry out the partial expropriation of the property of foreign industrial firms and of local capital connected therewith. In June 1937, the railways, which belonged to US and British capital, were expropriated and also some of the bus and tram companies, printing-houses, and so forth. Public education was greatly promoted, the number of schools increased, and a workers' university was founded which received annual subsidies from the state.

In March 1938, the government adopted a decree on the nationalisation of the petroleum industry. All the personal property and real estate of 13 North American and four British companies and all their branches were subject to confiscation. According to the decree of July 1938, the prospecting, extraction and refining of oil throughout the country's territory and also trade in petroleum products was taken over by the state oil company Petroleos Mexicanos (Pemex). A severe blow was thereby dealt at the interests of foreign capital in Mexico.

The Cardenas government aroused the hatred of all the forces of reaction. In the spring of 1938, an anti-government rebellion was staged in Mexico which was supported by the oil monopolies of the USA and Great Britain. Government troops soon quashed the rebellion with the help of militia squads consisting of workers and peasants.

In the period of reforms in the 1930s the organisation and the political activity of the workers improved. In February 1936, the Confederation of Workers of Mexico came into being. In 1938, it was one of the sponsors of the Confederation of Workers of Latin America. From 1935 the Communist Party of Mexico actively supported all Cardenas' progressive measures, but from 1937 a period of serious internal crisis set in, it became isolated from the masses and poorly organised. In March 1938, the ruling National Revolutionary Party was reorganised. Its membership included trade unions, peasants' organisations, and

cooperatives. The party started to be called the Party of Mexican Revolution. It adopted a radical programme, advancing revolutionary slogans, but on the whole it remained a party of the Mexican bourgeoisie.

Cardenas' foreign policy was independent in nature and answered to the interests of the country's national independence. He skilfully took advantage of the differences between the big imperialist powers. During the Italian aggression against Ethiopia the Mexican government placed an embargo on trade with Italy. It gave great assistance to the Spanish Republic during its struggle against Franco's rebels and the Italian and German fascist interventionists. The Cardenas government condemned the unleashing of the Second World War by the imperialist powers in 1939.

CUBA

Cuba's participation in the First World War on the side of the Entente was limited to sending medical personnel to the front. The war boosted sugar production, the price of which had risen greatly. The economic boom, which began in the war years, continued until 1920. The sugar manufacturers and landowners derived huge profits in this period. The country's President was a representative of the Conservatives, the protege of the US monopolies, General Mario Garcia Menocal (1916-1920). Under him Cuba became more dependent on the USA, which sent troops there in 1917. Almost the whole of the country's economy was under the control of the American monopolies. US capital investments in Cuba had grown from 220 million dollars in 1913 to 1,400 million dollars after the war. The sugar cane plantations, the sugar refineries and the means of transport had all been put under the control by the US monopolies.

At the same time, the main mass of Cuba's population was poverty-stricken and ruined. The landless peasants had virtually become the slaves of Uncle Sam. The Cuban proletariat swelled as the sugar, tobacco, and other branches of light industry developed. In 1919, it numbered 950,000. It became an increasingly active class and anti-imperialist force.

The October Revolution in Russia influenced the Cuban proletariat greatly. In 1918, the stokers, founders, printers,

tobacco workers, railwaymen, port workers and so forth went on strike. In the course of these strikes the workers tried to get -an eight-hour working day and wage rises. On May 1,1918, the workers of Havana staged a strike, demanding an end to the anti-Soviet intervention in the Far East. As the movement grew so did the sympathy of the workers for the ideas of communism. At the beginning of the 1920s Marxist groups appeared in Havana and other places.

The national bourgeoisie and some of the liberal landowners also protested against the domination of foreign imperialism. A struggle was being waged in the country's political life between the oppositional Liberal and the ruling Conservative Party. The presidential elections at the end of 1920 were won by means of all kinds of intrigues, by Alfredo Zayas y Alfonso, who had gone over to the side of the Conservatives (1921-1925).

In 1921, an economic crisis began in Cuba in the course of which sugar production declined, the banks went bankrupt, a huge deficit was formed in the state budget, and the condition of the working masses deteriorated.

As the class contradictions grew in acuteness, the Liberals decided to make preparations for an uprising and overthrow the Conservative government. But the personal representative of the American president, General Enoch Crowder, brought pressure to bear on them by threatening armed intervention. Soon, he did in fact become the ruler of Cuba. It was at that time that Cuba was swamped with experts. The Cuban government received a loan of five million dollars from the Morgan bank, for which it promised that it would effect financial reforms advantageous to the USA.

In response to this, the working people and patriotic forces in Cuba staged demonstrations, strikes and other protests of an anti-American nature. A movement championing Cuba's sovereignty began in the countries of Latin America. The USA was forced to withdraw its troops from Cuba (February 1922) and recall Crowder. True, the latter soon returned to Havana, but this time as the official ambassador of the USA.

In November 1924 presidential elections were held in Cuba which were won by Gerardo Machado y Morales (1925-1933). During his term as president the positions of American capital in the country's economy became even stronger. It took over the mining and manufacturing industries,

power production, transport, and the municipal economy. American capital investments in Cuba amounted to 1,500 million dollars in 1929.

The increasing American oppression met with resistance first and foremost on the part of the working class. In 1925, the workers in the sugar industry called a big strike. At that time, too, there were peasant unrest and student riots. In all cases, the government used troops and police against the workers.

The growth of the working-class and anti-imperialist movement promoted the foundation of the Communist Party of Cuba in 1925. It was organised by Julio Antonio Melia and Carlos Baliño. The Communist Party actively joined in the mass movement. In 1925, the National Confederation of Workers of Cuba was founded, which took a class stand. Cuban reaction stepped up its attacks on the working-class and communist movement. The Communist Party was outlawed in 1926. One of its founders, Julio Melia, was ignobly murdered in 1929. Repressions also rained down on the trade union and student movement.

The crisis of 1929-1933 hit Cuba's economy hard. As a result of cuts in exports of sugar and a drop in its prices, sugar production drastically decreased, and this caused mass unemployment. A 600,000-strong army of unemployed formed in the country. The situation was further worsened by the fact that the government had become a party to the so-called Chadbourne agreement which envisaged cuts in sugar production (in Cuba's case the decrease amounted to more than one-third of its output). The country's population at large was filled with indignation at the dictatorship. Strikes and demonstrations by workers, students, peasants, and unemployed began. The struggle for power within the ruling upper crust became more acute. In August 1931 an uprising flared up against Machado's dictatorship.

In August 1933, a general strike started. The railwaymen, postal workers, students and teachers, port and tobacco workers went on strike. Machado tried to put an end to the anti-imperialist movement by means of terror and repressions. Parliament passed a law granting the dictator extraordinary powers: the Constitution was suspended. The USA tried to assist the dictator in every possible way. All the efforts of the dictator were, however, fruitless. On August 12, 1933, Machado fled from Cuba.

In the middle of August a provisional Cuban government was formed under Carlos Manuel de Céspedes y Borges with the participation of the US ambassador and in the presence of American ships, which were in Cuban ports "to protect the lives and property of American citizens". This government, which consisted of conservative and conciliatory elements, did nothing to improve the lot of the working masses and could not stay the gathering revolutionary movement. Strikes, demonstrations, and rallies by the working masses continued. The working people began to seize enterprises, railways, ports, arms depots, and even whole towns on a massive scale. The army mutinied, and there was student unrest. The so-called "sergeants' conspiracy" headed by Fulgencio Batista took shape at Santiago garrison. At the beginning of September 1933, the government- was overthrown. Professor Ramon Grau san Martin came to power who represented the interests of the national bourgeoisie. Batista was appointed commander of all the country's armed forces. The Constitution of 1901, which was imposed on Cuba by the United States, was annulled. Some of the demands of the masses were satisfied: an eight-hour working day was introduced, a Ministry of Labour was founded, the repayment of loans obtained from the American bank was suspended, and the property of the American-Cuban sugar company was confiscated. The threat of undisguised interference by the USA hung over Cuba, and only the large-scale demonstrations of solidarity in the USA, Mexico, Chile, and other countries forced the American government to renounce open intervention.

At that time, power in Cuba was in fact increasingly being concentrated in the hands of Batista. In January 1934, on the orders of the USA, the government of Ramon Grau san Martin was overthrown by Batista. The conservative Carlos Mendieta Montefur, an associate of Batista who defended the interests of the big bourgeoisie and the landowners, became the temporary president. Batista had in fact become the head and dictator of Cuba. A regime of military and police terror was established in the country.

The USA continued to maintain its dominant place in the Cuban economy, but, according to the agreement of 1934, Roosevelt's government recognised Cuba's right to obtain foreign credits and enter into various agreements with other countries without US control. Just as before, the USA re-

mained in control of the military and naval base in Guantánamo. According to the American-Cuban trade agreement concluded in August 1934, duties on imports of Cuban sugar to the USA were to be cut by 25 per cent.

The political situation in the country remained tense: the strikes by workers and the peasant rebellions continued. In March 1935, a general political strike flared up whose participants demanded that the dictatorship should be abolished. All this led to frequent changes of cabinet. From 1933 to 1936 the country had eight presidents. All these governments alike were puppets in the hands of Batista.

The storm of protests by the working class and the peasantry compelled Batista to change his tactics from 1936 onwards and announce that a number of laws had been passed, which were, incidentally, not put into effect. In mid-1937, under the presidency of Federico Loredo Bru (1936-1940), a three-year plan for economic reconstruction was adopted. In September 1938, the Communist Party and other democratic organisations were made legal. At the beginning of 1939, a united trade union centre, the Confederation of Workers of Cuba, was set up. In the autumn of 1939, after the Second World War started, the Confederation came out with a declaration of neutrality. Some democratic freedoms were restored. The Communist Party of Cuba put every effort into setting up a Popular Front and to convene a Constituent Assembly to work out a new democratic Constitution. Cuba joined the ranks of the states of Latin America with a highly active anti-imperialist movement.

NICARAGUA

At the beginning of the twentieth century, by bringing armed pressure to bear, the USA strove to firmly establish control over Nicaragua. The country did in fact become a colony of the American monopolies (United Fruit Company, and others). Emiliano Chamorro, who became the President of Nicaragua in 1917, signed a number of onerous agreements with the USA.

The national forces protested against the domination of American capital. The presidential elections in 1924 were won by the representative of the Liberal-Conservative bloc, Carlos Solórzano. Under him the US troops were withdrawn

from Nicaragua. But in October 1925 Emiliano Chamorro again came to power by means of a coup d'etat. But his rule did not last for long either. In November 1926 Adolfo Diaz, who had been president before the First World War, seized power in the country with US support. The patriotic forces in Nicaragua rose in struggle against the reactionary rulers who followed one after the other. In December 1926, during the civil war, Juan Sacaza was proclaimed president, who advanced anti-imperialist slogans. He was supported by the workers, peasants, and representatives of the petty bourgeoisie. At that time, in January 1927, the American imperialists again organised open armed intervention against Nicaragua.

The USA's aggressive policy called forth a tremendous upsurge in the anti-imperialist movement throughout Latin America. The popular masses in Mexico, Argentina, Brazil, Guatemala, and the governments in a number of countries condemned the American intervention. The national liberation forces in Nicaragua fought selflessly against the interventionists. Ever broader masses of the working people, the peasants, and the Negro and Indian poor joined in the struggle, in the course of which the remarkable popular leader, the commander of one of the guerrilla detachments, Augusto Cezar Sandino, came to the fore. The scale of the popular movement frightened the liberal bourgeoisie, and it took the path of betraying the national cause. The commander of the national liberation army, General Jose Maria Moncada, entered into an agreement with the American imperialists in 1927, disarmed his own detachments, and ended the struggle. In November 1928, when the country was occupied by US troops, he was elected its president and remained in that post until 1932. Only Sandino's guerrilla detachments continued military operations against the American invaders. The struggle of the Nicaraguan people which was of a liberation anti-imperialist character, forced the USA to withdraw its troops from Nicaragua in January 1933.

From 1932 to 1936 the country's president was Juan Sacaza. In February 1934, he invited Sandino to the country's capital for negotiations on ending the civil war. There Sandino was treacherously murdered by the protege of the USA and local reaction, General Anastasio Somoza Garcia. From 1936 Somoza became president and in fact dictator and was

at the same time an obedient tool of the US imperialists who dominated completely in the economic and political life of Nicaragua under him.

COLOMBIA

As a result of the wide-scale indignation of the popular masses in Colombia at the aggressive actions of the monopolies of Great Britain and the USA in this country, Colombia, like Venezuela, did not enter the First World War on the side of the Entente, but, finding itself economically dependent on Britain and the USA, supplied those countries with foodstuffs, timber, oil, and other types of raw materials. The war created favourable conditions for the development of a number of industries in Colombia, mainly the mining industry, and for the growth of the country's gold reserves. The discovery of extremely rich oil deposits made it possible to boost the extraction and export of oil. After the war the influx of American capital intensified as it was striving to take possession of Colombia's oil and also to expand the output of coffee and bananas. In 1920, US capital investments reached almost 30 million dollars (compared with two million in 1913).

There were mass demostrations by the working people of Colombia under the impact of the Great October Socialist Revolution. In 1920, the dockers went on strike in Cartagena. The oilmen, the sailors, and the workers on the tobacco plantations were involved in the strike movement. Owing to the mass protests against his pro-American policy, the President of Colombia, Marcos Fidel Suárez, was forced to resign in 1921. In subsequent years the struggle of the working people against the foreign and local oppressors continued. In 1928, there was an extremely big strike by 32,000 agricultural workers on the plantations of the American United Fruit Company. The Colombian authorities resorted to cruel repressions to quash the working-class and democratic movement. The law on "social protection" passed in 1928 prohibited strikes and restricted the activity of the democratic organisations. During the world economic crisis a new upsurge of the working-class movement began. In 1930, the Communist Party of Colombia came into being.

In 1930, Enrique Olaya Errera came to power (1930-

1934), a representative of the right wing of the Liberal Party who had ties with the US oil monopolies. Colombia was granted an American loan, and the oil monopolies of the USA obtained several profitable concessions.

In September 1932, a sanguinary war began between Colombia and Peru, which was the outcome of the conflict of US and British oil interests in the upper reaches of the river Amazon. Peruan troops invaded the Leticia region in the south of Colombia. Diplomatic relations between the two countries were broken off in February 1933. The military operations continued for nine months, thousands of soldiers meeting their deaths in the forests of the Amazon. The war evoked tremendous dissatisfaction in the country. In May 1934, a peace- treaty was concluded between the warring sides according to which Leticia was returned to Colombia.

The government of President Alfonso Lopez, the leader of the left Liberals, which was in power from 1934 to 1938, carried out a number of progressive reforms: the church became separate from the state, a law was passed on agrarian reform, the development of national industry was encouraged, and the activity of foreign capital was restricted. In June 1935, diplomatic relations were established with the USSR. In 1937, the Communist Party took part in the presidential elections for the first time and even obtained one seat in the chamber of deputies. These actions on the part of the government called forth the discontent of the Conservatives and the right Liberals. But in the next elections in 1938 the bourgeois-landowner circles got their candidate elected, the leader of the right Liberals, Montejo Eduardo Santos (1938-1942). This government took a different course from that of its predecessor. The undivided domination of the US monopolies was established in the country.

VENEZUELA

During the First World War Venezuela remained neutral. The war boosted the country's industry, especially the petroleum and manufacturing branches. For 26 years the country was ruled (from 1909 through 1935) by the dictator General Juan Vicente Gomez, one of Latin America's biggest landowners. The dictator drew support from the army's

top brass and the North American monopolies, which had dug themselves in Venezuela's economy. He himself appointed all the deputies, senators, and even the president, making it pass for regular elections. The dictator Gomez was famous for his monstrous cruelty; thousands of people were imprisoned and subjected to sophisticated torture. Tens of thousands of people emigrated from the country, including the most eminent representatives of the intelligentsia.

The development of the petroleum industry which brought huge profits, helped to consolidate the dictatorial regime. Under Gómez the doors were thrown wide open to foreign, especially British and American, capital. Gómez' petroleum legislation guaranteed the rights of foreign owners. The law on oil, passed in 1918, stated that the right to extract oil was granted to all companies and persons who had the means to prospect and develop the given region.

The working class and the national bourgeoisie did not represent a serious force at that time, and in the conditions of terror no organised opposition existed in the country. However, protest against the dictator and the penetration of foreign imperialism was growing among the popular masses. Under the influence of the Great October Socialist Revolution the mass anti-imperialist movement became more vigorous in Venezuela. The oilmen were in the vanguard of the struggle against the yoke of US imperialism. During the 1920s the discontent of the workers and peasant masses increased. In 1924, communist organisations were formed in Venezuela which waged a struggle for the country's complete independence, for the nationalisation of the petroleum industry, and for democratic transformations.

The crisis of 1929-1933 led to unemployment, price rises, the increasing ruin of the peasantry, and the aggravation of the political situation in the country. The working class became better organised. In 1931, the Communist Party of Venezuela came into being which began to do active work among the masses. In 1934, there were a number of protests by the workers.

After Gómes' death, Eleazar López Contreras, who had occupied the post of War Minister in the Gómez cabinet, was proclaimed president. Owing to the great pressure exerted by the popular masses a new Constitution was adopted in the country under him. which safeguarded the personal rights of citizens. At the same time, each state also intro-

duced its own Constitution. A labour code was drawn up which for the first time in the country's history proclaimed the right to social security, an eight-hour working day, the organisation of workers into trade unions, and so forth. In 1936, the workers founded the Confederation of Workers of Venezuela. It was, however, disbanded in the following year. In 1938, a three-year plan began to be implemented which envisaged the development of the national economy.

The most serious impediment to this development was Venezuela's continuing dependence on foreign capital, and first and foremost on the US oil monopolies.

BRAZIL

Under the pressure exerted by Britain and the USA, in October 1917 Brazil declared war on Germany, and in 1918 it sent several brigades to Europe to fight on the side of the Entente. The Brazilian battleships carried out a number of operations at sea with the British warships. Concurrently, they patrolled the South Atlantic.

During the war Brazil's industry developed noticeably, the most considerable growth being in light (above all food) industry. The Brazilian bourgeoisie and landowners obtained high profits from their military supplies. But they did not manage to undermine the sway of foreign, chiefly British, capital. The British dominated in shipping, the banks, the textile industry, the railways, and on the coffee plantations. Feudal and semi-feudal relations persisted in the countryside.

The condition of the working masses remained a difficult one. Moreover, it drastically worsened when the war ended. The growing class contradictions and also the differences between the national forces and foreign capital served as the basis for the revolutionary upsurge in the early post-war years. The Brazilian proletariat whose ranks had increased from 135,000 in 1909 to 275,000 in 1920, began to play an active part. But its demonstrations were in the main of a spontaneous nature. The Socialists and the anarchists, who were active in the working-class movement, could not impart to it an organised, class nature.

The ideas of Lenin began to be disseminated in Brazil under the impact of the October Revolution. Some of the

anarchists went over to communist positions, albeit slowly. Rallies and demonstrations were held everywhere at which the working people expressed their support for Soviet Russia. Slogans of solidarity with the Land of Soviets were advanced in the course of the strike campaign. In November 1918, the anarcho-Bolshevik group, which had sprung up among the anarchists, staged an uprising in Rio de Janeiro and proclaimed a workers' republic, which existed for a few days. The rebellion was poorly prepared and not linked with the movement of the broad masses. The authorities quashed the uprising relatively swiftly and easily.

The government of Venceslau Brás (1914-1918) declared a state of siege in the country. This did not, however, stay the growing class struggle. The demand for an eight-hour working day and pay rises to counter the high cost of living were of considerable importance in the working-class movement. On May 1, 1919, the workers held mass demonstrations with these demands. The gathering strike campaign promoted the growth of trade union organisations. The textile, bakery, port, and tram workers set up their own trade unions. In July 1919 the working people of Brazil held demonstrations to protest against imperialist intervention in Soviet Russia.

In 1919, Epitacio Pessoa became president (until 1922) who raised the siege. His government carried out a number of progressive measures, including measures to boost the national economy, education and a public health service, introduced an eight-hour working day, insurance for workers against industrial accidents, and granted wage rises.

The army and the navy were reorganised, and officers' salaries were increased. The economic crisis, which began in 1920, led to a drop in output in the mining and manufacturing industries and on the coffee plantations. The workers' protests against the high cost of living and unemployment were quashed by the authorities, and the trade unions were broken up.

Experience gained in class battles made it clear that a militant communist vanguard of the Brazilian workers must be set up. By this time communist circles had already sprung up in the country's cities. On March 25, 1922, the Communists gathered at the congress in Rio de Janeiro and formed the Communist Party of Brazil which was forced to go underground in July 1922.

In 1922, the big landowner and shareholder linked with foreign capital, Arturo Bernardes, became head of the Brazilian government and launched an offensive on the rights of the workers. His policy of repression called forth great discontent in the country. In the summer of 1922 there was unrest in the Brazilian army. On July 5, an uprising began in the garrison of Fort Capacabana in Rio de Janeiro. However, government units soon quashed the rebels' protest.

President Bernardes (1922-1926) strove to establish an openly dictatorial regime. Under him freedom of the press was restricted, anti-democratic amendments were made to the Constitution, and protests by the working people were ruthlessly suppressed. In its foreign policy the Bernardes government resorted to foreign loans, extended its ties, with the USA which markedly consolidated its economic and financial positions in Brazil, partially ousting Great Britain.

At the same time, to prevent the explosion of popular discontent, the government pursued a whip-and-carrot policy with regard to the workers. It set up a National Council of Labour as a body of cooperation among the government, the entrepreneurs, and the workers. May 1 was recognised as a national public holiday. Industrial and office workers were granted two weeks annual paid holiday. But Bernardes did not manage to halt the growth of the revolutionary movement with these measures.

In the period under consideration the workers staged a number of big strikes, and the peasants resorted to guerrilla warfare. The protest by the soldiers, commissioned and noncommissioned officers of the Brazilian army was a particularly big one. On July 5, 1924, a rebellion flared up among the military units in the town of São Paulo. For three weeks the rebels supported by the workers repelled the onslaught of government troops. Then they left the town and waged guerrilla warfare for five months.

This protest made a great impression on the broad strata of the Brazilian people. Local uprisings began in many states. In the northern part of the state of Rio Grande do Sul the rebellion in October 1924 was headed by the Engineer-Captain Luis Carlos Prestes. The rebels demanded that bourgeois-democratic freedoms should be restored and set out to join forces with the rebels in São Paulo. On joining them in April 1925, the "Prestes Column" began to march northwards from the south. The rebels covered 25,000

kilometres, fighting battles on the way. But they did not join up with the revolutionary movement of workers and peasants. Owing to its weakness, the Communist Party could not head this movement. The revolutionary protest in the army ended in failure. In February 1927, the Prestes Column went into Bolivia and was interned there.

In November 1926, Luis Pereira became the new President of Brazil (1926-1930), and on the whole he continued to pursue the policy of his predecessor, but abolished the state of siege. In January 1927 the Communist Party of Brazil came out from underground and campaigned to drum up support among the masses. It displayed considerable activity in establishing its influence in the trade unions. In August 1927, the authorities drove the Communist Party of Brazil underground again. But the Communists' efforts were not in vain. Even outlawed, they were able to take part in the election campaign and managed to get two of their representatives elected to the capital's town council in 1928. Another positive outcome of the Communists' work was the foundation of the General Confederation of Labour of Brazil in April 1929.

The world economic crisis of 1929-1933 did tremendous harm to the Brazilian economy. During the crisis demand for Brazilian coffee decreased and the prices of it fell. Huge quantities of this extremely important export item of Brazil accumulated in the warehouses. To keep the price of coffee high, the owners destroyed 2,400,000 tons of coffee either by burning it or dumping it in the sea. Industrial production declined sharply. In the autumn of 1931, Brazil proclaimed itself bankrupt. Poverty, famine, and unemployment became the lot of the huge masses of the working people. In 1932, the number of unemployed was more than two million. The cost of living rose by nearly 150 per cent. In the years of the crisis American capital began to penetrate into the country more vigorously.

The crisis led to the aggravation of all the social contradictions. The textile workers, railwaymen, sailors and port workers joined in the strike campaign. The peasant movement became more active. An acute struggle got under way during the presidential elections in March 1930. The bourgeois-landowner circles which had ties with Great Britain, supported the Conservative Concentration candidate Julio Prestes. The big landowners and capitalists orientated on the

USA backed the Liberal Alliance candidate Getulio Dornelles Vargas. Julio Prestes was elected president. At that time, Vargas' supporters started an armed struggle, and in October 1930 they seized power.

In spite of his promises, Vargas abolished the Constitution, dissolved parliament, and began to suppress the working-class movement. But he did not manage to quash the class struggle. Big strikes began in the country. In the town of Recife (state of Pernambuco) a workers' and soldiers' rebellion flared up in October and November 1931. The troops sent by Vargas suppressed the uprising with great difficulty. At that time, too, there were numerous peasant riots. The supporters of the overthrown president, Julio Prestes, staged an uprising against Vargas' dictatorship in São Paulo in the summer of 1932. More than 200,000 workers and members of their families took part in the uprising. The workers formed a voluntary army of rebels, and began to manufacture arms for them. When the leadership of the rebellion was taken over by the trade unions, the bourgeoisie and the landowners, who had at first protested against Vargas, were frightened by such a wide-scale revolutionary struggle and agreed to a compact with Vargas. After forty-eight days of armed struggle the rebels were defeated. On May 8,1933, Vargas was elected president. On July 16, 1934, a new Constitution was adopted in Brazil which reflected not only the interests of the big bourgeoisie but also those of the middle bourgeoisie. Universal suffrage was demagogically proclaimed, and women were granted the franchise, but the educational qualification introduced simultaneously did in fact deprive 80 per cent of the country's population of the right to vote.

Vargas' policy was aimed at consolidating the role of the commercial-industrial and agrarian bourgeoisie in the country. The commercial tariffs that existed between the states were abolished, and this helped to expand the home market; a decree was signed on a three-year ban on imports of equipment and machinery which stimulated the development of national industry. Concurrently, American capital increasingly penetrated into Brazil under Vargas. The country's dependence on the USA grew. In 1932, the US naval mission was invited to Brazil to reorganise the navy there. With the assistance of the USA the Brazilian army also underwent reorganisation.

In October 1932, the fascists set up their own party, Brazilian Integrated Action. The danger of fascism in Brazil intensified. In these circumstances, the idea of a Popular Front put forward by the Communists began to enjoy great popularity. In January 1935, the Communist Party managed to unite the Communists, Socialists, anarchists, syndicalists, democratic liberal bourgeoisie and other anti-imperialist forces into the National Liberation Alliance. Its programme included demands for democracy, national freedom, and improved living conditions. The Alliance had 1,500,000 people in its ranks. The supporters of the Alliance demanded that power in the country should be handed over to it. In response to this, in July 1935, Vargas outlawed the Alliance. But the latter continued to fight against the threat of fascism by illegal methods.

The protest by the workers of the town of Natal in November 1935 was the outcome of the National Front movement. In response to the repressions perpetrated by the authorities, the workers seized power in the town. The rebels advanced demands that the worsening economic condition of the people should be prevented and an end should be put to the connivance with the "Integralistas" (the Brazilian fascists). Then a national revolutionary government began to operate within the framework of the entire state of Rio Grande do Norte. There was soon an uprising in Rio de Janeiro. Gaining help from foreign imperialism, Vargas' government quashed these protests.

In November 1937, Vargas carried out a coup d'état, called off the coming elections and, having declared Brazil a "corporate state", he disbanded all the political parties and established a regime of personal dictatorship. The calling off of the elections by Vargas (which was supported by the United States of America) to prevent the leader of the "Integralistas", Plinio Salgado (supported by Nazi Germany), from winning, led to a fierce struggle for power between Vargas and his clique, on the one hand, and the "Integralistas", on the other. In May 1939, the latter made an unsuccessful attempt to carry out a coup d'état. Vargas quashed this attempt, outlawed any kind of activity by the "Integralistas" and banished their leaders from the country. During the dictatorship of Vargas who was overthrown in 1945, sixteen major US industrial corporations and many other American firms began to operate extensively in

Brazil. The country's economy was completely subordinated to the big US monopolies.

PERU

During the First World War there was an economic boom in Peru (mainly resulting from the export by US monopolies of silver, copper, and other raw materials), which was followed by a sharp drop in exports and a decline in the mining industry after the war. The material condition of the working people deteriorated considerably owing to unemployment and price rises. In 1923, the cost of living had grown 150-200 per cent against 1913. In these circumstances, the Peruvian working people, inspired by the October Revolution in Russia, actively joined in the revolutionary movement. In 1919, hunger riots began and raids on stores of foodstuffs and grocers' shops. The public committees, which had been set up in the towns and cities to deal with the famine, formed a central committee in Lima which coordinated the movement. The committee's appeal of April 13, 1919, contained demands that the government should establish fixed prices on foodstuffs and other consumer goods, and cut taxes and fares.

The working people staged a number of strikes and demonstrations in support of their demands. The May-day demonstration in 1919 was held under the slogans "Bread and Work! " and "Down with the Exploiters!" Those who took part in the demonstrations also demanded an eight-hour working day, wage rises, and labour legislation. At the rally in Lima on May 4, 1919, the slogans for power to be given to the working people were enthusiastically supported. Strikes began at enterprises in the capital (the textile mills, the power station, and others). On May 27, a general strike flared up in Peru, the first in the history of the working-class movement in the country. The strike was accompanied by stormy demonstrations. The government of President Jose Prado (1915-1919) announced the introduction of martial law and sent troops and police against the workers; there were numerous victims of the cruel reprisals. But it was not until the beginning of July that the authorities managed to put an end to the general strike.

Fearing a further revolutionary upsurge, the bourgeois-

landowner circles organised and carried out a coup d'état. The protegé of the American company Standard Oil, Augusto Bernardino Leguia y Salcedo (1919-1930) became president who quashed the revolutionary protests of the working masses. In 1921, the authorities dealt severely with a strike of agricultural workers. The fact that the workers did not have a revolutionary party made their attacks on the country's ruling circles less effective.

Under Leguia's government capitalist relations began to develop somewhat more vigorously, and some restrictions were imposed on the rights of foreign entrepreneurs. The Constitution adopted in 1920 proclaimed the country's mineral wealth state property, and the ownership of the land was to be regulated exclusively by Peruvian legislation. The number of citizens who could vote at the elections increased. The government fixed a progressive income tax and introduced social security for office workers. Indian communities received legal rights.

The 1920s saw the emergence of the workers' and democratic organisations. The so-called American People's Revolutionary Alliance movement based on the people's universities founded by the students, came into being in 1924. Its leader was Victor Raul Haya de la Torre. But the Alliance primarily operated abroad where Peruvian anti-imperialist emigrants lived. In 1931, the Alliance became a political party, in which anti-communist sentiments were, however, common.

In 1927, the working-class movement in Peru became more active. This was reflected in the foundation in 1928 of the Socialist Party under the leadership of Jose Carlos Mariategui, which was renamed the Communist Party of Peru in 1930. In 1929 and 1930, under the leadership of the Communists there were strikes at the copper mines and the oil-fields belonging to the American imperialists. An important outcome of the working-class movement was the foundation of the General Confederation of Workers of Peru in 1930.

During the world economic crisis there was a great decline in output (by 60 per cent) in the mining industry. In the summer of 1930 a wave of big strikes by industrial and office workers and peasant unrest swept the country. The aggravation of the social contradictions and also the failure of the foreign policy led to the fall (by means of a military

coup) of Leguia's government. The dictatorial rule of Colonel Sanchez Serro was established in Peru (1930-1933). The American People's Revolutionary Alliance made an attempt to seize power, but it failed. It was outlawed. Repressions against the working-class and communist movement began. The Communist Party and the General Confederation of Labour were banned. But the unrest continued. In 1931 and 1932 there were mutinies by soldiers and sailors in Peru. In 1933, Sanchez Serro was assassinated by members of the American People's Revolutionary Alliance. The reins of power were taken over by the profascist General Oscar Benavidez (1933-1939).

BOLIVIA

The development of capitalist production relations accelerated in Bolivia at the beginning of the twentieth century. But feudal and serf systems persisted in agriculture. During the First World War the countries of the Entente extensively used Bolivia's economic resources. They imported tin, copper, tungsten, and antimony from that country and made considerable capital investments in its economy. In April 1917, Bolivia, which had until then been neutral, broke off diplomatic relations with Germany. This allowed it to attend the Paris Peace Conference.

Influenced by the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia, the popular, anti-imperialist movement in Bolivia became more vigorous (1918-1922). The working class made a noticeable contribution to this. True, many workers were under the influence of anarcho-syndicalism. In 1918, the Workers' Federation of Labour came into being. In 1925, the National Congress of Working People laid the foundations for the National Confederation of Working People of Bolivia. The first revolutionary groups emerged in this period.

However, the bourgeois-landowner parties dominated in political life. From 1917 to 1920, the pro-British Liberal Party headed by president Guerra was in power. In July 1920 the interimperialist rivalry in Bolivia brought to power the Republican Party, which had ties with the USA. The representative of this party Bautista Saavedra was the country's president from 1920 to 1925. He was replaced

by another Republican candidate, Hernando Siles (1926-1930).

Under the Republicans the United States became more active in its penetration of Bolivia, turning that country into its semi-colony. American banks granted Bolivia four loans totalling 68,400,000 dollars from 1917 to 1928. As a result, US banks gained the right to control the National Bank of Bolivia and its customhouses. Their control also extended to the collection and expenditure of taxes from the wine and tobacco monopolies. The US company Standard Oil took over all the oil-bearing land in Bolivia. The National Lead Company bought up a considerable part of the shares in the tin mines and the railways. The American companies subordinated to themselves most of the lead, copper, antimony, and tungsten output. By 1929, the USA had invested 133 million dollars in mining the mineral resources in Bolivia (of a total sum of capital investments of some 150 million dollars). From 1912 to 1928, US investments in Bolivia grew elevenfold, British capital being seriously squeezed out.

The world economic crisis (1929-1933) hit the Bolivian economy hard. The prices of Bolivian tin fell sharply. Exports decreased from 50 million dollars in 1929 to ten million dollars in 1932, and imports diminished from 25 to five million dollars. The country's foreign debt grew to reach 60 million dollars by 1930. There was mass unemployment in Bolivia, and the living standard of the working people was extremely low. Thousands of Indian peasants died of starvation. All this considerably aggravated the political situation in the country. In 1928 and 1930 there was unrest among the Indians who were protesting against their lands being seized. The working-class movement became active.

The ruling circles in the USA encouraged a coup d'etat in Bolivia in these circumstances. The outcome of this coup was that president Daniel Salamanca came to power who drew support from a coalition of the Republicans and Liberals. At the end of the crisis Bolivia was drawn into a war with Paraguay (1932-1935) over a dispute over the Chaco Boreal area. Oil deposits were discovered in this boundary zone in the 1920s for which struggle began between American and British monopolies, standing behind Bolivia and Paraguay respectively. Armed clashes were already occurring on the Bolivian-Paraguayan frontier in 1927

and 1928, which turned into a war in 1932. In the course of the war the Paraguayan troops held the greater part of the disputed territory. The war cost both sides dear as they lost 250,000 dead and wounded and exhausted their resources. In June 1935, an armistice was concluded between Bolivia and Paraguay, and on July 21, 1938, a peace treaty was signed according to which a considerable part of the disputed territory was handed over to Paraguay. Soon, however, the American monopolies established control over the oil-bearing lands.

During the military operations the situation in Bolivia remained extremely tense. The popular masses expressed their discontent with the pro-American policy of the ruling circles. Taking advantage of this, the opposition groups, including those among the officers, set up the Radical Party. In 1934, Daniel Salamanca was overthrown. In 1936, there was another coup d'etat. The head of Bolivia's General Staff, Colonel José David Toro Ruilova became president. Under him the property of Standard Oil was confiscated in 1937. But soon with the encouragement of the mining industrialists who had ties with the USA, Toro was overthrown as well. He was replaced by President German Busch (1937-1939), under whom. Nazi Germany swiftly invested its capital in Bolivia. After Busch's sudden death General Peñaranda became president in 1940 and remained in power until 1943. Thus, the situation in Bolivia in the period between the wars was extremely unstable, characterised by its increasing enslavement by North-American capital.

ARGENTINA

Although Argentina on the whole remained an agrarian country, during the First World War the textile, metallurgical, ship-building, electrical and cement industries did expand. Just as before, British capital predominated in the economy, having at its disposal the railways, the combined meat-packing houses, the power stations, the mining of non-ferrous metals and had big plantations.

After the war, owing to the declining demand for Argentinian agricultural raw materials and foodstuffs, and also to the growing competition from the USA and Canada, Argentina's foreign trade waned, and industrial output de-

creased. The offensive on the living standard of the working people began. In response to the drop in wages and the growth in taxes, the workers began to step up the strike campaign. In 1918, there were 196 strikes in Argentina in which 133,000 workers took part. In 1919, the number of strikes rose to 367 and of strikers to 309,000.

The Argentinian working people enthusiastically welcomed the October Revolution in Russia. Owing to the impact it made there were stormy demonstrations, militant strikes, student unrest, and workers' and peasants' rebellions in Argentina in 1918. The working people fought for their material interests and simultaneously supported the proletariat in Soviet Russia.

Important changes occurred in the Socialist Party of Argentina where the left, Marxist wing (Augusto Kuhn, Victorio Codovilla, and Rodolfo Ghioldi) had become stronger. The left-wingers managed to cause a split with the reformists, and in January 1918 they formed the International Socialist Party, which was later renamed the Communist Party of Argentina. The new party resolutely spoke out in support of Soviet Russia. On November 7, 1918, it held a demonstration of solidarity with the October Revolution. The left Socialists translated and published the Constitution of the RSFSR and some of the works of Lenin.

In January 1919, the workers at the metallurgical plant in Buenos Aires, which belonged to a British company, went on strike, demanding the introduction of an eight-hour working day and improved working conditions. In the course of the strike the entrepreneurs used armed bands against the workers. During one of the rallies mercenaries killed and wounded several workers. More than 200,000 people walked in the funeral procession. Those in the procession were again fired at by the police. This time the workers seized weapons in the magazines, erected barricades and battled with the police and troops. The "bloody week" began. The workers' actions were guided by two trade unions with the same name—the Workers' Regional Organisations of Argentina headed by the anarchists and the anarcho-syndicalists, respectively. The leaders of these organisations, however, soon started negotiations with the government, while the artillery broke down the barricades. During the battles 1,500 workers were killed and approximately 4,000 were wounded. The authorities made mass

arrests among the rebels.

Although this protest by the workers ended in failure, the strike campaign continued, joined by the sailors, printers, the railwaymen, and the farmhands. During the economic crisis of 1920-1921 there were more strikes and armed clashes between the workers and the troops and police. As a mark of protest, the striking workers set fire to grain stores and timber warehouses. The struggle of the workers in Patagonia became an acute one; here in December 1921, an uprising of agricultural workers flared up. The rebels seized the landowners' mansions, killed their owners and representatives of the bodies of power and the police. The government sent in troops to fight the workers. Armed bands were also formed (La Liga Patriotica) to deal with the rebels.

These and other militant protests helped to consolidate the unity of the working class. The Communists advanced an appeal for the Argentinian trade unions to unite. In March 1922, a united organisation was set up—the Association of Trade Unions of Argentina. This was a great attainment for the working class.

At the beginning of the 1920s many protests by different strata of the population were spearheaded against foreign capital. Even the national bourgeoisie joined in them. Under its influence, the government of President Ipolito Yrigoyen (Radical Civic Union) that was in power from 1916 to 1922, drew up bills on the nationalisation of the meat-packing houses and petroleum industries, which were controlled by the British and the Americans. A series of measures was adopted to develop the national industry. But the representatives of the big commercial bourgeoisie, which had ties with the landowners and foreign capital, prevented the bill on nationalisation from being passed. The revolutionary movement in Argentina had become a wide-scale one: with strikes by workers at enterprises and rebellions by farmhands forcing the ruling circles to make a number of concessions to the working people, and carry out some democratic reforms. The Yrigoyen government introduced an eight-hour working day, a day off on Sundays, and holidays for the workers, and a fixed minimum wage. In its foreign policy it attempted to pursue an independent course and did not support the hostile acts of the imperialist states towards Soviet Russia.

It was only after a lengthy and dogged struggle that the

universities were granted autonomy and the opportunity to work out their syllabus for themselves. Plots from the state stock of land began to be distributed among the peasants; a plan was approved for the colonisation of wasteland. The reorganisation of the administrative bodies in the provinces made them more representative and democratic. All this led to the weakening of the political influence of the big landowners and the commercial bourgeoisie connected with them. The bourgeois-landowner reaction expressed its dissatisfaction with such measures. An anti-government opposition appeared within the Radical Party.

In 1922, after the elections in Argentina the government of Carlos Maria Alvear (the right wing of the Radical Civic Union party) was formed which remained in power until 1928. It started repressions and set about revising the social legislation. A decline in the revolutionary movement in the country soon began.

During the period of capitalist stabilisation there was an economic boom in Argentina. The output of cereals and industrial crops increased and the flour-milling industry rapidly developed. The sugar, dairy, wine and textile industries raised their output. The boom also embraced the building and cement industries. This continued until 1927, when there was again a certain slump in economic activity.

During the years of stabilisation the struggle among the different trends in the working-class movement became intense. The activity of the right-wing reformists was crowned by the setting up of the Confederation of Workers of Argentina in 1926, which pursued a policy of splitting the workers' unity. In the Communist Party there was a struggle between the Marxist trend and the leftist elements, which had proposed the venturesome task of immediately winning power for the workers. In December 1927, the party dealt a final blow at the leftist elements. Following this, the Marxist nucleus of the party waged a struggle against the right-wing opportunists. In 1928, the right-wingers were expelled from the party. The Communist Party of Argentina actively joined in the working-class and anti-imperialist movement, and ardently supported the manifestation by the working people of Argentina of their solidarity with the Soviet people who were again threatened by imperialist intervention.

The presidential elections of 1928 were won by Yrigoyen whose government (1928-1930) nationalised the petroleum

industry, and this evoked great dissatisfaction on the part of the USA. In the pan-American union Argentina was Becoming increasingly opposed to American imperialism. Yrigoyen promoted relations with Great Britain to counteract the USA's influence.

The onset of the crisis led to a decline in the demand for agricultural produce and the animal products exported by Argentina. The closing down of enterprises swelled the army of unemployed to 334,000 people. The industrial and agricultural workers and peasant tenants rose to fight the grave consequences of the crisis. A wave of strikes swept the country, as metalworkers, railwaymen and farmhands went on strike. The Yrigoyen government not only refused to help the starving workers, but even resorted to repressions to quash their protests. All this undermined Yrigoyen's authority and led to his isolation. To fortify its positions, reaction decided to carry out a coup d'état. In September 1930 President Yrigoyen was replaced by General Jose Felix Uriburu, who was backed by the USA. General Uriburu's government perpetrated mass repressions against the working-class and peasant movement. The organisation, the Civic Legion, set up by him used terrorist methods to quash the protests of the working people. The reactionary nature of the new government was manifest in the stepping up of the anti-Soviet campaign as well. At the beginning of 1931, 160 employees of the Soviet-Argentinian joint-stock company Yuzhamtorg were arrested for the purpose of provocation.

The elections in November 1931 were won by General Juan Boutista Justo, who shared Uriburu's views and continued the policy of repressions against the working masses and their organisations. Under President Justo (1932-1938), the police arrested trade union activists and hounded the opposition. At the end of 1932 a law was passed in Argentina banning strikes. The eight-hour working day was abolished. The anti-popular nature of Justo's policy caused the Radicals to come out against him. At the end of 1933, they staged a rebellion in Santa Fe province, but were defeated. The regime of President Justo promoted the development of the fascist movement in Argentina. Under his regime membership of the Communist Party was punished by the death sentence.

From the mid-1930s the movement to set up a popular front in the country, to unite all the forces opposed to the

military dictatorial regime, became more vigorous. In the course of the strike campaign the unity of the workers was consolidated. On January 7, 1936, 68 trade union organisations agreed to stage a one-day strike of solidarity with the builders, who were on strike. The Communists headed the movement for a united front. The Socialists and anarchists were also in favour of a united front. People's anti-fascist, anti-imperialist committees began to come into being in Buenos Aires and other towns and cities. But the fight for a popular front in Argentina was not crowned with success. In June 1936, when the movement was at its most buoyant, all the members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party were arrested. In the election campaign of 1937 the right Socialists campaigned separately from the other democratic parties.

In 1938, a representative of the reactionary forces, Roberto Ortiz, was elected the country's president. Under him (1938-1940) considerable concessions were made to American capital, in particular, lower tariffs were introduced on imports from the USA. At the same time, the Ortiz government, taking into account the extent of anti-fascist and anti-democratic sentiments among the popular masses, was forced to restore the constitutional regime and weaken the policy of repressions.

CHILE

Chile's prewar economic ties with Germany (trade in saltpetre) were responsible for the country's favourable neutrality with regard to the German bloc in the early stages of the war. But then Chile reorientated itself on Britain and the USA, which became the chief importers of Chilean saltpetre, copper ore and iron ore.

The war boosted the economy, and particularly expanded the mining and manufacturing industries. The proletariat increased, and the positions of the national bourgeoisie were consolidated. However, the Chilean economy was increasingly coming under the control of American capital. The USA occupied a dominant position in saltpetre production, established control over the output of copper, monopolised the generation of electricity, and opened branches of its banks. The end of the war resulted in a sharp drop in indus-

trial production, a decrease in Chile's exports (from 2,137,000 pesos in 1917 to 995,000 pesos in 1919). The country's economy was in a lamentable state. The copper and saltpetre mines, the coal mines, and enterprises of other industries began to shut down. Unemployment and famine had a telling effect on the plight of the working masses. The economic crisis that started in 1918 continued to deepen in subsequent years.

The aggravation of the class contradictions and the impact of the October Socialist Revolution in Russia caused an upsurge in the working-class and anti-imperialist movement in the country. From 1918, the working masses in Chile joined the movement of protest against famine. In 1919, there was a general strike in the country's central regions. In the course of the strikes public committees to fight against starvation and the rising cost of living emerged. The anger of the working people was also spearheaded against foreign capital. The demands for the extension of political and social rights for the people were resounding ever more vigorously. The conservative government of President Juan Luis Sanfuentes (1915-1920) resorted to repressive methods, but unsuccessfully.

The presidential elections in Chile in 1920 were won by the candidate of the Liberal Alliance formed of the Radical, Democratic and Liberal parties, Arturo Alessandri (1920-1925). The Liberals proposed a programme of reforms which expressed the interests of the national bourgeoisie. They promised to make partial concessions to the working masses. But the new president did not keep the Liberal Alliance's election promises. He continued the policy of making concessions to foreign capital. In 1921, the government obtained a loan of 24 million dollars at 8 per cent per annum from the United States. In the final count, the loan only placed a heavy burden on the shoulders of the working people. Terror and repressions continued within the country. The authorities sent troops and police against the striking workers. Many workers' organisations were smashed. At the same time, fearing that the strike movement would gather in strength, the government made certain concessions: it introduced an eight-hour working day, a day off on Sundays, social insurance, and recognised the right of workers to organise trade unions and conclude collective agreements. But these concessions were largely of a formal

nature, since in actual fact the entrepreneurs ignored these acts of social legislation unpunished.

One of the manifestations of the revolutionary upsurge was the development of the communist movement in Chile. The left wing of the Socialist Workers' Party headed by Luis Emilio Recabarren, formed even before the war, gained the majority in the party. The party spoke out against the imperialist war, supported the October Socialist Revolution, and joined the movement of solidarity with Soviet Russia. On January 2, 1922, it was reorganised as the Communist Party of Chile and joined the Comintern. Positive processes were clearly manifest in the development of the Socialist Workers' Party and the Workers' Federation of Chile. In 1921, the latter was reorganised into a left-wing trade union association and joined the Profintern, the Trade Union International. All this is evidence that the left wing of the country's working-class movement was gaining in strength.

In the second half of the 1920s the economic boom embraced Chile. The mining industry developed rapidly, and the output of copper and saltpetre increased considerably.

But the political situation in the country was unstable. On September 5, 1924, a group of army officers carried out a coup d'état. Power was taken over by a junta headed by General Luis Altamirano. Alessandri was forced to leave for Europe. In January 1925 a new Constitution was adopted in Chile, which gave the president enormous powers. At the same time, the Constitution proclaimed democratic rights and freedoms, suffrage for women, and the separation of the church from the state. The presidential elections, which were held in accordance with the new Constitution in September 1925 were won by Emiliano Figueroa, who was a close associate of Alessandri. In the main, republican legislation was gradually restored. The Communist Party gained the opportunity to operate legally.

The condition of the working masses in the years of stabilisation did not change for the better. The popular masses in the country fought for nationalisation of the principal means of production, for workers' control at factories, for the allotment of land to the poor peasants, and so forth. In the course of the strikes at the saltpetre mines in June 1925 the workers took over the mines. For several weeks they put up resistance to troops and police who were using

artillery and machine-guns to quash this protest. The outcome of the fighting was that more than three thousand workers and members of their families were killed.

The aggravation of the class struggle helped to preserve the political instability. Owing to this, the reactionary forces carried out another coup d'etat in February 1927. President Figueroa was relieved of his post. The reactionary dictatorship of Colonel Carlos Ibanez del Campo (1927-1931) was established in Chile. Under him, congress was dissolved, the Communist Party was outlawed, and thousands of Chileans were thrown into prison. Having banned the Workers' Federation of Chile, Ibañez del Campo set up a government trade union organisation. In his foreign policy he intensified his country's orientation on cooperation with the USA. The American monopolies obtained new concessions. In 1929, US capital investments in Chile's economy amounted to 396 million dollars, which was even more than British investments (390 million dollars). British control over the saltpetre industry was replaced by American control.

During the world economic crisis Chile's exports fell by 30 per cent. Many saltpetre and copper mines and enterprises in other industries closed down. There were 350,000 unemployed in 1932. Strikes, demonstrations, and marches by the unemployed began in the country. The demonstrators demanded that the government should resign. In the summer of 1931, the government of President Ibañez del Campo lost power owing to pressure exerted by the masses. In September 1931, the sailors of the navy mutinied. With the workers from a number of towns and cities they demanded that people's power should be established in the country. After dogged battles with the government troops, who used aircraft, the sailors were forced to lay down their arms.

In June 1932 a military coup was staged in the country which brought to power the government headed by air force commander Marmaduke Grove and Chile's former ambassador to the USA, Carlos Dávila. The coup, which was carried out under anti-imperialist and anti-feudal slogans, was supported by workers, students, and petty-bourgeois strata. The new authorities proclaimed Chile "a socialist republic" and announced their intention to fight against national and foreign capital. These announcements

were enthusiastically welcomed by the masses of the people. At the same time, the imperialists of the USA and Britain moved their warships up to the shores of Chile for the purpose of exerting pressure on the Chilean government. In spite of its generous promises, the Grove-Dávila government did not in fact take a single radical measure, which evoked dissatisfaction among the masses. The indecision of Dávila and Grove and their anti-communism undermined the position of the government. Moreover, Dávila left the government and on June 16 carried out a new coup d'etat, thereby establishing his own dictatorship. Protection of private property was declared and a campaign against the Communist Party and the revolutionary-minded workers was started. On September 13, 1932, the dictatorship of Dávila was overthrown. The presidential elections in October 1932 were won by Arturo Alessandri, a representative of the bloc of Liberals and Radicals.

In this period Chile got out of the crisis. Lines of production traditional in that country began to flourish again. Alessandri's government (1932-1938) assisted the influx of American capital. On the eve of the Second World War US capital investments had reached 612 million dollars against 410 million dollars from Britain. Reactionary trends in the country's political life became more marked. Fascist organisations appeared in Chile. The unification of the anti-fascist, anti-imperialist forces into a united front became a vital task of the Communists and all the democrats.

In 1935, committees of the Popular Front began to emerge. In 1936, the Communist and Socialist parties concluded an agreement on unity of action and formed the Popular Front. It was joined by the Confederation of Working People of Chile and the bourgeois opposition parties, the Democratic and Radical parties. This was a bloc of the workers, peasants, petty bourgeoisie, and the patriotic forces. In 1938, the Popular Front was highly successful in the municipal and presidential elections. The country's new president was the candidate of the Popular Front, the Radical Pedro Aguirre Cerda (1938-1941). His cabinet consisted of representatives of the Radical, Democratic, and Socialist parties. The Communist Party proclaimed its support for the government.

President Aguirre Cerda restored civil freedoms, outlined a programme for the development of the national industry,

but did not touch the property of the foreign monopolies and the big latifundistas. Nor did he carry out any substantial socio-economic transformations. Foreign and local reaction exerted great pressure on the Popular Front government, resorting to methods of economic boycott. The victory of the Popular Front in Chile was, however, the most important achievement of the anti-imperialist forces in Latin America in the 1930s.

In the 20th century, when not only the geography but also the history and political and socio-economic problems of the continents are studied, it has become common to regard Australia and Oceania as the world's fifth continent. Oceania includes all the islands in the Central and South-western part of the Pacific between Australia and the Malaysian Archipelago in the west and the wide almost islandless part of the ocean in the north, east, and south of this geographical region. Oceania is usually divided into four parts: 1) Melanesia—one of the main island groups in Oceania which includes the island of New Guinea, the Bismark Archipelago, the Solomon Islands, the New Hebrides, New Caledonia, the Fiji Islands, and others. After the First World War the islands of Melanesia were incorporated into the colonies and mandated territories of Britain, France, and the Netherlands; 2) New Zealand—two islands (North and South) to the south-east of Melanesia, the territories of the British dominion of New Zealand; 3) Micronesia—the small islands to the north of Melanesia and 4) Polynesia—all the remaining islands in Oceania.

Owing to the lack of space in this book the main historical information will only be provided on part of Oceania, New Zealand, besides Australia.

Chapter 16

Australia and New Zealand

AUSTRALIA

A dominion of Great Britain, Australia fought in the First World War together with the countries of the Entente. More than 330,000 Australians took part in the military operations in Europe and Asia, of whom 59,000 were killed and more than 150,000 wounded. Australia's military spending topped 360 million pounds sterling. According to the Peace Treaty of Versailles, Australia received the mandate to govern former German New Guinea. The war gave great impetus to the development of Australia's economy, especially industry. Metallurgical works and engineering enterprises appeared in the country. In 1918, the manufacturing industry had 17,000 enterprises compared with 14,500 in 1913.

The war brought great benefits to the Australian bourgeoisie. For the working masses it meant new deprivations and sufferings. The increasingly acute nature of the class contradictions led to ah upsurge in the working-class movement. Unemployment persisted in the country, and prices and taxes increased. In August and September 1917, more than 100,000 workers took part in a general strike.

When news of the October Revolution in Russia reached Australia, the working people held rallies of solidarity with Soviet Russia, and campaigned against the participation of Australian troops in the anti-Soviet intervention. Australia had sent its warship (then at the Sea of Azov) to the shores of Soviet Russia. In a number of towns in Austra-

lia the "Hands off Russia'' movement sprang up. The sentiments of the progressive workers were expressed in the manifesto drawn up by the Council of the Trade Unions in the state of New South Wales. In the manifesto it was stated: We congratulate the working class of Russia on the victorious defence of communist principles. We hold out our hand to Russia as a sign of fraternal relations with it. We declare that the working class of Australia will not support the actions of the Allies. Hands off Russia! At its conferences the Labour Party of Australia also welcomed the Russian Revolution, supported the right of the people of Russia to determine their own fate and protested against foreign intervention and the economic blockade of Russia.

From the time of the October Revolution the rapid dissemination of Lenin's ideas began in Australia. Even before the First World War the Socialist Party, which had come into being in 1907, had disseminated the ideas of Marxism in Australia. The Russian Bolshevik Artyom (F. A. Sergeyev), who was in Australia from 1911 to 1917, and other Russian revolutionary émigrés made their contribution to the propaganda of communist teaching in that country. In September 1919 Frank Anstey published the book *Red Europe* in which he truthfully recounted the actions and ideas of Lenin. In 1920, Lenin's works were on sale in Melbourne, including *The State and Revolution.*

The dissemination of Marxist-Leninist teaching and the influence of the October Revolution facilitated the unification of the adherents of communism into an independent party. On October 30, 1920, the representatives of the Marxist groups and the Socialist Party who had gathered at a conference, proclaimed the formation of the Communist Party of Australia. In the first year of its existence the Communist Party of Australia also published Lenin's works such as *"Left''-wing Communism—an Infantile Disorder* and *On the State.* But vestiges of anarcho-syndicalism and reformism persisted in the party. Therefore, it broke up soon after its emergence. Party unity was restored in 1922. The united party took an active part in organising aid to the working people of Russia by collecting considerable amounts of money.

The general radicalisation of the working-class movement alarmed the leaders of the Australian Labour Party. To preserve its influence in the trade unions, the Executive Com-

mittee of the Australian Labour Party took a decision to convene the All-Australia Congress of Trade Unions for the purpose of working out a new programme for the working-class movement. At that time, the trade unions had a membership of 700,000. In June 1921, the trade union congress proposed by the Labourites took place in Melbourne. The idea of "the socialisation of industrial production, distribution, and exchange" was approved at it. At the conference of the Labour Party in Brisbane in October 1921 this idea was introduced into its programme as the party's ultimate goal. However, the attainment of this goal was, according to the programme, to be achieved by constitutional methods, including reforms.

After the war ended the bourgeois political • forces regrouped. The National Party, which had taken shape in the war years and was in power, fell into deep decline owing to internal differences of opinion. In 1919, the Agrarian Party headed by Earl Page was founded which expressed the interests of the agricultural bourgeoisie. At the elections in 1922 the agrarians obtained 14 seats in parliament. The new government was created by the Liberals in coalition with the agrarians. It was headed by Stanley Bruce. Earl Page was also a member of the cabinet. The government of the Liberal-Agrarian coalition existed until 1929.

In the 1920s remarkable economic growth was observed in Australia. The prices of Australian wool, grain, butter, and meat grew considerably on the world market. The volume of foreign capital investments in Australia's economy rapidly increased. By the end of the 1920s it had reached a sum of 1,188 million pounds sterling, almost half of which was contributed by Great Britain. A large influx of immigrants provided Australia with additional manpower. As a result, Australia considerably boosted its output of wool and head of sheep. The Australian entrepreneurs sent their goods not only to Great Britain but also to the USA and Japan.

In the conditions of capitalist stabilisation there was a decline in Australia's working-class movement. The Labour Party intensified its propaganda of class cooperation. However, the workers did not renounce the strike campaign. In 1925 and 1926 there were big strikes of sailors, dockers, and other workers. The workers' actions forced Bruce's government to renounce the law on banishing undesirable

elements from Australia by which left-wing figures in the working-class movement were meant.

The Communist Party took an active part in organising the strikes and directing them, waged a campaign of solidarity with the participants in the general strike in Britain in 1926, in 1927 spoke in defence of the worker activists in the USA, Sacco and Vanzetti, who were sentenced to death on the basis of false evidence. The Communists played an important part in setting up the big trade unions of dockers, sailors, miners, and builders in 1925 and 1926. Together with the left Labourites they did, to a decisive extent, promote the foundation in 1927 of the Australian Council of Trade Unions, a united trade union centre in Australia. The Australian Council of Trade Unions united in its ranks some 400,000 people. Communists and left Labourites predominated in its leading bodies. Bruce's government tried to exert pressure on the trade unions to prevent strikes. But this only undermined his positions and brought his party defeat at the parliamentary elections (1929).

The world economic crisis hit the Australian economy hard. The prices of wool and wheat fell catastrophically. In terms of value Australian exports halved in 1930 compared with 1928. In 1933, one-third of the Australian working people were unemployed. The workers' wages fell by 20 per cent.

At the federal elections in October 1929 the Liberal-Agrarian coalition lost. Most of the seats in Parliament (47 out of 66) were won by the Labourites. They also formed the government headed by James Scullin.

The Australian bourgeoisie with the support of the Labour government sought a way out of the crisis by launching an offensive on the living standard of the working people. Wage cuts began and pensions and social insurance benefits were decreased. The workers' response to this were fierce strike protests. The miners at the coal mines in New South Wales went on strike for 15 months in 1929 and 1930. Strikes were also organised by the dockers' and railwaymen^ trade unions. On the demand of the entrepreneurs, the government sent troops against the strikers. The Australian Council of Trade Unions which was controlled by right-wing figures did not take any measures to repel the onslaught of capital.

In the years of the crisis supporters of the fascist move-

ment appeared in Australia. A pro-fascist organisation, the New Guard, sprang up in New South Wales. Its members made raids on workers' meetings and threatened leaders in progressive organisations.

The Communist Party of Australia waged an active struggle against the offensive of capital and the growing fascist danger. The party retained its ties with the trade unions. To rebuff the New Guard and organisations similar to it the Workers' Defence Corps was set up. At the beginning of the 1930s Lawrence Sharkey and other consistent fighters for the interests of the working class became the leaders of the Communist Party of Australia.

The policy of the Labour government could not pull the country out of the crisis. The differences of opinion arising in this connection led to a split in the party. The leader of the Labourites of New South Wales John Lang left the party. At the end of 1931, the right-wing party figure Joseph Lyons and his supporters left the Australian Labour Party and founded the United Australian Party together with the National Party which obtained the majority in the Federal Parliament and in almost all the parliaments of the states at the elections in December 1931. The new government made up of representatives of the United Australian Party and the Agrarian Party was headed by Joseph Lyons (1931-1939).

In 1934, Australia's economic situation began to improve somewhat. However, the development of the economy especially agricultural production was slow. Industry, in particular the mining industry, developed comparatively more rapidly. In the 1930s new branches of industry appeared (power engineering, the automotive industry, and aircraft-building).

In the sphere of home policy the Lyons government undertook an offensive on democratic freedoms, and persecution of the Communist Party began. Special laws were passed which gave the police extensive powers for this purpose. But the ruling circles did not manage to undermine the influence of the Communists in the working-class movement. The Communist Party managed to get its members elected to the leading posts in a number of trade unions, including that of the dockers, and also to mass organisations.

The focal point of the activity of the Communist Party and all the progressive forces was the fight against the dan-

ger of a world war and against the growing threat of international fascism. The Communists took part in the campaign to help the Republicans of Spain. A special committee was set up in Australia to collect money, foodstuffs, and clothing for the Spanish Republicans. Anti-fascist Australians fought in defence of the Spanish Republic as members of the International Brigades. The Communists strove to unite all the forces of the working-class and democratic movement. However, the Australian Labour Party protested against cooperation with the Communist Party of Australia and the organisations controlled by it.

In the international arena on the eve of the Second World War Australia pursued Britain's foreign policy course. The Australian politicians declared that they would support Great Britain should war break out. These sentiments were fanned by the growing "Japanese threat". Japan regarded Australia as one of the important objects of its expansion. It occupied an important place in Australia's foreign trade. However, in 1936 the Australian government imposed restrictions on trade with Japan. But with respect to Japanese aggression in China the ruling circles in Australia took a conniving stand. They also welcomed the Munich compact of the powers which gave up Czechoslovakia to Germany. At the end of the war concern about the possible invasion by Japan increased in Australia.

Relations with the United States of America began to occupy an increasingly important place in the country's foreign policy. Australia regarded these relations through the prism of the imminent danger to it on the part of Japan. However, economic and political ties with the USA did not develop to any considerable extent. Australia's dependence on Great Britain and the traditional ties between them had an effect here.

Before the war Australia had become a developed capitalist country.

NEW ZEALAND

New Zealand, like Australia, was a dominion of Great Britain. Therefore, in 1914, in the wake of the metropolis, it entered the First World War on the side of the Entente countries. New Zealand soldiers were sent to Somalia and

Egypt and fought in France. All in all, more than one hundred New Zealanders took part in the war of whom 17,000 were killed and more than 41,000 wounded. New Zealand spent 82 million pounds sterling for war purposes.

The war boosted the growth of industry in New Zealand. Military orders and the weakening of economic ties with Britain stimulated the development of New Zealand's industry. For its participation in the war New Zealand obtained, under the mandate of the League of Nations, the colonies of West Samoa and the Island of Nauru (in joint possession with Britain and Australia). Thus New Zealand did itself become a colonial state.

In spite of its remoteness from the centres of the world revolutionary movement, New Zealand experienced the beneficial effect of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The working-class and anti-imperialist movement were activated there. In 1921, the Communist Party took shape. It collected money among the country's working masses to send to Soviet Russia. The trade union masses in New Zealand also welcomed the October Revolution. The left-wing elements in the Labour Party gained in strength, too.

At the elections in 1919 the official majority of the electorates' votes was obtained by the Reform Party. Its leader William Massey also retained the post of prime minister. But even at that time there was a tendency for the Labour Party to gain an increasing number of votes. In subsequent years the number of voters voting for the Labourites grew. But the party remained reformist in its ideology and policy. In 1918, one of its leaders, Peter Frazer, formulated the Party's credo in the following manner: "The party's platform is not socialism but a path towards socialism... The Labour Party is rather a party of experiment than a party of doctrine."

In its foreign policy New Zealand pursued a course of preserving its status as a component part of the British Empire. This policy resulted from its close trade and economic ties with Britain and also from the hope that the British armed forces would ensure the defence of New Zealand. The country did not have a Ministry of Foreign Affairs and its only diplomatic representative abroad was the Tligh Commissioner in London.

However, the development of the economy and of the national political forces speeded up the process of New

Zealand becoming an independent capitalist state. At the British commonwealth conferences in 1926 and 1931 New Zealand's right to independence in internal and foreign affairs was recognised. However, the British did essentially retain control not only of its foreign policy but also of the main trends in New Zealand's economic development. Great Britain remained responsible for its defence. British capital also predominated in the country's economy and foreign trade. In 1938, Britain accounted for some 85 per cent of New Zealand's exports and 50 per cent of its imports.

Orientated chiefly on Britain, at the end of the 1920s New Zealand began to think about new markets for its goods. For this purpose it concluded a trade agreement with Japan in 1928, according to which both countries granted each other most-favoured-nation treatment. This did not make any substantial changes in New Zealand's foreign trade. But it was the first independently concluded agreement with another state in the country's history, which was also evidence of the growing interest of New Zealanders in developing ties with the countries of Asia. Soon after this, Japanese naval vessels made a visit to New Zealand. But in the subsequent period there was increasing concern among the New Zealanders about possible Japanese aggression.

During the world economic crisis New Zealand was on the verge of economic collapse. Its incomes from exports fell by more than 30 per cent from 1929 to 1931. The prices of export goods dropped by approximately 43 per cent. A coalition government of the National Party (formed in 1931 as a result of the merger of the Conservative and Liberal parties) was in power in the country from 1931. Firmly connected with the big bourgeoisie and the landowners, the party sought a way out of the crisis by means of an offensive on the living standard of the working people. Back in 1928 the authorities- set up a special committee which dealt with the problem of cutting unemployment. In 1930, parliament passed a law on unemployment, according to which public works were expanded for the purpose of decreasing unemployment. In September 1931, approximately 16,000 people were employed on public works. But all this did not diminish unemployment. There were 75,000 unemployed in the country in September 1933.

The working class actively protested against the shift-

ing of the burden of the crisis onto its shoulders. In 1934, a hunger march of the unemployed on Wellington, the capital of New Zealand, was organised. To prevent the working-class movement from becoming more vigorous, the reactionary ruling circles began to encourage the pro-fascist movement. At the beginning of the 1930s the semi-fascist organisation, the New Zealand Legion, appeared in New Zealand. The Communist Party and the trade unions actively protested against the activity of this group.

In the mid-1930s New Zealand gradually began to get out of the crisis. Exports in 1936 and 1937 increased, and unemployment decreased. Agriculture began to develop more intensively, the motor vehicle fleet grew and better yields of wheat were obtained. Sheep-breeding and dairy-and-beef cattle raising, the leading branches of agriculture, also recovered from the crisis. In 1937, the head of sheep had grown by 9 per cent compared with 1934. New Zealand considerably increased its sales of wool, butter, meat, and cheese. In the main, trade was carried on with Great Britain.

But in view of the fact that the National Party turned out to be incapable of fending off the blows dealt by the crisis, at the beginning of the 1930s the voters refused to give it their support. In 1935, the Labourites won the elections and remained in power until 1949. They put forward a programme of turning New Zealand into a "welfare state". Their programme included stabilisation of the economy, expansion of the social security system and the redistribution of the national income. The Labourites extended social insurance, introduced a national medical service, and took measures to render aid to the Maori people, the indigenous population of the country. All this somewhat eased the condition of the working people. In this period the trade unions became more vigorous in their activity. In 1937, they united into the New Zealand Federation of Labour. The Communists were active in the trade unions. The Communist Party of New Zealand came forward under the slogans of uniting all the popular forces against the growing danger of war and the threat posed by international fascism.

In the 1930s the ties between New Zealand and other countries expanded somewhat. But in the years of the crisis the struggle among the British dominions, which had

introduced bans on imports of agricultural produce, became more acute. In this connection, a commonwealth conference on economic questions was held in Ottawa in 1932, which formalised the closed economic bloc of the British Empire. By the summer of 1938 New Zealand had trade ties with 18 countries, mainly in Western Europe.

Initially, the ever more imminent danger of another world war troubled New Zealand very little. With regard to the Japanese aggression in China, it copied the British policy of appeasing the aggressor. But, at the same time, it began to increase expenditure on the defence of the British Empire, including the construction of a base in Singapore. When Japan launched its big offensive on China in 1937, this evoked growing alarm among the New Zealanders. In the case of Italian aggression in Ethiopia, New Zealand took a more consistent stand than the metropolis. It supported the Soviet proposal on banning oil deliveries to Italy. New Zealand's Labour government was in favour of selling arms to the Spanish Republic. The representative of New Zealand in the League of Nations spoke out in favour of the necessary measures to put an end to Japanese aggression in China in 1937. In April 1939, a conference attended by Britain, New Zealand and Australia was held in Wellington, at which the problems of a joint defence effort were discussed. With respect to the Munich compact and the Anglo-Japanese Arita-Craigie (the Far-East Munich) agreement,[1] New Zealand supported the government of Great Britain, which was conniving with the aggressor.

[1] The agreement reached on July 2, 1939, as a result of the negotiations between the Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs, Hechiro Arita, and the British ambassador in Tokyo, Edward Craigie. According to the agreement, Britain recognised "the special needs" of the Japanese occupation forces in China and pledged itself not to hinder their operations in any way. This policy of concessions to the Japanese aggressors was a continuation in the Far East of Britain's Munich policy.

The World During the Second World War
1939-1945

Chapter 17

The Causes, Preparations and Course of the Second World War

1. Preparations for and the Beginning of the Second World War

The Second World War began on September 1, 1939 when Nazi Germany attacked Poland. In the early period (from September 1, 1939 to June 22, 1941) military operations took place between the two groupings of the capitalist states—the Anglo-French grouping and the German-Italian-Japanese grouping. At this stage, Nazi Germany achieved success while the countries of Western Europe suffered defeat. The Soviet Union had not yet entered the war. The imperialist powers, the USA, Britain, and France, strove just as before to spearhead the expansionist aspirations of Germany, Italy, and Japan against the USSR. Concurrently, the imperialists managed to provoke war between the Soviet Union and Finland. An extremely tense situation was created for the USSR.

The reasons and nature of the Second World War. The Second World War broke out owing to the aggravation of the economic and political contradictions of imperialism. In the period between the wars the concentration and centralisation of production and capital had tremendously increased, and state-monopoly capitalism was playing a growing role. The reactionary circles of financial capital were pursuing a policy of militarising their countries and preparing for a world war.

After the First World War the unevenness of the capitalist countries' development became more marked. As a

result of Germany's surrender in 1918 it ceased to be one of the big powers and was deprived of its colonies. However, by the mid-1980s with the help of American capital it had restored its potential and was the second in the capitalist world in the volume of industrial production. The division of the world after the First World War was neither to the liking of Germany, nor Japan, nor Italy. All this led to the drastic exacerbation of international contradictions, made more acute the struggle of the imperialist powers for the sources of raw materials, markets, spheres of application of capital, domination over other peoples, the redivision of the world and the establishment of world supremacy.

The contradictions among the imperialist countries became particularly acute in the period of the general crisis of capitalism. The building of socialism in the USSR, the growth of the influence and might of the first socialist country, the upsurge of the revolutionary working-class and national liberation movement undermined the positions of imperialism and prevented it from carrying out its plans. Therefore, the international bourgeoisie was interested in liquidating the Soviet Union by military means and in solving its contradictions partly at the expense of the USSR. The political goal of world capital in the Second World War was the striving to undermine the international revolutionary movement and crush the decisive force of world progress, the Soviet Union. American imperialism which helped to create the war machine of Hitler's Germany, bears great responsibility for the preparations for the Second World War.

The aggravation of the contradictions between the imperialist powers caused two hostile blocs to be formed: the Anglo-French-American bloc and the German-Japanese-Italian bloc which began to prepare for another world war.

The German-Japanese-Italian bloc took shape in the form of the Anti-Comintern Pact and made its goal not only the redivision of the world but also the establishment of fascist orders in all countries, thereby presenting great danger to mankind. Germany calculated on subjugating the whole of Europe as far as the Urals to establish its world supremacy. Italy was striving to recreate the Roman empire and subordinate to itself a considerable part of Africa, the Middle East, and the Balkans and turn the Mediterra-

riean Sea into “a landlocked Italian sea”. Japan wished to dominate in the Pacific Ocean and in Asia right up to the Urals.

Striving to direct the aggressive aspirations of Germany, Japan, and Italy against the Soviet Union, and to encourage them to go to war with the Soviet Union, Britain, France, and the USA hoped that after the aggressive bloc had been considerably weakened by war, they would crush their rivals and implement their own plans for world domination.

The Soviet Union fought to prevent the Second World War since it could cause mankind tremendous calamities and sufferings. At the same time, the USSR strove to build up its defence capability and not to allow a united anti-Soviet front of the imperialist states to be created.

In the early period of the Second World War the imperialists did not manage to drive the Soviet Union into it. Therefore, the war began as an imperialist one but right from the beginning it bore elements of a liberation, anti-fascist war. The struggle of the popular masses in the countries occupied by the fascists acquired an anti-fascist and liberation nature. The Soviet Union’s entry into the war anc; the formation of the anti-Hitler coalition signified the ultimate turning of the war into a liberation anti-fascist one on the part of the countries and peoples opposing the bloc of the fascist states.

Germany’s attack on Poland, “the phoney war”. On September 1, 1939 Hitler’s hordes attacked Poland. Germany sent 53 divisions, 2,500 tanks and 2,000 aircraft against Poland. The Polish army was not strong enough to counter the aggression of the Nazi German troops. In spite of the heroic resistance put up by individual military units (in the battle of the river Bzura, during the defence of Modlin, Warsaw, and Gdynia), the fascists rapidly advanced into the heart of Poland. After twenty days of defensive fighting, Poland suffered defeat.

The catastrophe of Poland was the outcome of the anti-national, anti-Soviet policy of its government. The Polish ruling circles reckoned on an alliance with the imperialist states (who betrayed Poland as soon as Germany attacked it) and made concessions to fascist Germany, prepared for war against the Soviet Union and did not fortify its western

frontiers. Within the country itself a policy of cruel exploitation of the Polish working people was pursued and the national minorities such as the Ukrainians, the Byelorussians and the Lithuanians were mercilessly oppressed. All this was the reason for Poland's rapid defeat in the war with Germany.

Britain and France which had given guarantees in the case of an attack on Poland declared war on Germany on September 3, 1939. But in so doing, they still hoped to divert the fascist aggression further east, against the USSR and did not launch active military operations. On the western front there were 110 French and five British divisions against Germany's 23 divisions. On September 12, 1939, at the session of the Anglo-French Supreme Council it was decided to pursue passive defence tactics in the war against Germany. From September 1939 to May 1940 the so-called "phoney war" was being fought in the West. Neither of the sides carried out active military operations. For Germany this created exceptionally favourable conditions for crushing Poland as fast as possible and for preparing for other military campaigns. On the seas the battles were more active.

At the beginning of the war the United States of America declared its neutrality. The ruling circles in the USA reckoned on taking advantage of the status quo in the interests of enriching themselves, of consolidating the country's might and subsequently establishing American world supremacy. Simultaneously, the USA encouraged Germany's advance eastwards. However, taking into account the growing contradictions with the fascist regimes, American imperialism increasingly orientated itself on a rapprochement with Britain and France. Remaining on the sidelines of the war for some time, the USA became active in the Western Hemisphere, setting about consolidating its economic and political positions in the countries of Latin America.

The unification with the USSR of the western lands of the Ukrainian, Byelorussian and Moldavian peoples. The Polish bourgeois-landowner government which had been party to the anti-Soviet designs of the British and French imperialists rejected the USSR's offer of assistance to Poland which had been made when the attack by Hitler's Germany on Poland could still have been prevented. Betrayed by its imperialist patrons, who had pledged themselves in

treaties concluded with Poland to render it military assistance should it be the victim of aggression; and cast to the whims of fate by its own government and the military command, which had fled to Romania in mid-September, Poland became prey for the Nazis and ceased to exist as a state.

The advance of the Nazi troops towards the frontiers of the USSR which created a real threat to its vital centres, concern about the fate of the fraternal Ukrainian and Byelorussian people in the eastern part of Poland (the Western Ukraine and Western Byelorussia seized by bourgeois-landowner Poland in 1918-1920) impelled the Soviet Union to take a decision on the Red Army's entry into the Western Ukraine and Western Byelorussia oh September 17, 1939. By this act the USSR not only fortified its own security but also restored the lands which had historically belonged to it, the Western Ukraine and Western Byelorussia as well as rendering internationalist aid to the Polish population.

The population of the Western Ukraine and Western Byelorussia welcomed the Red Army as its liberator. Everywhere there were rallies, gatherings, and manifestations at which the working people demanded the unification of the Western Ukraine and Western Byelorussia with the Soviet Republics. The people's assemblies elected at general elections declared Soviet power in the liberated territories and submitted a request to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR for unification with the Soviet Ukraine and Soviet Byelorussia. In November 1939, the request of the Western Ukraine and Western Byelorussia was satisfied and they became part of the corresponding republics of the USSR.

The revolutionary overthrow of the fascist cliques by the peoples of Lithuania, Latina and Estonia. After the establishment of the fascist dictatorship in the Baltic countries—in Lithuania in 1926, in Latvia in 1934, and in Estonia in 1934-1935, their ruling circles pursued an anti-Soviet and anti-national policy. They not only oppressed mercilessly and exploited the working people of these Baltic states, but steered a course toward the complete loss of national independence by these states and their employment by the imperialist forces as a bridgehead for attacking the USSR. The working people of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia fought selflessly against their fascist oppressors and the anti-

national policy of the latter. In 1939, in Latvia alone there were 316 strikes; the strike movement gained in strength in Lithuania and Estonia. Under the pressure exerted by the working people the governments in these countries were forced to conclude mutual aid pacts with the USSR in the autumn of 1939. But the dangerous and provocational anti-Soviet policy of these governments continued. In the spring and summer of 1940 the fascist cliques in Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, flouting the pacts on mutual aid with the USSR, conducted negotiations with Hitler's Germany on sending its troops into these countries and created an anti-Soviet military bloc.

In spite of the resolute protest made by the USSR to the government of Lithuania on June 14 and to the governments of Latvia and Estonia on June 16, 1940,these governments continued their anti-Soviet provocations.

This called forth a revolutionary explosion among the working masses in these countries who were well aware where their fascist rulers were taking them. In June 1940, the stormy revolutionary protest of the working people ended in victory with the overthrow of the reactionary forces in Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia and the formation of people's governments.

On July 14-15, 1940, elections were held to the new legislative bodies: to the People's Sejms of Lithuania and Latvia and to the State Duma of Estonia. Candidates of the unions of the working people won these elections.

On June 21, the people's elected governments, in accordance with the will of the working masses, declared the restoration of Soviet power in these Baltic countries, and took a decision on the Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian Soviet Socialist Republics becoming part of the USSR and submitted the respective request to the Soviet Government.

In August 1940, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR satisfied this request and took Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia into the USSR.

In June 1940, Bessarabia which had been taken by force in 1918 by bourgeois-landowner Romania, and Northern Bukovina whose Ukrainian population gravitated towards the Soviet Ukraine were also reunited with the Soviet Union. Liberated Bessarabia and Soviet Moldavia formed the Moldavian SSR on August 2, 1940. With fascist aggres-

sion on the march, these historical events were of vital importance for fortifying the USSR's defence capacity as well.

War between the Soviet Union and Finland. Soviet-Finnish relations were complicated at the beginning of the Second World War. The governments of the USA, Britain, France and Germany urged Finland to pursue an anti-Soviet course. They considered that Finnish territory was a good bridgehead for attacking the USSR. The reactionary circles in Finland intensified the military build-up on the frontiers and put forward the idea of creating a "Great Finland" by seizing Soviet territories.

The Soviet Union was interested in establishing normal relations with Finland and not allowing it to become involved in the imperialists' venture and preventing them from using its territory for anti-Soviet purposes. Proceeding from this, the Soviet Government in April 1938 invited Finland to begin negotiations on the problems of mutual security and soon after the Second World War broke out, to start talks for the purpose of concluding a mutual aid treaty. The negotiations began on October 11, 1939, but did not yield positive results. The imperialist powers managed to provoke the Finnish reactionaries into a war against the Soviet Union and, on November 30, military operations began between Finland and the USSR.

The war continued throughout the winter of 1939-1940. At that time, the ruling circles in Britain and France supplied Finland with arms and materiel, attempted to create a single anti-Soviet front and prepared for an attack on the USSR. In violation of the Soviet-German pact of 1939, Nazi Germany also helped the reactionary Finnish top brass in secret. The USA acted as a mediator between the Anglo-French bloc and Germany to unite all the reactionary forces against the Soviet state.

After the Finnish troops were defeated the aggressive designs of the imperialist powers experienced a fiasco. On March 12, 1940, the Soviet-Finnish peace treaty was signed, one of the main conditions of which were the mutual pledges of non-aggression with regard to one another and of non-participation by either of the sides in coalitions hostile to the other side. According to this treaty, the Soviet-Finnish frontier on the Karelian Isthmus was moved 120 kilometres to the north. The peace treaty opened up the path to

good-neighbourly relations between Finland and the USSR. However, Finnish reaction did not renounce its anti-Soviet policy and started to prepare for another war, increasingly drawing the country into the mainstream of Nazi Germany's policy.

France's capitulation. In the spring of 1940 Nazi Germany was prepared for a considerable expansion of its military operations. On April 9, 1940, it began its invasion of Denmark and Norway. Denmark surrendered but the population and the army of Norway strove to rebuff the aggressors. Britain and France tried to provide Norway with military aid but the German invaders who had crushed the resistance offered them swiftly occupied that country.

On May 10, 1940, German troops began to invade Belgium, Holland, and Luxemburg, which were occupied in a few days. The Nazi regiments that had launched an offensive on France marched across the territories of these states. The period of the "phoney war" had finished. On May 14, 1940, the Netherlands capitulated. Belgium surrendered on May 28, 1940. On June 5, Germany began an offensive in the direction of Paris. On JunelO, 1940, Italy declared war on France and Britain and began to move up its troops into the areas along its frontier with France. The government of France which had so vigorously joined in the attempts to carry out the anti-Soviet schemes of the imperialists during the Soviet-Finnish war, was completely incapable of organising resistance to the fascists. Paris was declared an open city, and, on June 14, it was occupied by Hitler's troops. After the surrender of Paris, the government of France moved to Bordeaux, and on July 2, it was in Vichy. On June 17 the French prime minister Henri-Philippe Petain announced France's capitulation.

On June 22, 1940, at that very same station of Retonde in the Bois Compiegne, in that same railway carriage where the terms of the armistice had been dictated to a defeated Germany by the representatives of the Entente, the representatives of Petain's government signed the armistice with Nazi Germany on humiliating terms. The German troops occupied Northern France and the whole of the French Atlantic seaboard. The French colonies were to serve the interests of the German Reich. The French navy and air force were handed over to Germany. According to

the terms of the armistice signed with Italy on July 24, 1940, France pledged to demilitarise a number of its territories. Thus, the perfidious policy of the French ruling circles led the country to national disgrace.

The development of fascist aggression. The seizure by fascist Germany of almost the whole of Western Europe considerably swung the balance of forces in favour of the fascist bloc, which now had at its disposal the economic and manpower resources of the occupied countries. Britain's position was a difficult one. The country was threatened by a German invasion. Hitler's top brass worked out a plan for the invasion of the British Isles code named "Sea Lion".

In Africa Britain came up against Italy which intended to seize the British colonies and spheres of influence. By July 1940 the Italian troops had gained considerable successes, having captured British Somalia, part of Kenya, and the Sudan. Then the Italian troops began to advance into Egypt. But in December 1940 the British troops, having received reinforcements, dealt a blow at the Italian troops and forced them to retreat. Italy was compelled to leave not only the colonies taken from Britain but also lost almost all its own colonies in Africa except Libya. On May 18, 1941, the remnants of the Italian army in Ethiopia surrendered to the British troops.

As military operations gathered in strength the two opposing groups of the imperialist powers further consolidated themselves. On September 27, 1940, Germany, Italy, and Japan signed the Tripartite Pact which was aimed at the further expansion of fascist aggression. They pledged themselves to render each other every possible (military, economic, political) assistance should one of the sides be at war with any other power. The spheres of influence and of world supremacy were outlined among the parties to the Tripartite Pact. Germany and Italy asserted their supremacy in Europe and Japan in eastern Asia. But, first and foremost, this military and political alliance of the three fascist states was spearheaded against the USSR and was of an anti-Soviet nature.

After France's defeat the rapprochement of Great Britain and the USA accelerated. As the war was increasingly waged the USA began to render growing help to Britain, seeing in Germany its main foe. At the same time, it hoped to gain

profit from the British colonial empire. As far as British imperialism was concerned it was prepared to make concessions to the United States in order to withstand Nazi Germany and its allies. On this basis, the Anglo-American bloc was formed. On September 2, 1940, an agreement was signed by the two countries according to which the USA handed over to Britain five hundred old destroyers and Britain leased to the United States for ninety-nine years territories on a number of islands for naval and air bases.

On March 11, 1941, a lend-lease law was passed in the USA which gave the President the right to grant loans or rent materiel to any country whose defence was vital to the USA. According to this law military aid was granted to Britain and Greece immediately. Deliveries of military materials were extremely important for the British war effort and the expansion of arms production brought the American imperialists big profits.

Meanwhile, the states of the fascist bloc perpetrated new acts of aggression. On October 28, 1940, Italy began military operations against Greece. The people and army of Greece put up heroic resistance to the aggressor and drove him out of their territory and together with the Albanian patriots out of part of Albania. Italy was forced to turn to Germany for help.

In November 1940, Germany managed to get Hungary, Romania, and Slovakia to join the Tripartite Pact and, on March 1, 1941, Bulgaria. On the territory of these countries Germany stationed its troops. On March 25, 1941, the Yugoslavian government joined the Tripartite Pact. But the popular masses in Yugoslavia protested against this decision and managed to get the government to resign. Then, on April 6, 1941, Germany started military operations against Yugoslavia and Greece. On April 17, the Yugoslavian government signed an act of surrender. By the end of April Greece had been captured. By June 1941 the German troops were in possession of the Greek island of Crete. The German forces sent to Libya began an offensive against the British troops, together with the Italian troops on March 31, 1941, and advanced into Egypt.

As fascist aggression mounted, the Soviet Union took steps to prevent some countries from being drawn into the fascist bloc. The Soviet Government proposed a treaty

of friendship and mutual aid to Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. The Bulgarian government rejected the Soviet proposal. A treaty on friendship and non-aggression was signed with Yugoslavia at the beginning of April 1941. In March 1941, the Soviet Union exchanged notes on neutrality with Turkey, should one of the sides be the victim of aggression. All these acts by the USSR were aimed against the German aggressor and his allies.

At the same time as German aggression was expanding in Europe Japan was committing more and more aggressive acts in the Far East. On September 23, 1940, the Japanese forces occupied the northern part of Indo-China. Following this, Japanese imperialism set its sights on Indonesia. Japan's plans also included capturing the. Philippines. All this affected the fundamental imperialist interests of the USA, Britain and Holland in Asia and the Far East. But in this period neither Japan nor the USA wished to make war on one another. The USA, like Britain, was trying to direct Japan's aggressive aspirations against the USSR. In 1940-1941 negotiations were conducted between the USA and Japan. On May 12, 1941, the Japanese government submitted a draft agreement to the USA according to which a division of the spheres of supremacy of the USA and Japan in the Pacific Ocean was envisaged. Although the government of the USA considered Japan's claims to be excessive, on June 21, 1941, it did in the main give Japan a positive reply to its demands. American imperialism thereby hoped to appease Japan at the expense of China and to encourage its aggression against the USSR.

The Soviet Union's aid to China in its fight against Japanese aggression seriously aggravated Soviet-Japanese relations. With the growing danger that the USSR would be attacked by Germany, the Soviet Union suggested concluding a treaty of neutrality with Japan. After lengthy delays on the part of Japan, on April 13, 1941, a Soviet-Japanese treaty of neutrality for five years was signed in Moscow. This was, undoubtedly, an attainment for Soviet diplomacy in safeguarding the security of its frontiers in the Far East. This was the international situation on the eve of the attack by Germany and its allies on the USSR.

2. The Beginning of the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union

The second period in the Second World War began with the attack by Germany and its allies on the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, and lasted until November 1942, i.e. until the Battle of Stalingrad. This was the most critical period in the Second World War.

The attack by Germany and its allies on the USSR. At dawn on June 22, 1941, Nazi Germany and its allies perfidiously attacked the Soviet Union without declaring war on it. The fascist aggressors were bent on destroying the socialist system, liquidating the Soviet state and enslaving the peoples of the USSR. The Great Patriotic War of the Soviet people against Germany and the other parties in the fascist bloc began.

At the moment when Germany attacked the USSR, it controlled practically the whole of Western Europe. Two hundred and ninety million people lived on the territory of the empire belonging to the fascists and their allies. The West-European countries seized by Germany formed a powerful military and economic base for it. The industrial and agricultural production, manpower resources, finance, transport, and raw materials of almost the whole of Europe were at the service of fascist aggression. The fascist bloc sent approximately five million men (Germans, Italians, Romanians, Hungarians, Finns, Slovaks, Spaniards, and French) against the Soviet state. They were formed into 190 divisions armed with more than 3,500 tanks, 4,900 aircraft, and more than 50,000 guns and mortars.

The fascists announced that their goal in the war was "to protect civilisation from the threat of Bolshevism". In actual fact, all the plans of Nazi Germany consisted in annihilating the Soviet Union, seizing its territories as far as the Arkhangelsk-Volga line and handing over a large part of the USSR's Asian territory to Japan. Romania was promised Moldavia, Odessa and the lands to the west of the Dniester, Finland—the Leningrad Region and Eastern Karelia, and Hungary—the regions of the Western Ukraine. The Nazi's plans included the physical annihilation of most of the Russians, Ukrainians, and other peoples in the USSR and making some of the population slaves of the

German capitalists and landowners. According to the Barbarossa Plan approved in December 1940, the war against the USSR was to be a blitzkrieg. Three groups of German troops, the North, Centre and South, were to advance rapidly, making deep raids with tank units, into the heart of the USSR towards Leningrad, Moscow, and Kiev and occupy a considerable part of the European territory of the USSR, destroy the Soviet troops, crush the resistance of the Soviet state and put an end to it in just a few weeks.

The early period in the Great Patriotic War took shape extremely unfavourably for the Soviet state. In the first three weeks the fascist troops advanced 300-600 kilometres into the country's hinterland. They seized Latvia, Lithuania, Byelorussia, a considerable part of the Ukraine and Moldavia and approached Leningrad, Kiev, Smolensk, and Odessa. In spite of the heroic resistance put up by the Soviet people and its army the latter did not manage to hold Kiev, Smolensk, and Odessa. But Germany's main strategic plan to end the war before the onset of winter failed.

The reasons for the Red Army's temporary failures were the fact that Germany and its allies had larger numbers of troops, weapons, and materiel and equipment and experience in military operations. In the two years before the Great Patriotic War the Soviet Government had taken a number of important measures to heighten the defence capacity of the USSR. Considerable means were allocated for the needs of the defence industry, the production of new improved military aircraft was started and also of tanks and other armaments, and the numbers of the armed forces were increased from 1,433,000 in 1936 to 4,207,000 in 1941.

But the Soviet Union had not managed to complete this programme for defence owing to lack of time. The troops still had a shortage of the new types of arms and equipment. At the moment when the fascists invaded the USSR's western frontiers there were only 33 Soviet divisions there. A considerable part of the men in the Red Army did not manage to undergo the necessary training and did not have experience in military operations. The Soviet Government headed by Stalin tried to delay Germany's attack on the USSR in every possible way, but did not manage to do so to the necessary extent. Owing to these circumstances, in spite of its tremendous courage and the unprecedented heroism of

the officers and men, the Red Army was forced to retreat further into the depths of the country.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union was, however, able to mobilise and organise all the forces of the people to rebuff the enemy in extremely difficult conditions. The party clearly defined the tasks of the warriors and the toilers in the rear and also of the Soviet people who had remained on the territory temporarily occupied by the fascist troops. In the early days of the war a State Defence Committee was set up with Stalin as its chairman. Under the leadership of the Committee, plans for military operations were worked out, the partisan movement was promoted in the enemy's rear and the Soviet economy was reorganised along military lines.

The evacuation of industrial, including military, enterprises from the west to the east was a great feat by the Soviet working class. By the end of 1941, it had been managed to put a halt to the decline of the general level of industrial production. The country's plants and factories were boosting the output of the necessary items for military operations. Thus, thanks to the tremendous advantages of the socialist system, the Soviet people headed by the CPSU managed to gather their forces and withstand the first mighty onslaught of the enemy although the situation was extremely difficult in the early months of the war.

During the Patriotic War Soviet foreign policy was faced with new tasks: to provide more favourable international conditions for the military defeat of the aggressors, so as to defend the freedom and independence of the USSR, to protect its socialist gains, and to help other peoples and countries in the struggle against fascism for freedom and independent development. A coalition of the states fighting against Germany had to be set up to solve these tasks with the purpose of defeating the aggressor as soon as possible and preventing some states which were neutral (Japan, Turkey, Iran, and others) from entering the war against the USSR; to render every possible assistance to the peoples who had become the victim of fascist aggression, including ensuring them the possibility of choosing the social system they desired and finally managing to reorganise the system of international relations on the basis of peace, cooperation and the friendship of peoples. In general form these tasks were formulated in a series of

speeches by the leaders of the Soviet Government and also in the first Soviet diplomatic documents after Germany's attack on the USSR.

From the beginning of the Great Patriotic War foreign troop units and formations began to form on the territory of the USSR, including, from December 1941, Czechoslovak military formations. In 1942, a French air squadron was formed and in 1943 the Normandie-Niemen air regiment. In the spring of 1943 the Polish patriots began to form a Polish division named after T. Kosciuszko on Soviet territory. In the subsequent period Yugoslavian and Romanian military units were formed. The Soviet Union rendered considerable material aid to these foreign military formations. Assistance was also given to the armed forces of Albania in training cadres, and in supplies of materiel and equipment. The aid rendered by the Soviet Union to the countries and peoples who were fighting against the fascist aggressors facilitated the liberation of these countries from the fascist yoke and promoted their independence.

The formation of the anti-fascist coalition. The vital task facing the Soviet state was the setting up of an anti-fascist coalition. The ruling circles in Britain and the USA understood that Germany's victory over the USSR would create the threat of the fascist bloc establishing world domination. Therefore, they decided to take the side of the USSR in the Soviet-German war. The popular masses in Britain and the United States demanded this. On June 22, 1941, the Prime Minister of Great Britain, Winston Churchill and, on June 24, US President Franklin D. Roosevelt announced the determination of their countries to support the Soviet Union in its war against Germany. On July 12, 1941, the Agreement between His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics Providing for Joint Action in the War against Germany was signed. In the Agreement the sides took upon themselves the mutualobligations of rendering aid and support in the war. They also announced their refusal to conclude a separate peace with the enemy.

In July 1941, an agreement was signed between the Soviet Government and the emigre governments of Czechoslovakia and Poland on a joint struggle against fascist Germany. In the same year, the Soviet Union also restored dip-

lomatic relations with the emigre governments of Belgium and Norway. On August 2, 1941, the US Government officially announced to the Soviet Government its decision to render economic aid to the USSR in the struggle against Germany. This is how the foundations were laid for the setting up of the anti-fascist coalition.

In September, the Soviet Government announced its recognition of Charles de Gaulle "as the leader of all free Frenchmen wherever they might be". It expressed its readiness to provide them with all-round aid and assistance in fighting the fascist aggressors.

When the anti-fascist coalition was formed, the question arose of the need to determine its goals and tasks in the war. At the beginning of August 1941 at a meeting of Roosevelt and Churchill an Anglo-American declaration on the purposes of war which was known as the Atlantic Charter was signed. Britain and the USA announced that they were not striving to seize territories, did not support any territorial changes without the consent of the peoples there, respected the rights of peoples to sovereignty and to choose a form of government suitable for them, and considered it necessary to disarm states that might threaten aggression. Besides this, the declaration contained demands for the equality of all countries in trade and access to world raw materials sources, and freedom of the seas. In it was also manifest the striving of Anglo-American imperialism to consolidate its world positions. In spite of the substantial shortcomings in the declaration, the Soviet Government became a party to it for it helped to fortify the anti-fascist coalition.

At a conference of the representatives of the USSR, the USA and Britain in Moscow on September 29—October 1, 1941, mutual military and economic aid was discussed, and agreement was reached on military supplies. On November 7, 1941, the USA extended the lend-lease law to the USSR and granted a loan of one thousand million dollars without interest. This promoted the development of relations among the three main parties to the anti-Hitler coalition. The formation of the anti-fascist coalition was a tremendous attainment for Soviet diplomacy and was in the interests of all the countries fighting against Germany and its allies.

In the early months of the war the Soviet Government put every effort into preventing some of its neighbours

from being drawn into the war against the USSR by the fascist aggressors. Iran was a dangerous hotbed of subversive activity against the USSR where German agents were creating stores of weapons and ammunition, carried out espionage and subversive activities and organised provocations against the USSR. The Soviet Government repeatedly warned the government of Iran about the dangerous activities of German agents but the Iranian government did not take the necessary measures to put an end to them.

In this connection, the USSR and Britain took joint measures to prevent the utilisation of Iranian territory by the fascist aggressors. At the proposal of the government of Great Britain, it was decided to send British and Soviet troops into Iran. In so doing, the Soviet Government proceeded from the Soviet-Iranian treaty of 1921. On August 25, 1941, the Soviet troops entered the territory of Iran in the north and the British troops marched into the southern part of Iran. On January 29, 1942, an allied treaty on respect for the integrity and sovereignty of Iran and on pledges to defend it from aggression was signed by the USSR, Britain and Iran. It was envisaged that the Soviet and British troops would be withdrawn from Iran no more than six months after the war ended. Thus, Nazi Germany's plans to use Iran to attack the Soviet Union along its southern frontiers were foiled.

Japan which was in close alliance with Nazi Germany presented great danger to the Soviet state in the Far East. In spite of the Soviet-Japanese Treaty of Neutrality, Japan did not give up its intention of attacking the USSR when the time came. Therefore, the USSR was forced to keep as many as 40 divisions on the Far-Eastern frontiers.

The Soviet state also strove to prevent Turkey from entering the war on the side of fascist Germany. On June 25, 1941, the Turkish government issued an announcement on the country's neutrality with regard to the Soviet-German war. On August 10, the USSR and Britain made an announcement to the Turkish government on respect for Turkey's territorial inviolability and preparedness to render it aid should it be the victim of aggression by any other European power. This announcement had a definite influence on Turkey's position. Nevertheless, in actual fact it did not remain neutral but helped Hitler's Germany by allowing German vessels to pass through the straits into the Black Sea.

The international significance of the defeat of the fascist forces near Moscow. By the autumn of 1941, in spite of the fact that the plans for a blitzkrieg had been foiled, the German High Command prepared operation "Typhoon" the purpose of which was to capture Moscow. The two offensives on Moscow launched by Hitler's command on September 30 and in mid-November 1941 failed. On December 5, 1941, the defeat of the fascist forces near Moscow began when the troops of the Kalinin front attacked. By the beginning of January 1942, as a result of the Red Army's powerful counter-offensive the main groupings of the German troops near Moscow were defeated and driven back 100-250 kilometres.

The victory of the Red Army near Moscow was a world historic event. For the first time since the beginning of the Second World War Hitler's army had suffered serious defeat. The myth was thereby dispelled that the German troops could not be defeated. The fascist blitzkrieg strategy against the USSR failed once and for all. The Soviet people and its Red Army showed the whole world its staunchness and ability to fight successfully against such a strong enemy which had conquered the whole of Western Europe. The Red Army's victory near Moscow had a sobering effect on the militaristic circles of Japan and Turkey, compelling them to postpone their entry into the war against the USSR. On the contrary, it inspired the anti-fascist forces in occupied Europe to struggle, instilled in them a belief that German fascism could be defeated. It is noteworthy that the battle near Moscow had already been won by the Soviet people before it received any kind of tangible aid from the other powers of the anti-fascist coalition. The Soviet people and its army forged the victory over the deadly enemy by its own efforts.

The beginning of the war in the Pacific Ocean. In September 1939 when the Second World War began Japan had already been waging an aggressive war in China for the third year. The head of the Japanese government, Nobuyuki Abe, announced that the country would not fight in the European war and would concentrate its efforts on the Chinese theatre of military actions. However, after France, Belgium, and Holland suffered defeat in the war with Hitler's Germany in 1940, Japan went over to the policy of an ex-

tensive aggressive war in the Far East. Fumimaro Konoye's government which was formed in July 1940 set about creating the "Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere" under the aegis of Japan. Japan believed that the defeat of France and Holland opened up the way for its rapid seizure of those countries' colonies in Asia. At the beginning of 1941 French Indo-China had in fact already come under the control of J apan. Japan was seeking special rights in the N etherlands Indies (Indonesia) as well. The Japanese government considered one of its vital tasks to be undermining by every possible means of the positions of the USA in South-East Asia and Oceania including by means of military operations.

After Germany's attack on the USSR, Japan worked out a plan for the possible seizure of the Soviet Far East and increased the numbers of its armed forces and armaments on the frontier with the USSR. But the Japanese government at that time considered its primary task to be that of preparing for a war against the USA. The methods of blackmail and pressure exerted on the United States which Konoye's government tried did not yield success. Then, on October 16, 1941 a government was formed headed by General Todzio, an adherent of aggressive military operations.

On December 7, 1941, with the attack by a formation of ships from the Japanese navy on American warships in Pearl Harbor in the Hawaian Islands Japan began the war against the USA. Three days later Japanese aircraft bombed Great Britain's Pacific squadron. At the same time Japan set about seizing territories in South-East Asia. In just six months the Japanese troops had taken possession of the Philippines, Malaya, Burma, Indonesia, Indo-China, and Thailand and came close to Australia. Along with the occupied regions of China the territories of almost seven million square kilometres inhabited by some five hundred million people were under Japanese control.

At the same time, the ruling circles in Japan were making preparations to attack the Soviet Far East, reckoning on invading the USSR from Manchuria and Korea after Germany had gained a decisive victory over the Soviet armed forces.

Japan's attack on the USA extended the theatre of military operations. A few more countries officially joined the

war on the side of the opposing groupings. On December 11, 1941, Germany and Italy declared war on the United States. In reply to this, the US Congress declared war on Germany and Italy. The Soviet Union resolutely condemned this new J apanese aggression.

Hitler's Germany and the other European states in the fascist bloc came up against fierce resistance on the part of the Soviet people, directed all their forces and resources into the war against the USSR and could not, therefore, take an active part in developing the military operations of this bloc in the Pacific Ocean. Moreover, waiting for a suitable moment to attack the USSR in the Far East, Japan kept the bulk of its army on the frontier with the Soviet Union which weakened its might in the offensives in South-East Asia and in the basin of the Indian and Pacific oceans. All this was to the advantage of the USA and Great Britain.

The consolidation and expansion of the anti-fascist coalition. On January 1, 1942 a meeting of diplomatic representatives from 26 countries was in Washington at which the Declaration of the United Nations was signed. This document stated the resoluteness of these countries to put every effort into defeating the enemy and to collaborate with one another for the sake of victory. The parties to the Declaration pledged themselves not to conclude separate truces or peace treaties with the enemy. This document facilitated the further consolidation and expansion of the anti-fascist coalition of powers.

In strengthening the anti-fascist coalition, the Soviet-British Treaty of Alliance in the War against Hitlerite Germany and Her Associates in Europe and of Collaboration and Mutual Assistance Thereafter which was signed in London on May 26, 1942, was of great significance. In Article One of Part I of the Treaty it states: "...The High Contracting Parties mutually undertake to afford one another military and other assistance and support of all kinds in the war against Germany and all those states which are associated with her in acts of aggression in Europe." The sides took upon themselves the obligation not to conclude separate peace treaties with Germany and its allies, to continue cooperation in the interests of peace and rebuffing aggression, especially on the part of Germany in the post-

war period, not to take part in any alliances spearheaded against one another, and to develop broad political and economic contacts among themselves. The Soviet-British treaty was the principal legal basis of the collaboration between the two countries during the war.

A diplomatic document of no less importance was the Agreement Between the United States and the USSR for Mutual Aid Pursuant to the Lend-Lease Act of March 11, 1941. It was signed in Washington on June 11, 1942. The Agreement specified the mutual obligations of the sides: the USA was to deliver defensive materiel to the USSR; for the purpose of fortifying US defences the USSR took upon itself the obligation of supplying the United States with defensive materiel, servicing, benefits and information. Together with the Soviet-British Treaty this Agreement finally formalised the anti-fascist coalition. In this extremely difficult period for the USSR, Britain and the USA did not, however, hasten to expand the deliveries of arms and goods to the Soviet Union. Moreover, in the summer of 1942 when the USSR was in an extremely grave situation, the Allies ceased to send convoys carrying military supplies to the USSR by the North-West passage and drastically cut down the military freight for our country along the trans-Iranian railway. In the autumn of 1942, they began to discuss the question of their invasion of the Soviet Caucasus. In these circumstances the Soviet people largely had to depend on their own resources and forces.

The second front. The Soviet Government attributed great importance to the opening by the Allies of a second front in France. This act would not only have eased the position of the USSR but would also have considerably speeded up the defeat of the main forces of the fascist aggressors; it would have brought the end of the war closer and prevented the death of millions more people. In an appeal to the Prime Minister of Great Britain, Winston Churchill, on July 18, 1941, the Soviet Government pointed out the entire significance of opening up a second front to speed up the victory over Nazi Germany. But the British Prime Minister was opposed to the Soviet proposal to open up a second front.

The absence of a second front allowed Germany to concentrate on the Eastern front dozens of divisions previous-

ly deployed in Western Europe. In the summer of 1942 Germany concentrated 178 divisions and 8 brigades on the Soviet-German front; moreover, 39 divisions and 12 brigades were sent there by Germany's allies. This was the largest number of fascist troops on the Soviet-German front throughout the whole war. According to its new strategic plan, the German command decided to launch a powerful offensive by its troops in the Stalingrad sector and towards the Caucasus. The purpose of this plan was to deprive the Soviet Union of grain and oil, to cut the USSR's most important lines of communication and supply Germany with raw materials and foodstuffs. After reaching the Volga and defeating the Soviet troops there it was intended to deal a final blow at Moscow and thereby end the war victoriously.

In July and August 1942, the German troops managed to occupy the Don and Volga regions (near Stalingrad) and the foothills of the Caucasus. This was the culmination of an offensive by the troops of Germany and her allies on the territory of the USSR. The Soviet state again found itself in an extremely difficult position.

In these circumstances the question of a second front became an acute one once again. For this reason active correspondence began between the governments of the USSR, Britain, and the USA. To begin with, US President Franklin D. Roosevelt was in favour of opening a second front as soon as possible. He discussed this, in particular, with the Soviet Ambassador to the USA, M. Litvinov, at the beginning of March 1942. In May and June 1942, the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the USSR, Vyacheslav Molotov, visited Britain and the USA where he had talks on a second front. Whereas in Britain he did not obtain any definite assurances, in the USA complete agreement was reached with regard to the urgent task of creating a second front in Europe in 1942. Only after this did Britain agree to sign similar communiqué with the USSR. Thus, the Soviet Union achieved the official agreement of the USA and Britain on the opening of a second front in Europe.

The Allies, however, especially Britain, tried in every possible way to evade fulfilment of the obligation of opening up a second front in 1942. Winston Churchill managed to convince Roosevelt to land Allied troops in North Africa rather than opening a second front in Europe. In

August 1942 the British Prime Minister arrived in Moscow where he tried to substantiate the Allies' refusal to open a second front in 1942 at meetings with Stalin. He announced that the USA and Britain would conduct this military operation in the spring of 1943. It was clear to the USSR that the British and American governments wanted to bleed the Soviet Union white, and preserve their own forces so as to pursue a policy of diktat at the concluding stage of the war.

3. A Radical Turning Point in the Second World War

The third period, which was completed at the end of 1943, in the development of the Second World War began in mid-November 1942. Thanks to the victories of the Red Army a radical turning point was achieved in the Second World War in favour of the powers of the anti-fascist coalition.

The international significance of the defeat of the fascist troops near Stalingrad. The turning point in the Second World War was prepared first and foremost by the heroic efforts of the Soviet people. In 1942, Soviet industry provided the front with more arms and equipment than German industry. The Soviet toilers in the rear produced 25,436 aircraft and 24,668 tanks, 10,700 more aircraft and 14,200 more tanks than were produced in Germany. Soviet industry sent to the front 22,000 more guns of 76-millimetre calibre and larger than Germany did. These successes were achieved in conditions when the USSR had lost a huge territory where 71 per cent of the pig iron and 58 per cent of the steel were produced, 63 per cent of the coal was mined, and 42 per cent of the energy was generated. Moreover, on the eve of the war German industry produced from one and a half to two and a half times more of the most important types of products than Soviet industry did. The upswing in the economy achieved by the Soviet people paved the way for a turning point in the military operations as well.

This was manifest in the great battle on the Volga which continued for six and a half months. The history of the war

knows no other military battle so grandiose in its scale. The Battle of Stalingrad was fought on a territory of almost 100,000 square kilometres. More than two million men took part in it on both sides. Thousands of tanks and aircraft, tens of thousands of guns and mortars were used in the military operations. Germany and its allies concentrated fifty divisions, i.e. more than one million men and officers, in the Stalingrad direction. The German offensive on the Stalingrad sector began on July 23, 1942.

The Soviet Supreme High Command worked out a plan for a counter-offensive near Stalingrad which the Soviet troops began on November 19, 1942. Twenty-two German divisions comprising more than 300,000 men were surrounded in the Stalingrad pocket from which they could not escape. On the night of January 31, 1943, the Battle of Stalingrad ended in the surrender and taking captive of the besieged German troops headed by Field Marshal Paulus. The victory at the battle on the Volga allowed the Red Army to finally take the strategic initiative in the Great Patriotic War and launch an offensive on all fronts from Leningrad to the Caucasus.

The Battle of Stalingrad was of tremendous international significance, having become the turning point in the Second World War. The Soviet people had demonstrated for the whole world to see not only its possibility of withstanding a strong enemy but also its ability to strike a crushing blow at him. The victory at Stalingrad caused an acute crisis in the enemy camp. Some bourgeois circles in Finland and Hungary began to think about coming out of the war. Italy was on the brink of its catastrophe. Japan and Turkey became more careful in their policies.

The ruling circles in Britain and the USA understood that Germany and its allies had lost the war. At the Anglo-American conference in Casablanca in January 1943 Roosevelt and Churchill confirmed the intention of their countries to wage the war until the fascist states surrendered completely. However, no concrete decisions were taken with regard to the opening of a second front in Europe in 1943. Britain and the USA replied to the inquiries of the Soviet Government that the invasion by Anglo-American troops of the European continent would take place in August or September 1943. At the conference it was decided to land British and American troops on the island

of Sicily, to begin with, for an invasion of Italy and the Balkans. Winston Churchill strove to implement his plan of coming out in the Balkans in order to prevent the future advance of Soviet troops into Western Europe.

The reactionary circles in Britain and the USA displayed increasing interest not in the defeat but in the preservation of the forces of fascist Germany, calculating on using them again in Europe in their anti-Soviet designs. In February 1943, the head of the European branch of the American secret service Allen Dulles conducted negotiations in Switzerland with a representative of the Nazis, Prince Hohenloe, on the possibility of a separate peace treaty with Germany, but they did not manage to come to any agreement. This was hindered by the struggle of the Soviet Union and peoples in many countries against fascism.

In connection with the historical victory of the USSR on the Volga an anti-fascist resistance movement gained in strength in the European countries. Its active participants were not only representatives of the working people in these countries but also many Soviet people who had been taken prisoner or sent to Germany and other countries by the fascists. The resistance movement played an important part in defeating fascism in Europe.

The defeat of the German and Italian forces in Africa. The Battle of Stalingrad was of decisive significance for the defeat of the German and Italian forces in North Africa. From mid-November, 1942 to March 30, 1943 the Nazis sent 33 new divisions and three brigades from the West to the Soviet front, although they obviously did not have enough troops in Africa. Having concentrated its main forces near Stalingrad, the fascist bloc weakened its front in North Africa. Five German and eight Italian divisions remained there. The British troops had considerable superiority in tanks, artillery and aircraft. Instead of a second front in Europe the Allies decided to conduct a military operation in North Africa (Operation "Torch"). This did not involve great military difficulties. Moreover, Britain was highly interested in preserving its domination in North Africa and the Mediterranean Sea region which did in particular secure its reliable communications with its colonies in Asia and Africa. On October 23, 1942 the British troops launched an offensive and achieved victory in the battle

near El Alamein. The German and Italian troops that remained in North Africa hardly offered any serious resistance. But the Western Allies could not attain decisive successes on this front for a long time all the same. It was not until three months after the Battle of Stalingrad that they again activated their operations in North Africa and in May 1943, soon after the offensive by the Anglo-American troops in Tunis, the German and Italian troops in Africa surrendered. The liquidation of the front in North Africa was the direct result of the Red Army's victory on the Soviet-German front which forced Hitler's military command to redeploy a considerable part of its forces from North Africa there.

The defeat of the fascist troops in Africa created fresh possibilities for opening a second front in Europe. But even after the surrender of the German and Italian troops in Africa a second front was not opened. In May 1943, at a meeting in Washington Roosevelt and Churchill decided to postpone the opening of a second front until May 1944. The Soviet Government protested to the USA and Britain about the violation of the previously achieved agreements. Throughout almost the whole of 1943 the USA and Britain did not in fact send supplies to the Soviet Union. Thus, at the very height of the decisive military operations in the Second World War the Soviet Union waged its difficult struggle with Nazi Germany and its allies almost alone.

The international significance of the Red Army's victory in the battle on the Kursk salient (summer 1943). By mid-1943 the focal point of the military operations on the Soviet-German front had moved to the Kursk-Orel-Belgorod zone where the front followed an arch-like curving line which had come to be called the Kursk Salient. The German Command had decided to give the decisive battle to the Soviet armies on this spot. A plan was worked out for a large-scale offensive under the code name "Citadel" which envisaged the advance of the German troops in two approaching columns from Orel and Kharkov for the purpose of surrounding and destroying Soviet troops on the Kursk salient of the front with a subsequent enveloping movement around Moscow. The final outcome of the "Citadel" plan, according to the designs of the fascists, was to be the com-

plete defeat of the Soviet troops and the end of the war to Germany's advantage.

The German command carried out careful preparations for its offensive near Kursk, allotting 50 divisions for this operation. The total number of officers and men in these divisions was 900,000. The Germans concentrated approximately 10,000 field guns, 2,700 tanks and self-propelled guns in the Kursk direction including such new inventions as the Panther and Tiger tanks, and more than 2,000 aircraft.

The Battle of Kursk (July-August 1943) was an outstanding event and an extremely important battle in the Second World War. In fifty days of fierce fighting thirty picked German divisions, including seven tank divisions, were crushed by the Soviet troops. The total losses of the fascist troops were more than 500,000 men, approximately 1,500 tanks, 3,000 guns, and hundreds of aircraft. This battle laid the foundations for the complete defeat of German army. It became clear to even the topmost brass of the German Command that Hitlerite Germany would not win the war it had unleashed. After the victory near Kursk, the Red Army launched a general strategic offensive. In the summer and autumn of 1943 the Red Army fought its way 300-500 kilometres to the west. In the autumn of 1943 the First Polish Division and the First Czechoslovak Brigade formed in the Soviet Union fought in the battles against the German troops. An important part in driving out the Germans from our country was played by the Soviet partisans. On the whole, more than one million people fought in the ranks of the Soviet partisans with arms in hand. As a result of the dogged struggle of the Red Army and of the entire Soviet people the course of the Second World War swung in favour of the anti-fascist forces.

Italy's surrender. Italy's surrender was the direct outcome of the defeat of the fascist troops near Kursk. Having weakened all fronts except the Soviet-German front Hitler's leaders had thereby facilitated the offensive of the USSR's Allies in Italy. On July 10, 1943, at the very height of the Battle on the Kursk Salient, the troops of Great Britain and the USA landed in Sicily. By that time, the Italian army was completely demoralised. The soldiers refused to fight and they gave themselves up in big groups.

In this situation, the bourgeois circles in Italy removed from power the fascist dictator Mussolini on July 25, 1943, and formed a government headed by Marshal Pietro Badoglio. The latter conducted talks on an armistice with the command of the Anglo-American forces. On September 3, 1943, on the day when the Anglo-American troops landed in southern Italy, Badoglio's government signed an agreement on an armistice and Italy's unconditional surrender. Somewhat later the Allies instituted a consultative council on Italian questions which consisted of representatives of the USA, Britain, the USSR and the French Liberation Committee.

Italy's surrender infuriated the fascist upper crust in Germany. On its orders, German troops occupied the northern part of Italy, began to disarm the Italian military units and cruelly suppressed any resistance. Many soldiers and officers of the Italian troops were imprisoned in concentration camps. The southern part of Italy was in the hands of the Anglo-American troops who did not advance to the north of the country for many months. On October 13, 1943, Italy's new government declared a state of war with Germany. This is how the bloc of fascist states began to break up. Italy's surrender heralded the imminent and inevitable catastrophe of the entire fascist bloc.

The Moscow conference of ministers of foreign affairs of the USSR, the USA and Great Britain (October 1943). The radical turning point in the war raised a number of questions to be tackled by the countries of the anti-fascist coalition on how to organise the complete defeat of Germany and its allies and on the fates of the world after the war. Leading figures in Great Britain and the USA did in the first half of the war, as a rule, conduct bilateral meetings at which they worked out their own course in the war and by no means always informed the leaders of the Soviet Union of what they had discussed during their meetings. At one of these meetings between Roosevelt and Churchill in Quebec, Canada, in August 1943 it was established that the allied invasion of Europe (Operation "Overlord") would begin in May 1944. Those who attended the meeting examined the question of the occupation of the European countries and the restoration of bourgeois regimes there and of preventing the democratic popular

forces from coming to power.

The Soviet Union expressed its dissatisfaction at these bilateral meetings of Britain and the USA at which the positions of the USSR were practically ignored. In a special message to the Allies the Soviet Government announced that neither the question of the end of the war nor the question of the post-war settlement in Europe could be decided without the participation of the USSR. With the growing might of the Soviet Union and the significance of its military victories, the Allies were forced to come to an agreement with the Soviet Union on the most important questions connected with the end of the war and the post-war settlement in the world.

For this purpose, on October 19-30, 1943, a conference of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, Britain, and the USA was held in Moscow. The focal matter discussed at the conference was the Soviet proposal on precipitating the end of the war primarily by opening a second front. The Allies' representatives were extremely vague about a possible landing of Anglo-American troops in France in the spring of 1944, weather conditions permitting, and the considerable cutting down of the German armed forces in France. In this connection, a decision was taken to propose that Turkey should enter the war on the side of the anti-fascist coalition before the end of 1943 (Turkey declared war on Germany only on February 23, 1945). Those who attended the conference acknowledged as their primary goal bringing the war to an end as soon as possible.

During the discussion of the future settlement with regard to Germany the representatives of the USA and Britain proposed that Germany should be partitioned into individual states after the war. The Soviet representative announced that in Soviet circles the German question was being studied. The conference decided to pass on the question of Germany for its further study by the European Advisory Commission, which was to be instituted by the conference and have its seat in London.

The Declaration on Italy adopted at the conference stated the need to eradicate fascism in the country, to restore democracy, to include popular anti-fascist forces in the representative bodies and to punish the war criminals. At the conference it was decided to set up an advisory council on Italian questions which would consist of representa-

tives of the USA, the USSR, Britain, the French Liberation Committee, Greece, and Yugoslavia. This somewhat restricted the arbitrariness of the US and British occupation forces in Italy.

The Declaration on Austria envisaged the restoration of a free and independent Austria. At the conference, agreement was also reached on the need to set up a European Advisory Commission to work out the joint recommendations to the three governments on European questions, especially on the terms of surrender of the fascist states. The Moscow Declaration on German Atrocities was also approved and then signed by Stalin, Roosevelt, and Churchill. It laid the international and legal basis for punishing the war criminals.

Another document at the conference, the Declaration of the Four Nations on General Security, signed by the representatives not only of the USSR, Britain and the USA but also of China, stated the need to set up a universal international organisation to preserve world peace and security.

On the whole, the outcome of the Moscow conference was evidence that the anti-fascist coalition was being consolidated, and that the USSR was having an increasing influence on the working out the Powers' agreed solutions in the interests of the popular anti-fascist forces.

The Teheran conference of leaders of the USSR, the USA and Great Britain. At the Moscow conference of Ministers of Foreign Affairs an agreement was reached on a meeting of the heads of the three governments (Stalin, Roosevelt, and Churchill) to be held in Teheran on November 28-December 1, 1943. The attention of the participants in the Teheran Conference was concentrated on the opening of a second front in Europe and the speeding up of Germany's defeat. Churchill proposed the invasion of Anglo-American troops in Europe across the Balkans. The Soviet delegation noted that Churchill's plan could at best only be of an auxiliary nature. The American leaders wavered on the question of opening up a second front but in the final count they agreed that it was necessary. As a result, a decision was taken at the Teheran Conference on landing 35 Anglo-American divisions in the north-west and south of France in May 1944, totalling one million men. By this time the Soviet Union had to organise a powerful offensive on the

Soviet-German front to make the Allies' troop landing easier. This decision was in the interests of hastening Germany's defeat as much as possible.

An important exchange of opinions was made at the conference on several post-war problems. As far as Germany's fate was concerned, both Churchill and Roosevelt were in favour of founding several German states. The Soviet delegation suggested that a solution to the German problem should be sought not by eliminating Germany but by its democratisation, demilitarisation, and denazification.

At the Teheran Conference, the Polish frontiers, the handing over of part of East Prussia to the Soviet Union and possible Soviet-Finnish peace talks were agreed upon in general terms. The founding of an international security organisation was discussed in part. The adoption by the conference of the agreed decisions on a number of important questions was of an enormous international significance.

4. The Defeat of Nazi Germany and Its Allies. The End of the Second World War

By the end of 1943 the fourth period in the Second World War which was completed in May 1945 had begun. It was marked by the triumphant offensive of the Red Army against the fascist invaders. In 1944, the occupied territories of the Soviet Union were completely liberated from the aggressor. The victorious offensive of the Red Army and the evolution of a liberation anti-fascist movement led to the emancipation of a number of countries in Central and South-East Europe from fascism.

The offensive of the Red Army in 1944. The collapse of the fascist bloc. The year 1944 was the year of the victorious offensive by the Red Army on all fronts. The purpose of this offensive was to completely liberate Soviet territory from the invaders and render assistance to the peoples, who had suffered from fascist oppression. As a result of the offensive on the Karelian Isthmus and in the southern areas of Karelia, from june to August 1944, Soviet troops reached the state frontiers with Finland.

Although it was obvious that Finland's defeat was immi-

nent, the Finnish ruling circles persisted with military operations, hoping for support from the USA which did not break off diplomatic relations with Finland, an ally of Hitler's Germany, until June 30, 1944. But the successes of the offensive operations by the Red Army compelled the Finnish government to cease the war against the USSR. On September 4, 1944, the Finnish government accepted the Soviet terms of an armistice. Finland broke off with Germany and came out of the war.

In the summer of 1944 the liberation of Poland began. The Soviet Government increased its assistance to the Polish liberation movement. The USSR established friendly relations with the Polish Committee of National Liberation set up by Polish patriots on July 21, 1944, which had become a body of the new power in Poland. The Soviet Union rejected the intentions of the USA and Britain to impose upon Poland the power of reactionary emigre circles.

On August 20, 1944, a mighty offensive by the Soviet armies began on the southern section of the Soviet-German front. A large grouping of German and Romanian troops was surrounded not far from Kishinev. Their defeat created favourable conditions for the anti-fascist forces in Romania who started an uprising in the Romanian capital on August 23, 1944, and overthrew the fascist government of Ion Antonescu. As a result, Romania came out of the fascist bloc, concluded an armistice with the USSR and its Allies and fought in the war against Germany and Hungary.

At the beginning of September 1944, Soviet troops reached Bulgaria. On September 5, a Soviet note was sent to the Bulgarian government stating that the USSR considered itself in a state of war with Bulgaria whose ruling circles had helped Germany to wage an aggressive war against the USSR for more than three years. On September 8, Soviet troops entered Bulgarian territory and on September 9, the popular masses led by the Communist Party staged an armed uprising in Sofia and took power into their own hands. Bulgaria left the bloc of the fascist states and fought in the war against Germany and Hungary.

The Hungarian government headed by the dictator M. Horthy, well aware of the inevitable defeat of the fascist bloc in the war, strove to conclude a separate agreement with Britain and the USA. But when they did not manage to

do that, the Hungarian government delegation signed a preliminary agreement on an armistice in Moscow on October 11, 1944. Soon after this, the German troops occupied Hungary and compelled it to continue the war on their side. In October 1944 Soviet troops entered Hungary. On December 21, the provisional national government was set up by Hungarian patriots in Debrecen which declared war on Germany.

The Soviet Union rendered great assistance to the patriotic forces in Czechoslovakia. On December 12, 1943, a treaty on friendship, mutual aid and post-war cooperation was signed between the USSR and Czechoslovakia. It contained a pledge to render each other military and other aid in the war against Germany and its allies and also in the post-war period. It was agreed that close cooperation would be developed between the two countries after the war based on principles of respect for sovereignty and noninterference in internal affairs. As Czechoslovak territory was liberated by the troops of the Red Army, this territory was placed under the administration of the Czechoslovak bodies.

On August 29, 1944, the patriots of Slovakia began an armed uprising in which the Soviet partisans took part. In support of this uprising, the units of the Red Army and Czechoslovak troops carried out the Carpathian-Dukla offensive operation which was of great significance for the liberation of part of Slovakia, from September to Decemter 1944.

The advance of the Soviet armies to the west and southwest created favourable conditions for driving out the Germans from Yugoslavia, Albania, and Greece. The Soviet Government positively appraised the declaration by the Yugoslav patriots of the foundation of the Yugoslav democratic federative state. In March 1944, a Soviet military mission arrived in Yugoslavia to coordinate the operations of the Yugoslav and Soviet troops. The USSR resolutely protested against the intentions of the USA and Britain to restore the power of the right-wing bourgeois forces in Yugoslavia. At the Anglo-Soviet meeting in October 1944 in Moscow the Soviet Government rejected Churchill's proposal on "the distribution of influence" of the USSR and Britain in the Balkans, including Yugoslavia. Encouraged by the successes of the Soviet troops the people's liberation army of Yugoslavia headed by the Communists had liberat-

ed a considerable part of the country's territory by the autumn of 1944. On October 20, Red Army units with the people's liberation army of Yugoslavia and units of the Bulgarian army drove the fascists out of Belgrade, the capital of Yugoslavia.

At the beginning of October 1944 the fascist troops began to withdraw from Greece and Albania. The patriots in these countries became more vigorous in their actions. However, in mid-October British troops landed in Greece where there were no longer German troops. The occupation of Greece by the British was contrary to the norms of international law.

In the very north of Europe the Soviet troops who had expelled the invaders entered the territory of Norway on October 22, 1944, having liberated the town of Kirkenes and other populated points. Thus, the Red Army having driven out the German troops from the territory of the USSR brought freedom to the enslaved peoples of Europe. Hitler's bloc collapsed. When the Soviet forces reached the frontiers of Germany this showed the whole world that the war should end in victory.

As announced back at the very beginning of the Great Patriotic War, the Soviet Union considered the liberation of the small countries of Europe and the restoration of their independence and sovereignty to be the most important task of the post-war settlement. This policy was realised in practice in the period when the countries and peoples of Europe were being liberated from fascist enslavement. With respect to Germany's allies who had come out of the war, the USSR did not set itself the goal of abolishing their sovereignty. Thanks to the insistent demands of the USSR, the USA and Britain agreed to join it in concluding an armistice with Romania (September 12, 1944), Finland (September 19, 1944), Bulgaria (October 28, 1944), and Hungary (January 20, 1945) on a just democratic basis. The conditions of the armistice included the democratisation of political and social life, a ban on the activity of fascist organisations, compensation to victims of aggression, and the restoration of just frontiers with the neighbouring states. The Soviet Union prevented the enslavement of these countries by Anglo-American imperialism. As the territories of these countries were liberated, the Red Army command handed over the admin-

istrative powers to local national bodies.

At the concluding stage in the war the strengthening of friendship and cooperation of the Soviet people with the peoples, the patriotic forces of Yugoslavia and Poland was expressed in the concluding of the corresponding treaties. On April 11, 1945, a treaty on friendship, mutual assistance, and post-war cooperation was signed between the USSR and Yugoslavia in Moscow. A similar treaty was concluded between the USSR and Poland on April 21, 1945. These treaties contained the pledge of the sides to wage a joint struggle against the fascist aggressors until complete victory was attained and to render each other assistance. In the post-war period the sides also agreed to come to each other's aid if they should become involved in the war with Germany or any other country abetting Germany in its acts of aggression. It was decided that the sides should not enter any kind of coalition aimed against one of the sides and would collaborate in the struggle for peace, and promote and consolidate economic and cultural ties between them. The Soviet-Yugoslavian and Soviet-Polish treaties were of great significance for consolidating the international positions of Yugoslavia and Poland, and for developing these countries along the path of peace, democracy, and social progress.

The opening of a second front. Soviet-French relations. The governments of Britain and USA who had pledged to set up the front of military operations against Hitlerite Germany (the so-called second front) in Western Europe back in 1942, repeatedly failed to fulfil their obligation, postponed the opening of this front counting on doing so when the Soviet Union would be weakened and bled white by the war. It was not until June 1944 when it became obvious to everyone that the Soviet Union was in a position with its forces to crush and destroy all the forces of fascism in Germany and free the peoples of Europe from the fascist yoke, that the governments of Britain and the USA decided to open a second front, landing their forces in Normandy in north-west France on June 6, 1944. By the autumn of 1944, with the assistance of the forces of internal Resistance Movement the Anglo-American troops drove the Nazi invaders out of France and freed Luxembourg and Belgium and a number of regions in the Netherlands.

Having occupied France, Britain and the USA strove in every possible way to undermine the influence of the democratic forces of the French Resistance Movement.

At the same time, the Soviet Union was in favour of getting the independence and sovereignty of France restored and rendered support to its patriotic forces. Back on August 26, 1943, the Soviet Government recognised the French Liberation Committee (Comité Frangais de Libération Nationale) headed by General de Gaulle, and on October 23, 1944, when this Committee was transformed into a Provisional Government, the Soviet Union decided to exchange plenipotentiaries with it. On December 10, 1944 Soviet-French treaty on alliance and mutual aid was signed in Moscow during the official visit of de Gaulle to the USSR. In this treaty the sides took upon themselves the obligation of rendering each other every possible assistance and support against German aggression in the present and the future if such aggression should be repeated. This development of Soviet-French relations was in the interests of the two countries and also in the interests of peace and international security.

Britain and the USA set themselves the goal of rapidly advancing into Central Europe and of occupying Vienna and some other important centres before the Red Army. But as they reached the western frontiers of Germany, the Anglo-American troops could not immediately overcome the defences of the Siegfried Line and came to a halt. At this moment, the main forces of the fascist troops were not in the West but on the Soviet-German front where Germany and its allies had 250 divisions while in France, Belgium, and the Netherlands there were only 60 divisions and 25 divisions in Northern Italy. The Soviet-German front was of decisive importance for the outcome of the war just as before.

The lull which set in at the end of autumn 1944 on the Western front did not last for long. In December, the German command launched a big counter-offensive in the Ardennes region in Belgium. The Allies did not expect such a large-scale offensive by the German troops and found themselves in a very difficult position. Things took a catastrophic turn. On January 6, 1945, Churchill sent a telegramme to Stalin in which he asked: "...I shall be grateful if you can tell me whether we can count on a major Russian

offensive on the Vistula front, or elsewhere, during January... I regard the matter as urgent." Stalin immediately (January 7) replied to Churchill that in spite of the difficult weather conditions, the Soviet Supreme High Command has decided "...to launch large-scale offensive operations along the entire Central Front not later than the second half of January".

In accordance with this^ on January 12, 1945, 150 divisions of the Red Army launched an offensive against the German fascist troops along a huge front. The Soviet offensive forced the German command to deploy troops from the west on the Eastern front. This completely changed the situation in the Ardennes, foiled the plan for the German offensive and saved the Allied troops from catastrophe. After the successful Soviet offensive the Allies had the opportunity to stabilise their own front and launch an offensive.

The Dumbarton Oaks Conference. On August 21-September 28, 1944, a conference was held in Dumbarton Oaks (on the outskirts of Washington) attended by representatives of the USSR, the USA and Great Britain (a representative of China attended the conference in its second stage), at which the founding of the United Nations Organisation was discussed, the goals and principles of the future organisation were agreed upon, and the principles underlying its structure were worked out. The heads of the delegations of participants in the conference signed its final document "The Dumbarton Oaks Proposals on World Security Organisation". This document laid the foundations for the UN Charter.

The Crimea Conference. Germany's imminent defeat meant that the members of the anti-fascist coalition had to agree on their actions regarding Germany and a liberated Europe. With this purpose in mind, a conference of the heads of government of the USSR, Britain and the USA was held in Yalta in the Crimea on February 4-11, 1945. At this conference, decisions were taken on joint actions against Nazi Germany in the concluding stage of the war. The heads of government announced their intention to achieve Germany's unconditional surrender. This decision dealt a blow at those reactionary circles in the Western

countries that had still not given up the idea of concluding a separate peace treaty with Germany.

In the decisions of the Crimea Conference it was stated that, after the defeat of Hitler Germany, the latter would be occupied by the Allies and its territory would be divided into occupation zones. Initially, it was suggested that there should be three zones—a Soviet zone, an American zone and a British zone. But then it was decided to form a French occupation zone as well. The representatives of the high commands of the Allied Powers, it is stated in the decisions of the conference, would comprise the Control Council with the seat in Berlin. The task of the Council was to coordinate the Allies' actions in the occupation zones of Germany. An agreement was also reached on questions regarding the administration of Greater Berlin which was subject to occupation by the four powers and was to be under the administration of an inter-allied commandant's office answerable to the Control Council. No special rights of access to Greater Berlin, which was in the eastern (Soviet) occupation zone, were laid down for the Western powers, and this was later to be the source of considerable controversy.

A vital result of the conference was the decision on abolishing German fascism and militarism. "It is our inflexible purpose," it was stated in the documents of the conference, "to destroy German militarism and Nazism and to ensure that Germany will never again be able to disturb the peace of the world." The conference resolved that the German armed forces would be done away with; the German General Staff would be eliminated; German armaments would be withdrawn from use and destroyed; the German war industry would be taken under control and liquidated; the war criminals would be severely punished; nazism and its institutions would be eradicated and liquidated.

In the decisions of the conference it was also stated that Germany would make good the damage done by it to the countries against which it waged war. The material damage which Germany and its allies did to the Soviet Union amounted to approximately two trillion 600,000 million roubles. In the Soviet Union it was understood that Germany could not possibly compensate completely for the direct material losses. The USSR only insisted on a minimum

compensation for damage. The participants in the conference took as a basis of their discussion on reparations the USSR's proposal on a total sum of reparations from Germany of 20,000 million dollars.

The participants in the Crimea Conference stressed that they did not set themselves the task of destroying the German people, and that the latter, after fulfilling the demands of the conference, should occupy an equal place among the other sovereign nations. The American and British delegations advanced a proposal at the conference for the dismemberment of Germany, while Churchill was opposed to granting the German people the right to express its own free will with regard to the political settlement of post-war Germany. The Soviet delegation came out against these suggestions and on its insistence the question of Germany's dismemberment was removed from the agenda.

The Crimea Conference also discussed the setting up of the United Nations. In the opinion of all those who attended the conference the UN was to be a body safeguarding peace and international security according to the principles agreed upon by the representatives of the USSR, the USA and Britain at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference. In the Crimea the representatives of the three powers agreed upon the procedure for voting in the Security Council. Back on December 5, 1944, in a message to the Soviet Government the US President proposed that the decisions of the Security Council on all questions except those of procedure should be considered adopted if seven members of the Council voted for them, including the concurrent votes of all the permanent members of the Council, while the parties to the dispute should abstain from the voting on the question concerning the peaceful settlement of disputes. The Soviet Government, having noted the importance of observing the principle of unanimity of the permanent members of the Security Council in adopting decisions on all the most important questions regarding the preservation of peace, including economic and military compulsory measures, agreed with the formula proposed by Roosevelt. The Crimea Conference approved the American proposal. It was decided to convene an international conference in San Francisco on April 25, 1945, to conclusively work out and adopt the UN Charter. The Crimea Conference also approved the Declaration on Liberated Europe, in which it

was stated that the three great powers were resolved to render aid to the peoples of Europe in democratically solving their vital political and economic problems and firmly establishing sovereignty and democracy in their countries.

The Polish question was also discussed at the conference. During the discussion of this question the Soviet delegation succeeded in adopting decisions on the setting up of a strong independent democratic Polish state. The Soviet delegation rejected the intentions of the USA and Britain to impose a reactionary emigre government on Poland. After heated debates an agreement was reached to the fact that the provisional government of Poland "which is now functioning in Poland should therefore be reorganised on a broader democratic basis with the inclusion of democratic leaders from Poland itself and from Poles abroad". After heated discussion on the frontiers of Poland a decision was taken that the eastern frontier of Poland should run along the Curzon Line, while in the north and west Poland should receive substantial territorial increment which was to be specified later.

In response to the repeated requests of its Allies, the Soviet Union gave its consent to enter into the war against Japan, which had pursued a policy hostile to the Soviet people throughout the Great Patriotic War and had actively assisted fascist Germany. During the discussion of this question it was agreed to preserve the status quo of the Mongolian People's Republic; to return Southern Sakhalin to the USSR and also the Kuril Islands which had been seized by Japan. The Crimea Conference made a considerable contribution to cooperation among the powers of the anti-fascist coalition in the concluding stage of the war. Its decisions laid the foundations for post-war peace settlement. The participants in the conference agreed to hold regular meetings of their ministers of foreign affairs (every three or four months) to come to an agreement upon international problems.

The defeat and surrender of Nazi Germany. From January to April 1945 the Red Army carried out its concluding operations in the war against Hitler Germany along a front from the Baltic to the Carpathians. The enemy's East Prussian grouping was liquidated. Konigsberg was taken

by Soviet troops. The Vistula-Oder operation ended in the liberation of Warsaw and almost the entire territory of Poland, and the Soviet troops reaching the approaches to Berlin.

Units of the Red Army successfully carried on an offensive in eastern Pomerania, in Lower and Upper Silesia, and in the Western Carpathians. On February 13, 1945, a 180-thousand-strong grouping of fascist troops was destroyed near Budapest. The Hungarian capital was liberated. On April 13, 1945, the Austrian capital, Vienna, was liberated by Soviet troops. After this, the Red Army units advanced in an offensive in the southern regions of Germany and towards Prague.

On the Western front the Allied armies launched an offensive in March 1945, as a result of which the Ruhr and a number of regions in West Germany were taken. The Allies had overwhelming superiority in troop numbers and equipment. Moreover, Hitler's military command surrendered to the Allies, almost without battle, the major cities in West Germany having made every effort to withstand the Soviet advance in the east. In mid-April the Anglo-American armies were 100 kilometres from Berlin. The US and British governments counted on occupying almost the whole of Germany and Berlin with their troops but they failed to do so.

In the second half of April, Soviet troops began to storm Berlin. They were opposed by 85 operating divisions of the enemy, eight reserve divisions and 200,000 men from the Berlin garrison. On April 25, Berlin was surrounded. On April 30, 1945, the Red Flag was raised above the Reichstag. Hitler and Goebbels committed suicide. On May 1, the fascist troops began to give themselves up en masse. On May 2, the fascist German troops in Berlin had been completely defeated. The capture of Berlin, the mainstay and centre of German reaction, was an outstanding feat by the Red Army.

On April 29, the German troops surrendered in Italy. On May 2, they ceased resistance in Croatia, in southern and western Austria and in southern Germany. On May 5, 1945, the head of the German government, Admiral D6-nitz, gave the order for the troops to lay down their arms in north-western Germany, Denmark, and Holland, but to continue the struggle on the Eastern front.

All this facilitated the advance of the Allied forces and allowed them to occupy a considerable territory rapidly. But by this time the fate of the fascist regime was sealed. After the battle of Berlin Soviet troops continued their offensive operations. On May 6-11, 1945, Czechoslovakia was liberated.

On the night of May 8 to 9, 1945, the Act of Germany's Unconditional Surrender was signed in Berlin. The war in Europe unleashed by Hitler in September 1939 ended with the complete defeat of fascist Germany. The almost four-year-long Great Patriotic War of the Soviet people was ended.

The Soviet people made the major and decisive contribution to the victory of the anti-fascist forces in the Second World War.

On June 5, 1945, the representatives of the four occupying powers signed "The Declaration Regarding the Defeat of Germany and the Assumption of Supreme Authority in Germany" in Berlin. Since there was no authority in Germany that could take upon itself the responsibility for keeping order and governing the country, for fulfilling the demands ensuing from its military defeat, supreme power was concentrated completely in the hands of the governments of the four powers. The Declaration listed measures to be implemented by the Allies in Germany. In the document it was noted that the occupation of Germany did not mean annexation. On June 6, an agreement was signed by the four powers on the control machinery and on the zones of occupation in Germany.

The San Francisco Conference. In accordance with the decision of the Crimea Conference even before Germany's surrender a United Nations Conference started in San Francisco on April 25, 1945, which continued its work until June 26, 1945. The conference was attended by 282 delegates from 46 countries. Somewhat later, another four delegations were invited to take part in the conference, including those from the Ukrainian SSR and the Byelorussian SSR. However, owing to the pressure exerted by the USA and Britain at the conference a delegation from Poland was not invited. The representatives of the Western powers motivated this by the fact that they did not recognise the Polish government. In spite of this, the So-

viet delegation succeeded in Poland being recognised as a sponsor of the UN.

There was heated controversy over a number of questions at the conference: on the functions and powers of the Security Council; on the international trusteeship. The Soviet delegation succeeded in the conference recognising that the Security Council should bear the main responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, that the understanding reached on the principle of unanimity of its permanent members should be preserved, and that the General Assembly, given some extension of its powers, should not place itself above the Security Council.

The Soviet delegation, unlike the representatives of the imperialist states, spoke in favour of the complete liquidation of the colonial system. After heated disputes, the conference adopted the decision on establishing a trusteeship system whose task it would be to promote the progressive development of the trust territories "towards self-government or independence as may be appropriate to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples". This was a defeat for the colonial powers and a victory for the Soviet Union and the other countries opposed to colonialism.

As a result of the intensive struggle at the conference the Soviet delegation succeeded in including important democratic principles in the UN Charter. The UN Charter was signed on June 26, 1945 (and entered into force on October 24, 1945). It proclaimed the goals of the United Nations:

1. to maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the prevention of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace;

2. to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace;

3. to achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or

humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion;

4. to be a centre for harmonising the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends.

The Charter defined the structure and the main organs of the UN. The biggest organ of the UN is the periodically convened General Assembly in which all UN member states are represented. It examines the general principles and problems of international cooperation in preserving peace and security and any related questions, and makes recommendations with regard to them (except cases being discussed at a given time in the Security Council unless the latter so requests). The Security Council is the major, permanently operating political organ of the UN, it bears the main responsibility for preserving international peace and security. It was decided that it should have five permanent members, the USSR, the USA, Great Britain, France, and China, and six non-permanent members,[1] elected for a term of two years. The principle of unanimity of the five permanent members is effective in the Security Council when adopting decisions. The decisions of the Security Council are binding on all members of the UN.

Besides these organs the foundation of an Economic and Social Council, a Trusteeship Council, an International Court of Justice, a UN Secretariat, committees, commissions and specialised agencies and institutions were envisaged. The UN Charter is based on the principles of peaceful coexistence of states and respect for human rights and democratic freedoms. The adoption of the Charter and the creation on its basis of the UN was an indubitable achievement of the peace-loving forces.

The Potsdam Conference. The defeat of Nazi Germany faced the powers of the anti-fascist coalition with the problem of the post-war peace settlement in Europe, above all with regard to Germany, and other questions connected with the Second World War. For this purpose, on July 17-August 2, 1945, a conference was held in Potsdam attended by the heads of government of the three powers: Jo-

[1] From 1966 the number of non-permanent members of the Security Council was increased to ten with a corresponding increase in the total number of members from eleven to fifteen.

seph Stalin (USSR), Harry Truman (USA), and Winston Churchill, and from July 28, the leader of the Labour Party Clement Attlee, who was elected Prime Minister of Britain instead of Churchill. Franklin Roosevelt died not long before the end of the war, on April 12, 1945. The new American President, Harry Truman, was noted for his extremely reactionary views and at the Potsdam Conference he strove to implement a policy of American diktat. On the eve of the conference (July 16) the atomic bomb was tested in the USA. In the US ruling circles this event was regarded as the basis for the policy of "atomic blackmail".

The main subject discussed at the Potsdam Conference was Germany. The decision adopted recorded the resoluteness of the Allies to completely disarm and demilitarise Germany and to ban all militaristic organisations there. The conference decreed: "German militarism and nazism will be extirpated, and the Allies will take in agreement together, now and in the future, the other measures necessary to assure that Germany never again will threaten her neighbours or the peace of the world." The agreement envisaged the complete disarmament and demilitarisation of Germany, and the liquidation of that part of German industry which could be used for arms production, or control over it; the elimination of the National-Socialist Party, the disbanding of all fascist organisations and institutions, the providing of guarantees that fascism would not be reborn in any form whatsoever. It was also decided to remove fascists from all public posts and completely eradicate Nazi and militaristic doctrines. The conference published a decision on the arrest and bringing to trial of war criminals. From November 20, 1945, to October 1, 1946, German war criminals were tried in Nuremberg and the main ones were sentenced to death.

The participants in the conference announced that they were not intent on destroying or enslaving the German people. The Germans should have the opportunity of reconstructing their life on a democratic basis and occupying their place among the free arid peaceful nations.

The Potsdam Conference confirmed the decision on the establishment of a control machinery for Germany once again. The Soviet delegation proposed setting up a provisional all-German government. But the Western powers did not support this proposal. It was decided not to institute

a central German government for the moment but to create central German administrative departments (of finance, foreign trade, industry, communications and transport) to operate under the Control Council. However, because of the Western powers' opposition the general German departments were not set up.

The conference decided that the German cartels and monopolies should be liquidated as dangerous hotbeds of militarism and that the whole of industry should be run on peaceful lines. The participants in the conference agreed to regard Germany as a single economic whole.

The decision of the conference on the democratisation of Germany, on the introduction of democratic rights and freedoms there and on the development of trade unions and other democratic organisations, was of great significance.

Great attention was paid at the conference to the procedure for exacting reparations.

The conference also settled the question of certain territorial changes: the handing over of Konigsberg and the adjacent areas to the Soviet Union and the establishment of Poland's western frontier along the Oder-Neisse.

According to the decision of the Potsdam Conference, the Council of Foreign Ministers of the USA, Britain, the USSR, France and China was instituted as a standing body. This body was to meet regularly to discuss and agree upon questions of mutual interest to the Allies. Its primary task was that of drawing up peace treaties for Italy, Romania, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Finland, and also the preparing of a peace settlement for Germany. The conference also specified some questions connected with the conduct of the war against Japan.

The results of the Potsdam Conference were of great positive significance for the post-war peace settlement. They reflected the enhanced role played by the Soviet state in international affairs and its influence on world politics. The Potsdam Conference summed up the outcome of the war with Germany and determined the most important questions concerning the peace settlement in Europe. Its decisions defined the trends of diplomatic struggle in international relations for many years to come.

The last stage of the Second World War. The entry of the USSR into the war with Japan. The period from May to

September 1945 was the culminating stage in the Second World War, when the Japanese aggressor was defeated with the help of the Soviet Union. During the war between the USSR and Hitler Germany Japan had grossly breached the Treaty of Neutrality concluded by it with the USSR in 1941, had detained and sunk Soviet merchant vessels, deployed the huge Kwantung Army on the far-eastern frontiers of the USSR, and helped Nazi Germany in every possible way. Taking into account the stand taken by Japan, on April 5, 1945, the Soviet Union denounced the Soviet-Japanese Treaty of Neutrality.

The decisive turning point in the course of the military operations in the Pacific theatre of the Second World War began under the impact of the outstanding victory by the Red Army over Germany, the leader of the fascist bloc. Soon after the victory of the Soviet troops on the Kursk Salient the offensive operations of the USA and Britain began on the Pacific front. In November 1940, US troops landed in the Gilbert Islands and in 1944 in the Marshall, Mariana and Palau Islands. Simultaneously, marines landed in the Philippines, and an offensive was started in Burma. In the course of the sea battles in the area of the Philippines a crushing blow was dealt at the Japanese fleet by the Americans. On March 25, 1945, the American troops landed on the island of Okinawa (Ryukyu Archipelago).

But even after this, the fighting capacity of the Japanese troops remained high. In China, they continued their offensive in 1944 and seized all the coastal areas in central and southern China with a population of no less than one hundred million. In the summer of 1945 the Japanese had 270 divisions with a total strength of no less than four million men. One and a half million men were in the Japanese Navy. A reserve of two million men was ready to be mobilised. Having gained success in the sea battles, the USA and Britain experienced difficulties in the operations against the Japanese troops on land. Even by the most optimistic forecasts the American command hoped to end the war only in 1946. In this connection, the USA and Britain placed great hopes in the Soviet Union joining in the war against Japan. Fulfilling its obligations as an Ally, on August 8, 1945, the Soviet Union declared war on Japan. This act was in the interest of ending the Second World War as soon as possible and eliminating the last hotbed of aggression.

The decision of the USSR to enter the war against Japan meant that the Second World War was ended earlier and facilitated the efforts of the USA and Britain in the Pacific theatre of military operations. On August 6 and 9, 1945, American aircraft dropped atomic bombs on two Japanese cities, Hiroshima and Nagasaki, as a result of which some 450,000 people were killed or seriously wounded. The employment of an atomic weapon was not called for in those conditions by any military necessity and was an act of barbarianism and cruelty with regard to the civilian population of Japan. With this act the ruling circles of the USA wished to create the impression of their decisive contribution to the war and also to frighten peace-loving peoples throughout the world, first and foremost, the Soviet Union, and impose their terms of post-war settlement on the whole world.

However, not the atomic bomb but the entry of the USSR into the war had decisively helped towards Japan's rapid defeat. This was even recognised in the announcement by the Japanese Prime Minister, Kantaro Suzuki, right from the beginning of the Soviet-Japanese war. "The Soviet Union's entry into the war this morning," he said, "finally leaves us no alternative and makes it impossible to continue the war."

Red Army units crushed the resistance of the Japanese forces (the Kwantung Army in Manchuria) within a short time, defeated the Japanese troops in Korea, on Southern Sakhalin and in the Kuril Islands. Soviet troops took 594,000 Japanese officers and men prisoner. On September 2, 1945, Japan surrendered. Southern Sakhalin and the Kuril Islands were returned to the Soviet Union. Favourable conditions emerged in Asia for the national liberation movement in the dependent countries. The Second World War ended with the defeat of the bloc of fascist aggressors.

Chapter 18

The Anti-fascist Liberation Movement of Peoples Throughout the World During the Second World War. The Outcome of the Second World War

During the Second World War an anti-fascist liberation movement developed in many countries. The broad masses of the people headed by the working class became its main force. The Communists were in the vanguard of the struggle against fascism and aggression.

1. The Communist International from 1939 to 1943

At the beginning of the Second World War the situation in the international working-class movement was extremely complicated. The Labour and Socialist International formally existed until March 1940. The Amsterdam International of Trade Unions was disbanded in 1945. As the fascist aggression got under way, many social-democratic parties and reformist trade unions ceased their activity and existence. Only the communist parties, united into the Communist International, were able to head the struggle of the working class and the entire people of their countries against fascism and aggression.

In the conditions of the Second World War the main political line of the international communist movement was the defeat and annihilation of fascism, the provision of the post-war world with conditions to implement democracy and national independence and the launching of a fight for

socialism. This policy had its own peculiarities in different countries. The Communists in the countries of the fascist bloc took the stand of defeating the fascist governments in the war. The communist parties in the countries enslaved by fascism concentrated their efforts on promoting the movement of resistance to the fascist invaders. In the countries of the anti-fascist coalition such as the USA and Britain, the Communists were the organisers of the movement of militant solidarity with the Soviet Union and urged the workers in their countries to put every effort into defeating fascism.

Everywhere the Communists were in the front ranks of the fighters against fascism, were the most selfless, staunch and consistent participants in and leaders of the liberation anti-fascist struggle. Tens of thousands of Communists gave their lives for the freedom and happiness of peoples. Many communist parties grew up and were tempered in the struggle against fascism.

Right from the beginning of the war the Communist International made every effort to unite all the peace-loving forces and give a rebuff to fascism and war. The leaders of the Comintern helped their sections in the occupied countries (Holland, Denmark, Norway) in organising the national liberation anti-fascist struggle.

The Comintern paid considerable attention to the restructuring of the organisation of the communist parties, especially in the countries under the fascist yoke. In Czechoslovakia an underground network of communist centres was set up. The French Communists rearranged the structure of the party, having created party groups of three people, which lessened the risk of failure. In 1940 the Berlin underground party centre was set up in Germany. The Executive Committee of the Communist International helped the Italian Communist Party to found the internal leading centre and the temporary party bureau abroad. In 1940, with the approval of the Comintern, the Communist Party USA left its ranks as a law against the Communists had been passed in the country. The organisation of Polish Communists, the Polish Workers' Party, was revived with the help of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. At the sessions of the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International (January, March 1940) measures were worked out to render

assistance to the Communist Party of China. The Comintern recommended that the Chinese Communists should insistently implement tactics of a united anti-imperialist front, and called upon Communists throughout the world to stage a campaign of solidarity with the struggle of the Chinese people against the Japanese aggressors. In many of its decisions, the leadership of the Comintern stressed the need to implement tactics of a united anti-fascist front. With the help of the Executive Committee of the Communist International programmes were worked out to unite the anti-fascist forces under the Communist Parties in Czechoslovakia, Italy, Romania, Greece, Bulgaria, and other countries.

When Germany attacked the USSR, the Secretariat of the Executive Committee of the Communist International outlined the tasks of the communist parties in respect of the fascist aggression against the socialist country. A letter was sent to the communist parties emphasising that the defence of the USSR was the defence of the freedom and independence of all the peoples who hated fascism.

The Comintern organised radio broadcasts to the states of the fascist bloc and to the occupied countries to direct the communist movement and activate the anti-fascist struggle. In 1943 these radio broadcasts were made in 18 languages. In the broadcasts the Comintern appealed to the communist parties to set up and consolidate illegal organisations, to elucidate the international situation, and substantiated the need to organise armed struggle, in particular guerrilla warfare. This played an important part in the fight against fascism.

The work among the prisoners of war was an important item in the Comintern's activity. The Executive Committee of the Communist International set up a commission to direct the political work among the prisoners of war. Many Communists in other countries, progressive writers, and anti-fascists joined in this effort. Special courses and schools were organised for the prisoners of war, and conferences were arranged.

After the turning point had been reached in the Second World War the Executive Committee of the Communist International set the communist parties the following new tasks: to achieve the further unification of all the anti-fascists and patriots, and to intensify the struggle against the fascist aggressors. The activity of the Comintern helped

to promote the efforts of peoples to bring about the defeat of the fascist bloc as quickly as possible.

During the Second World War, however, all the complexity of the centralised leadership of the international communist movement became especially evident. The wartime conditions required of the communist parties, which had in the main become experienced, militant, and influential parties, the ability to apply Marxist-Leninist strategy and tactics independently, to change the forms of struggle rapidly, to manoeuvre, to retreat and to attack. In the conditions obtaining at the time it became increasingly difficult to control the communist movement from a single centre, and in a number of cases the initiative of the parties was hampered, and the foundation of a united anti-fascist national liberation front was complicated. In view of this fact, on May 15, 1943 the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Comintern adopted a decree on the disbanding of the Communist International. The proposal made by the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International was approved by all the communist parties.

The activity of the Comintern was of world-historic significance for the development of the world revolutionary movement of the proletariat. Under the leadership of the Comintern the world communist movement emerged and gained in strength. The Comintern upheld Marxist-Leninist ideology in the fight against opportunism and assisted the further dissemination of this ideology among the working class. It has to its merit the working out of the theory, strategy and tactics of the communist movement as applicable to the new conditions. In the dogged fight against opportunism the Comintern helped to consolidate the communist parties ideologically and organisationally, to bring up and temper Marxist-Leninist cadres in the communist movement. The Comintern waged a courageous struggle for the vital interests of the working people, for peace, democracy, and socialism and consistently fought in defence of the USSR, the homeland of the world proletariat.

New forms of the unity of the international working class. Even before the Comintern was disbanded it became obvious that the striving for unity of the working class movement had been given new impetus. The courageous struggle of the Soviet people during the war helped to boost

the prestige of the USSR and the communist movement in many countries and created conditions for the development of the international unity of the working class. In France, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and other countries the communist workers, Socialists and non-party people fought together against the common enemy, fascism. In the course of the struggle the communist and socialist parties and the various trade union associations concluded agreements on unity of action. The growing influence of the Communists helped to consolidate the workers' unity. In the countries of Central and South-East Europe trade unions formed, and an insistent struggle was waged to set up united workers' parties.

The desire of the working class to unite grew on an international scale as well. The first step in this direction was the founding of the Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Committee in October 1941 whose task included uniting the efforts of peoples in the war against fascism. The Soviet trade unions suggested extending the membership of the Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Committee to turn it into a base for setting up an international trade union organisation. However, the leaders of the American Federation of Labor and the British trade unions turned down this proposal. They wished to revive the reformist Amsterdam international of Trade Unions.

Representatives of the Soviet trade unions established contacts with trade union organisations in Italy, France, and other countries and put the question of setting up a progressive international trade union organisation. In January 1945 a Franco-Soviet Trade Union Committee came into being. Relying on the support of the French and Italian trade unions, representatives of the Soviet trade unions managed to get the consent of the leaders of the British trade unions to convene the World Conference of Trade Unions which was held in London in February 1945 and took the decision to set up an international trade union centre in the near future.

2. The Movement of the Popular Masses Against Fascism in the Capitalist Countries of the Anti-fascist Coalition

In the capitalist countries of the anti-fascist coalition which had taken shape in 1941 (Great Britain, the USA,

Canada, Australia) the popular masses insisted on their governments' stepping up their efforts to inflict military defeat on the fascist states, to organise the movement of solidarity with the Soviet Union in the fight against the fascist bloc in Europe and against militarist Japan.

Great Britain. In Great Britain at the beginning of the Second World War there was a Conservative government in power headed by Neville Chamberlain who was an adherent of conspiracy with fascist Germany. Therefore, the British government did not take active military measures to combat fascist aggression, and extensive anti-Soviet propaganda campaign was launched within the country.

Right from the very beginning of the Second World War the Communist Party of Great Britain put efforts into turning it into anti-fascist, liberation war, exposed the reactionary activities of the country's ruling circles who had connived with fascist Germany. Early in September 1939, the Communist Party of Great Britain appealed to the broad masses to fight against fascist Germany and simultaneously to oppose the policy of Neville Chamberlain and to get his government removed from power. The offensive launched by the German troops in the West in spring 1940 signified the failure of the policy of Chamberlain and the reactionary forces who supported him.

On May 11, 1940, a new government was formed headed by the Conservative Winston Churchill which consisted of Labourites and Liberals as well as Conservatives. Churchill understood that once the Germans had defeated France they might launch an offensive on Britain. Therefore, his government passed a law through Parliament in May 1940 on extraordinary powers and also set about forming Home Guard detachments. Measures were taken to put Britain's economy on a war footing and to increase the strength of the armed forces.

The broad working masses in the country were sympathetic with the government's efforts aimed at mobilising forces to repel Germany and demanded that the reactionary statesmen who had supported the conspiracy with Hitler at the expense of the USSR should be removed from the government. In this period the slogan "The Supporters of Munich Must Go" became extremely popular. The People's Convent which had gathered in London on January

12, 1941, was of great significance for the development of the anti-fascist movement in the country. The members of it exposed the imperialist goals of Britain's ruling circles in this war and demanded that a people's government should be set up which would pursue a pohcy in the interests of the working class and would restore democratic freedoms and promote friendship with the USSR. The People's Convent expressed the interests and hopes of ordinary, patriotically-minded Britons.

Concerned about the growth of anti-imperialist sentiments, the British government set about persecuting the progressive forces, primarily the Communist Party. On January 21,1941, orders were issued to close down the communist newspaper, the *Daily Worker*.

But the growth of sentiments among the people in favour of waging an active struggle against fascism and also the awareness of the ruling circles that Germany's aggression was creating a threat to the very existence of Great Britain had an increasing influence on the policy of the British government and impelled it to cooperate with the USSR in the struggle against fascist Germany and its allies. On June 22, 1941, the day when the fascist troops attacked the USSR, Churchill made the announcement that Britain would join its efforts with the Soviet Union in the war against Germany. This was a serious turning point in Britain's foreign policy, which received extensive support from the country's working class. On June 23, 1941, a many-thousand-strong rally took place in London at which representatives of the Communist Party and other progressive organisations demanded of the government a close alliance between Britain and the USSR for the purpose of the complete defeat of fascism. On August 12, 1941, the London Trades Council adopted a resolution in favour of close cooperation between Britain and the USSR.

When the Soviet Union entered the war Britain's situation improved. Fascist Germany directed its main forces eastwards. German air raids on Britain ceased and there was less tension on the seas. This created favourable conditions for the rapid development of the British economy, mainly the war industry. The country's working class worked with tremendous enthusiasm, aware that the expansion of production would allow Britain to boost its war efforts necessary for the fight against the fascist aggressor.

During the war there was a growth of left-wing sentiments among the British working class, and its sympathy with the communist movement, the Soviet Union and socialism increased. Under pressure from the workers the leaders of the British Congress of Trade Unions accepted the proposal of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions in October 1941 on the setting up of an Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Committee whose goal was to promote the consolidation of the anti-fascist coalition. As a result of the mass campaigns in which communist, trade union officials, statesmen from the Labour and Cooperative parties took part, the British government was forced to lift the ban on the newspaper the *Daily Worker* on August 26, 1942. In 1943 the leaders of the trade unions officially announced that the "black circulars" would cease which had since 1935 prohibited the election of Communists to leading posts in the trade unions. The left wing in the Labour Party became stronger and under its influence the party spoke in favour of nationalisation of the leading sectors of the economy.

The left tendency of the British workers found expression in the growth of left-wing progressive and democratic organisations. During the war the membership of trade unions increased, the number of individual members of the Labour Party grew and various organisations of friendship with the Soviet Union emerged. The membership of the British Communist Party grew from 18,000 in 1939 to 45,000 in 1945. Among the working masses a voice resounded more and more loudly to the effect that after the war the social reconstruction of the country must be implemented.

However, as the Soviet Union gained more and more successes in the war, reactionary tendencies became ever more vigorous among Britain's ruling circles. After the battle of Stalingrad in a secret memorandum (October 1942) Churchill put forward the idea of founding a united Europe to oppose "Russian barbarianism". The progressive forces in Britain held numerous rallies in favour of the opening of a second front as soon as possible. However, the reactionaries in the government and in Parliament sabotaged the fulfilment by Great Britain of its obligations as an ally. They received support from the reformist leaders of the trade unions. The British representatives on the

Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Committee refused to adopt a resolution on speeding up the opening of a second front.

In the second half of the war there was increasing anti-Soviet propaganda in Britain. Articles appeared in the press which cast doubt on the anti-fascist liberation mission of the USSR in this war. And in 1944 the Labour Party forbade its members to join societies to strengthen Anglo-Soviet friendship.

However, all this did not stop the shift to the left which was taking place among the working masses in Britain. The working class demanded that reforms should be conducted and the Conservative government removed from power. In the Communist programme "How to Win the Peace?" published in September 1944 there was an appeal to all the democratic forces in the country to unite and put an end to the Conservative government. The Seventeenth Communist Party Congress in October 1944 outlined a programme for nationalisation of the basic means of production and proposed setting up a single progressive front consisting of the Labour, Liberal, Cooperative, and Communist parties and other democratic organisations to cause the Conservatives to lose the future parliamentary elections. This programme of the Communists corresponded to the interests of the broad strata of the working population in Britain. However, the right-wing leaders of the Labour Party rejected it. At the elections on July 5, 1945, the Labourites won and formed their own government from among the right-wing politicians. The head of the government was the leader of the Labour Party, Clement Attlee. The composition and programme of the Labour Party did not envisage radical changes in Britain's foreign and home policy.

The Labour government's policy did not justify the expectations of the working people of Britain who had made no small contribution to the defeat of fascism with their labour, their struggle in support of the USSR and their direct participation in the military operations.

The USA. The popular masses in the United States of America also took an active part in the struggle against fascism. True, the imperialist circles in the USA, well aware of the inevitability of entering the war, bided their time in an attempt to obtain maximum advantage for themselves from the military conflict in Europe. Therefore, from Sep-

tember 1939 to December 7, 1941, the USA remained neutral. In this period the American monopolies carried on an extremely profitable trade in weapons and other goods needed for military purposes. Trade was mainly carried on with Britain and France. As a result, American industry and agriculture began to develop rapidly and got out of the lengthy crisis and depression, and the US monopolies obtained huge profits. There was increasing concentration and centralisation of production and capital and the positions of state-monopoly capitalism became stronger.

A representative of the Democratic Party, Franklin Roosevelt, had headed the American government since 1933. On November 5, 1940, at the presidential election in the USA Roosevelt was elected President for the third time. For the first time in US history tradition that one and the same public figure could not occupy the presidential post for more than two terms was violated. One of the first measures taken during his third term as President was to work out the bill on Lend-Lease which was approved by Congress on March 11, 1941. According to this law, the USA considerably expanded deliveries of arms and ammunition to Great Britain.

After the attack by Hitler Germany on the USSR, many reactionary figures in the USA decided that the first socialist state would soon collapse under the pressure of the huge Nazi war machine. However, considerable strata of the American people regarded the heroic struggle of Soviet people against the fascist aggressors with sympathy. On June 22, 1941, the Communist Party USA announced that with the entry of the USSR into the war against Germany, the Second World War had become a just anti-fascist war and demanded that the Lend-Lease law should be extended to the Soviet Union.

In an announcement on June 24, 1941, President Roosevelt expressed readiness to help the Soviet Union in the war against Nazi Germany. Immediate steps, however, were not undertaken in this connection. Meanwhile, in many US towns and cities numerous rallies of solidarity with the Soviet Union were held. One such meeting in New York on October 27 was attended by 60,000 people. Many trade union associations also expressed themselves in favour of granting the Soviet Union aid in the form of arms. On

November 7, 1941, the Lend-Lease law was extended to the Soviet state as well.

When the USA entered the war general conscription was announced in the country. However, the military operations were taking place far away from the USA and most of the American people knew nothing of the horrors of war. Its efforts were aimed at boosting the war industry. On December 26, 1941, Roosevelt called upon the workers "to increase arms production to a maximum". Allocations of 292,100 million dollars were made for the war needs from 1940 to 1945. Owing to the tremendous expansion of the war industry a military-industrial boom began in the country. It brought tremendous profits to the American monopolies. Causing great demand for manpower, the boom as well as conscription drastically decreased the number of unemployed.

On the whole, the working class and its industrial organisations supported the efforts of the government to expand arms production. At the end of 1941 there was a conference of representatives of the trade unions and entrepreneurs which issued a resolution to refrain from strikes and lock-outs during the war. As a result of this and also in connection with the growing demand for manpower and the increased wages, the strike movement waned during the war but did not cease altogether. The striving of the monopolies to squeeze maximum profits by exploiting the workers met with resistance on their part. From 1940 till 1945 there were 23,222 strikes in which 11,340,000 industrial and office workers took part, and the total number of working days lost was 94 million. The US Congress passed a law in June 1943 on the regulation of labour conflicts in wartime (The Smith-Connely Act), so as to prevent the strike campaign from gaining in strength. The law gave the President the right to ban any kind of strike or lock-out.

The protests of the working class and all the progressive forces in the USA in support of the opening of a second front in Europe as soon as possible, were of great significance. At the trade union congresses and the conferences of the democratic organisations resolutions containing this demand were adopted. However, the policy of the right-wing circles consisted in not becoming involved in battles on the decisive fronts before the warring sides grew weaker.

In the designs of American strategists, only at the final stage of the war would the USA send in its main forces and have a decisive impact on post-war world settlement in the interests of strengthening the world supremacy of American imperialism. This is why it was not until June 1944, when the war was approaching its end, that the American armed forces began essential military operations against the main foe, Nazi Germany.

In November 1944 the presidential election and the elections to Congress were held in the USA. The progressive forces, including the Communist Party, supported the candidature of Roosevelt, who was elected President of the USA for the fourth time. The election of Roosevelt was evidence of the fact that the broad strata of the American population, the working class, and the trade unions approved his policy aimed at defeating the fascist aggressors. After Roosevelt's death in April 1945, the post of President was taken by the Vice-President Harry Truman, a person with extremely reactionary views.

During the war the Communist Party USA led the struggle to unite the anti-fascist coalition and to promote the movement of solidarity of the American people with the Soviet Union. However, the US membership of the anti-fascist coalition along with that of the Soviet Union was used by opportunist elements in the working class and communist movement to enhance the preaching of the class peace between labour and capital. The then General Secretary of the Communist Party USA Browder openly came out with a revision of Marxism-Leninism, counterposing it by the opportunist theory of the "exclusiveness" of American capitalism. Proceeding from this he suggested that the Communist Party in the USA should be disbanded as a revolutionary class organisation of the proletariat. At the Party's 12th Convention in May 1944 the opportunists managed to get the Communist Party dissolved and replaced by a nebulous so-called Communist Political Association. This was betrayal of the American proletariat. But the basic nucleus of the Communists remained loyal to the banner of Marxism-Leninism and in July 1945 at the 13th Extraordinary Convention the Communist Party was restored. It was headed by William Foster and Eugene Dennis.

The labour efforts of the American people, its struggle against internal reaction which was striving to undermine

the unity of the anti-fascist coalition, participation in the military operations on the fronts of the Second World War were an important contribution to the victory over the fascist states.

Canada. On September 10, 1939, the British dominion of Canada joined Great Britain in the war against Germany. At that time a Liberal government headed by Mackenzie King was in power in the country. He also headed the government after the Liberal Party won the election on March 26, 1940. From the beginning of the war, Canada rendered Britain assistance in raw materials, foodstuffs, arms, and volunteers. The demand for arms and materiel caused the rapid growth of the Canadian economy. But during the war there was a serious weakening of the positions of British capital in Canada and simultaneously the increased penetration there of American capital. In 1945 American investments in Canada accounted for 70.2 per cent of all the foreign investments. Canada's dependence on the USA in foreign policy was increasing. In 1940 it concluded an agreement with the USA on the joint defence of North America. In 1941 an American-Canadian agreement was signed on economic cooperation.

During the war relations between Canada and the USSR improved. The Canadian government announced its support for the heroic struggle of the Soviet people against fascist Germany. On June 12, 1942, the Soviet Union and Canada established direct diplomatic relations. Canada supplied arms and materiel to the Soviet Union.

The Canadian bourgeoisie made huge profits out of the war. At the same time the wages of the workers were "frozen". In this connection, the Canadian workers increased the strike struggle demanding wage increases. This forced the bourgeoisie to make certain concessions. Laws were passed in Canada on insurance against unemployment, on the introduction of allowances for married men and for "freezing" the prices of consumer goods.

During the war Canadian trade unions doubled in strength. In 1945 they numbered 711,000 people. In 1940 the Canadian Congress of Labour emerged which was organised on a production principle. The prestige of the social-democratic Federation of the Co-operative Community was heightened.

The Canadian Communists headed the struggle of the working class against fascism, for freedom and democracy. However, in the initial period of the war, when the Communists exposed the imperialist plans of both the warring groupings, the Canadian government outlawed (June 4, 1940) the Communist Party and a number of other progressive organisations. Many Communists and trade union figures were arrested and imprisoned in internment camps. In the subsequent period when the war had finally acquired an anti-fascist nature, the Communists urged the people to combine their efforts to defeat fascism. But just as before the ruling circles in Canada continued to ban the Communist Party. In these circumstances, in August 1943, the Communists recreated their own party under the name of the Workers' Progressive Party.

Canadian Communists called upon the working masses to increase arms production, demanded the opening of a second front in Europe as soon as possible, and fought for the vital interests of the working people. All this helped to consolidate the anti-fascist coalition and boost the sympathy of the Canadian working people for the USSR. The population of Canada collected more than five million dollars to purchase and dispatch medicine and other goods to the Soviet people. In June 1943, the National Committee of Canadian-Soviet Friendship was set up in Canada. Together with the other peoples in the anti-fascist coalition Canadian working people contributed to the common victory over fascism.

Australia. Australia, which was also a British dominion, was a member of the anti-fascist coalition. On September 3, 1939, the Australian government declared war on Germany. Australia's small armed units formed part of the British troops in the military operations in Europe, the Middle East, and the Mediterranean. But on the whole, this was "a distant war" for Australia. Only after the war in the Pacific began was Australia threatened by Japanese invasion. The Australian troops and aircraft were involved in the military operations in Singapore and Malaya.

The war meant rapid economic development in Australia, the lessening of its dependence on Britain, and the increased influence of American imperialism. Monopoly capitalism rapidly gained in strength in Australia and gradually turned

into state-monopoly capitalism. The country's ruling circles began to display interest in establishing their influence in the south-western part of the Pacific Ocean.

From the beginning of the war political power in the country was in the hands of the United Party (renamed the Liberal Party in 1944), which formed a bloc with the Agrarian Party that expressed the interests of the big landowners, cattle-breeders and agricultural banks. In March 1940, both parties formed a coalition government, headed by Robert Menzies, which pursued a conservative policy. It was on its decision that the activity of Australia's Communist Party was banned in June 1940. On October 7, 1941, the Labour government, which had won the elections, came to power. The Labourites pursued a typical reformist policy. In the conditions obtaining, however, they had to introduce strict control over the economy and mobilise all the country's resources for the conduct of the war.

The working masses championed efforts aimed at a general struggle against the bloc of fascist states. In the war years the strike struggle of the Australian proletariat waned considerably. The working people consciously made sacrifices for the sake of the victory over fascism. The Communist Party was in the vanguard of the anti-fascist movement. The Communists tried to set up a united popular front against reaction and criticised the internal anti-democratic policy of the Menzies government. After the war took on a new colour, they tried to promote a movement of solidarity with the USSR, to consolidate the anti-fascist coalition and get a second front opened in Europe. The authority of the Communist Party of Australia grew considerably and its membership increased from 5,000 in 1940 to 20,000 at the end of the war. At the Thirteenth Congress of the Communist Party in March 1943 it was noted that the preservation of Australian independence was directly linked with the fight against international fascism and internal reaction. The Communist Party advanced the task of setting up a united front with the Labour Party. However, the right-wing Labourites rejected the Communists' proposal of unity. On the whole, the Australian people, the working class, and the Communist Party made their own contribution to the common cause of defeating the fascist aggressors.

3. The Anti-Fascist Movement in the Countries of the Fascist Bloc in Europe

In the countries of the fascist bloc during the war, owing to the extremely cruel government repressions, the conditions for the anti-fascist, liberation movement were exceptionally difficult.

Germany. During the war there was increasing militarisation of the economy in Germany, capital was concentrated and centralised apace, the small enterprises went bankrupt, and the fascist state exerted ever greater control over the economy. The big monopoly associations and the fascist police state turned into a single state-monopoly mechanism. Germany boosted its military economic potential immeasurably by plundering the occupied countries.

In this period, the working class, the entire German working people were under the power of fascism, of Hitler's Nazi party, of its state apparatus and the ideology preached by it. The living standard of the country's population improved owing to the military conquests and the rapid growth of arms production. Germany's easy victories in Europe in the early period of the war promoted the spread of nationalistic and chauvinistic ideas among the German people. All this created exceptionally difficult conditions for an anti-fascist struggle.

By means of extremely ruthless terror the anti-fascist movement was driven deep underground.

Those Communists who had not yet been imprisoned waged a heroic struggle against the fascist dictatorship and for the defeat of its government in the war. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany, which was situated abroad, sent instructors to Germany to organise illegal work and create groups of resistance to fascism in the big industrial centres. The Communist Party strove to struggle jointly with the Social-Democrats. However, the leadership of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany abroad refused to carry out any joint actions with the Communists. The rank-and-file Social-Democrats united with the communists into anti-fascist groups in illegal conditions. The Uhrig, Neubauer-Poser, Gall-Nelte, Gunther, Sieg-Guddorf and other groups made a considerable contribution to the struggle against fascism. The group headed by

the Communist Robert Uhrig had its own cells at the major enterprises in Berlin.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany continued to work for the establishment of a popular front and a leading underground centre within the country. W. Knochel, a Communist Party leader, managed to found such a centre. From the beginning of the Soviet-German war the existing anti-fascist organisations and those that had emerged anew became more vigorous in their activity. At enterprises anti-fascist-minded workers committed acts of sabotage. An anti-fascist movement also evolved among the German prisoners of war in the Soviet Union. But on the whole, in the extremely critical conditions of fascist repressions the anti-fascist movement was not a mass one. The Nazis managed to trace and arrest the leaders and members of many anti-fascist groups. W. Knochel, R. Uhrig, G. Lechleiter and others were arrested and executed.

The defeat of the Nazi forces near Stalingrad and in the Kursk Salient considerably worsened Germany's military, economic, and home political situation. The fascists no longer hid the fact that the war was becoming protracted. At the end of January 1943 they announced total conscription in Germany; more and more enterprises began production on military lines. In September 1943, a special law was passed on the concentration of the war economy, the implementation of which meant the final establishment of a system of state-monopoly capitalism in Germany in the war years.

In spite of the increased terror, there was a growing disbelief among many people in Germany in the victory of German fascism in the war and the anti-fascist movement gained in strength. At the end of 1942 Anton Saefkow, Franz Jacob, and Bernhard Bastlein set up a new anti-fascist organisation in Berlin which managed to get contact going with similar organisations in Thuringia and Saxony. In July 1943 German emigrés and prisoners of war in the USSR formed the Free Germany National Committee whose goal it was to overthrow Hitler's regime and put an end to the war. The committee worked out a programme to build a new Germany, made systematic broadcasts to Germany over the radio station Free Germany, and published and circulated leaflets, brochures and other anti-fascist

materials on the front and in Germany. On the basis of the committee's programme and on the initiative of the Communists the anti-fascist organisation "Free Germany", founded in Leipzig, began to operate in the autumn of 1943. In the spring of 1944 representatives of a number of underground organisations and anti-fascist groups worked out a platform "The Communists and the Free Germany National Committee" and re-established the German-based centralised leadership of the Communist Party. This centre intensified the struggle for the unification of all the anti-fascist forces into a Popular Front, for a free, independent and democratic Germany.

At the end of the war anti-war protests, acts of sabotage and strikes became more frequent in Germany. In the face of Germany's inevitable collapse even part of the country's ruling elite protested against the policy pursued by Hitler and his retinue. A conspiracy was organised against Hitler in which members of the big monopoly bourgeoisie and the junkers, generals, officers and officials in high places were involved. Among the conspirators there were also representatives of the democratic forces. The main participants in the plot made it their goal to physically destroy Hitler, to establish a military dictatorship, to foist the blame for defeat on Hitler and his closest associates, to conclude a separate peace with the Western powers and to organise resistance to the Soviet offensive and preserve imperialist domination in the country.

On July 20, 1944, one of the conspirators, Colonel Claus von Stauffenberg, arrived at Hitler's headquarters on the Eastern front and placed a bomb in the meeting hall. An explosion occurred during the meeting, but Hitler was not badly hurt. Stauffenberg returned to Berlin in the belief that Hitler had been killed. However, the conspirators did not take any vigorous measures. Meanwhile, Hitler's upper crust rapidly undertook resolute measures to counter the plot. The conspirators were arrested and executed. In this period the fascists crushed the organisation "Free Germany", the underground centre of the Communist Party of Germany and other anti-fascist groups in many towns. Their leaders Anton Saefkow, Bernhard Bastlein, Franz Jacob, Theodor Neubauer, Georg Schumann, and others were executed. On August 18, 1944, at Buchenwald concentration camp the Nazis killed the leader of the

Communist Party of Germany, Ernst Thalmann, who had spent eleven years in prison. The repressions seriously undermined the anti-fascist movement in Germany.

Soviet troops entered Germany in October 1944. The Nazi government took new measures to enforce total conscription of the country's population. On October 18, 1944, instructions were issued on setting up a Folkssturm (a people's militia). In April 1945, the Nazis made attempts to set up subversive detachments ("Werwolf") in the German territory occupied by the troops of the anti-fascist coalition. Orders were given among the troops to defend every populated centre to the last man. Death by firing squad or hanging awaited officers and men who disobeyed this order.

No measures could save Nazi Germany from defeat now. Hitler's upper crust began to fall apart. On April 30, Hitler committed suicide and on the following day, Goebbels. The new government was headed by Gross Admiral Dbnitz. On May 2, Berlin fell and, on May 8, representatives of the German High Command signed the Act of Germany's Unconditional Surrender at Karlshorst in the suburbs of Berlin. Fascism had brought the country to extreme national catastrophe. It had caused innumerable disasters and immense suffering not only to the peoples of other countries but to the German people themselves. The German armed forces alone lost 13,600,000 men. The fascist regime in Germany was liquidated owing to its defeat in the Second World War. The heroic struggle of a relatively small number of German anti-fascists against Hitler's regime also made a contribution to the common cause of the anti-fascist struggle of peoples.

Italy. Although Italy was an ally of Germany it did not enter the war simultaneously with it. Italy's rulers understood that the country was not yet ready for war and doubted that its outcome would be favourable. Therefore, in the initial stages Italy declared itself a "non-belligerent country". Only after Germany began its invasion of France did Italy announce its entry into the war against France and Britain on June 10, 1940. The participation of fascist Italy in the war did not bring it successes. In France it obtained absolutely negligible territories. Its attempt to seize Greece ended in failure. In Africa in the first year of its military

operations it lost Somalia and Ethiopia. Its navy suffered tremendous losses. Italy's entry into the war on the side of Germany against the Soviet Union led to its early defeat. In July 1943 the Allied armies began to occupy its territory, which accelerated the total collapse of the fascist regime.

In the war years Italy experienced tremendous economic difficulties, and its economic dependence on Germany grew. The living standard of the working people fell drastically. Anti-fascist sentiments in the country became stronger. Deep underground, the Italian Communist Party extended its ties with the masses, mobilising them to fight against fascism and war. In the autumn of 1941 the Communist and Socialist parties concluded a pact on unity of action. In 1942, both parties managed to get their own newspapers, *Unitd!* and *Av anti!*, going. From the spring of 1942 strikes got underway in Italy. At the beginning of March 1943 the Communists and Socialists urged the people to overthrow the hateful fascist regime. In March 1943, 300,000 workers at arms factories in Turin and Milan went on strike under the leadership of the Communists, and their struggle took on an anti-fascist, anti-war, political nature. The March strike played an important part in furthering the political crisis of Italian fascism.

The failures of the Italian armies at the fronts and the worsening economic and political situation in the country forced monopoly capital and the Royal Court to remove Mussolini from power. On July 25, 1943, he was arrested. Marshall Badoglio became head of government. The population of Rome and other cities and towns in Italy welcomed the removal of Mussolini and began to destroy the premises of the fascist party. The ruling circles were forced to disband the fascist party and other fascist organisations. At the beginning of September 1943, Badoglio's government signed an agreement on surrender. Concerned by such a turn of events, Nazi Germany occupied a considerable part of Italy. German parachutists managed to free Mussolini. After this, on the demand of Hitler, Mussolini set up a government of the "social republic" in Northern Italy.

But the Italian people rose in armed struggle against the Nazi invaders. On the initiative of the Communists partisan detachments, the Garibaldi Brigades, began to form in the north of the country. Special sabotage squads began to operate in the towns and cities. Other democratic organi-

sations joined the anti-fascist movement and the armed struggle besides the Communist Party: the Socialist Party, uniting some of the workers and some of the intelligentsia; the Action Party, which drew support from emigre circles of the revolutionary-minded intelligentsia and the petty bourgeoisie; the Christian-Democratic Party, which came into being in 1943 with the support of the Catholic Church and enjoyed influence among the peasantry, the urban petty bourgeoisie and some of the workers; the Liberal Party, which was backed by the bourgeois intelligentsia; and the Democracy of Labour Party.

The representatives of the six parties set up national liberation committees in the course of the struggle against fascism, in which the Communist Party played an important role, striving to consolidate the unity of all the anti-fascist forces and promote a mass struggle for Italy's liberation from German troops and from fascist oppression. In March 1944, on the initiative of the Communist Party an eight-day strike was staged in the territory occupied by the Germans in which more than one million people took part. The partisan army rapidly grew as well. In June 1944 the Volunteers for Freedom corps was formed from individual partisan detachments. At the beginning of 1945, it numbered 350,000 people, including 210,000 Communists. The partisans liberated many regions of Italy and set up democratic bodies there headed by national liberation committees. The first democratic socio-economic measures began to be implemented.

The vigorous activity of the anti-fascist parties also had an impact on the Italian government whose seat was in the south of the country. The leader of the Communist Party, Palmiro Togliatti, who arrived in Italy at the end of March 1944, urged the anti-fascist parties to enter Badoglio's government to inject into it anti-fascist influence. Badoglio's government was reorganised. It was joined by two representatives of the Communist Party. In June 1944, after the liberation of Rome Badoglio resigned, and Ivanol Bonomi, a representative of the Democracy of Labour Party, became the new head of government. The anti-fascist government obtained support from the trade unions, which concluded an agreement in June 1944 on setting up a General Italian Confederation of Labour.

The Italian Resistance Movement was at its height in

April 1945. On April 23, on the appeal of the Communists an armed uprising started in the occupied regions of Italy. Broad strata of the working population took part in it alongside the partisans. In two or three days they attained victory in Genoa, Milan, and Turin. Mussolini was captured and executed together with other war criminals. Conditions took shape in Italy for starting off a people's revolution. However, the Anglo-American troops helped to consolidate the bourgeois system in the country and prevented the liberation struggle from growing over into a socialist revolution. Nevertheless, an important outcome of the struggle of the popular masses was the liquidation of fascism.

Finland. From the beginning of the Second World War Finland was increasingly drawn into the fascist bloc, too. In June 1941, Finland joined Germany in the war against the Soviet Union. Finnish reaction cherished plans of seizing Soviet territories as far as the Urals to set up a "Great Finland".

Participation in the war, the difficult economic and political situation in Finland, and its grave defeats on the fronts called forth dissatisfaction not only among the anti-fascists, but also among the soldiers who refused to fight. Deserters from the army set up detachments of "forest guards" and waged a struggle against the Nazis and the Finnish reactionaries. The partisan movement developed most vigorously in the country's north, in Lapland. The Communist Party of Finland was at the centre of anti-fascist, anti-war struggle. The left-wing Social-Democrats also criticised the government of Finland. The anti-war sentiments led to the emergence of a peaceful opposition ("the group of thirty-three"), the leading part in which was played by Juho Paasikivi and Urho Kekkonen. The offensive by the Red Army and the growth of opposition to the war forced the Finnish government to sign an agreement on an armistice on September 19, 1944.

Spain. Also affiliated to the fascist bloc was Spain, where a fascist regime headed by Francisco Franco had been established shortly before the Second World War. On March 27, 1939, the fascist government of Spain signed a protocol on joining the Anti-Comintern Pact. However, it hesitated before openly declaring its entry into the war on the side of

Germany, biding its time. Spain declared its neutrality and then announced that it would remain a "non-belligerent" country.

At the same time, Franco cherished plans of entering the war on the condition that he would receive Gibraltar and part of the French colonies in Africa. On June 14, 1940, Spain seized Tangier, in disregard of its international status. Throughout the war Spain supplied Germany with important strategic raw materials, foodstuffs and other goods. From the beginning of the Soviet-German war Franco sent the so-called Blue Division, which numbered up to 47,000 men altogether, to fight against the Soviet Union.

Within the country Franco established a regime of ruthless suppression of democratic freedoms. But he did not completely manage to eradicate the anti-fascist movement. In a number of regions (in Andalucia, Levante, Asturias, Galicia, and in the Pyrenees) the guerrilla movement persisted, to which the Communist Party attributed great significance. In September 1942 it urged all the opposition forces to create a national alliance of all the Spaniards, from Catholics to Communists, to gain freedom and democracy and establish the power of a national unity government. However, the representatives of the other opposition organisations were opposed to unity with the Communist Party. This made it easier for the Franco regime to remain in power in the country.

Portugal. Formally having declared its neutrality under the fascist regime of the dictator Antonio de Oliveira Salazar, Portugal did in fact side with the fascist bloc during the war. Portugal supplied Germany with tungsten, copper, manganese, cotton, and rubber. The fascist countries' trade with Latin America was carried on via Portugal's ports.

The progressive strata of the Portuguese people waged a struggle against the fascist dictatorship of Salazar and against Portugal's alliance with the fascist powers. The strike campaign in the country did not cease. The influence of the Communist Party increased. In 1943, underground, the Communist Party held its Third Congress, at which the Party's Central Committee was elected for the first time. The Congress worked out a policy for setting up broad anti-fascist unity of the masses. The struggle of the anti-fascist

circles weakened the dictator Salazar and hindered Portugal's direct entry into the war on the side of the fascist bloc.

Romania. Romania was also an ally of Nazi Germany. On the eve of the war the country was ruled by a dictatorship of the fascist type headed by King Carol II. On September 6, 1940, Carol II abdicated in favour of his son Mihai and left the country. In actual fact, power was taken overby General Ion Antonescu, who established a military fascist dictatorship. On November 23, 1940, Romania signed an agreement on joining the Tripartite Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Pact.

On June 22, 1941, the Romanian troops together with the German fascist armies invaded the territory of the USSR. Entering into an alliance with Germany, Romania hoped with its help to seize part of the Soviet territory as far as the Dnieper. In Moldavia and part of the Ukraine the Romanian aggressors founded a province named Trans-Dniestria (beyond the Dniester) with Odessa as its centre. Everywhere they imposed a regime of sanguinary terror. The fascist terror and the chauvinist propaganda prevented the broad masses in Romania from being drawn into the anti-fascist movement.

The successes gained by the Red Army promoted the activation of the Romanian anti-fascist struggle. The Communist Party urged all patriots in the country to set up a united front of struggle against the fascist dictatorship and the Nazi war. In June 1943, thanks to the efforts of the Communists the anti-Hitler Patriotic Front was set up consisting of the Communist Party, the Ploughmen's Front, the National-Peasant Party and other organisations. The guerrilla detachments became more vigorous in their activity. On May 1, 1944, an agreement was concluded between the Communist Party and the Social-Democrats on setting up a United Workers' Front.

The Soviet troops entered Romania at the beginning of April 1944. The Red Army advanced rapidly into Romania's hinterland. On June 20, 1944, the National-Tsaranist and the National-Liberal parties decided to set up a National Democratic Bloc together with the Communist Party and the Social-Democratic Party. Simultaneously, the Communist Party was completing preparations for an armed uprising, which flared up on August 23, 1944, in Bucharest. The

rebels swiftly took possession of the key points in the capital and arrested Antonescu and his closest associates. Romania announced its withdrawal from the fascist bloc and its alliance with the anti-Hitler coalition. On September 12, 1944, an agreement was signed in Moscow on a truce with Romania. On October 25, 1944, the Soviet armies and Romanian military units completely liberated all Romania's territory.

The uprising of August 23 was the start of the popular democratic revolution in Romania. However, representatives of the Romanian bourgeoisie headed the government in the early days. The Communist Party, which formed part of the government, exposed the reactionary policy of the bourgeois statesmen and demanded that the bourgeois-democratic revolution be completed. On the appeal of the Communist Party, the popular masses rose in struggle to set up a popular democratic government. On February 24, 1945, a 500,000-strong demonstration took place in Bucharest at which it was demanded that Rádescu's bourgeois government should resign and a government of the National Democratic Front be formed. The government gave orders for the demonstration to be broken up; the police opened fire and several people were killed and many wounded. But Rádescu's government had to resign. On March 6, 1945, the government of the National Democratic Front headed by the leader of the Ploughmen's Front, Petru Groza, came to power. Thus, a regime of people's democracy was established in Romania.

Hungary. Even before the beginning of the war the fascist regime of Miclos Horthy was established in Hungary. The country joined the bloc of fascist states. Having obtained, with the consent of Germany and Italy, Northern Transylvania, which had belonged to Romania, Hungary was indebted to Germany. On November 20, 1940, it joined the Tripartite Pact. In April 1941, soon after Hitler's Germany attacked Yugoslavia, the Hungarian fascist government sent its troops to that country. On June 27, 1941, Hungary, in the wake of Germany, began a war against the Soviet Union.

The situation in Hungary was marked by the suppression of democracy and by cruel repressions against the anti-fascists. All the genuine anti-fascist organisations had either

been crushed or outlawed. The Communist Party, weakened by the savage repressions, had gone deep underground.

Nevertheless, Hungarian reaction did not completely manage to quash the working-class and anti-fascist movements. The Communist Party was in the foremost ranks of the fighters against fascism. It waged a heroic struggle for the unity of all the popular forces, for the overthrow of the fascist system and for an independent democratic Hungary. The Communists consistently protested against war.

With the increasing repressions, in the summer of 1943 the Central Committee of the Communist Party announced the disbanding of the Party although it did in fact continue to operate under the name of the Peace Party.

The defeats suffered by the fascist troops in 1943, including the Hungarian troops, gave a new lease of life to the anti-fascist movement in Hungary. In Hungary's bourgeois circles there was an increasing striving to withdraw from the bloc with fascist Germany and conclude a separate agreement with Britain and the USA. In view of all this, with Horthy's consent German troops occupied Hungary on March 19, 1944. But the opposition to fascism and war continued to gain in strength. On the initiative of the outlawed Communists, in May 1944 a Hungarian Front was set up consisting of the Peace Party, the Social-Democratic Party, the Independent Smallholders' Party and the Arrow Cross Union. In September 1944, the Peace Party was named the Communist Party again.

After the Red Army entered Hungary partisan detachments began to emerge which joined in liberating Hungarian territory from the fascist troops. On the liberated territory power was taken over by popular democratic bodies. On December 2, 1944, a Hungarian National Independence Front was set up which included the Social-Democratic Party, the Independent Smallholders' Party, the National Peasant Party, the Bourgeois-Democratic Party and the trade unions as well as the Communist Party. On December 21-22, 1944, in the town of Debrecen a Provisional National Assembly was convened. The foundations were laid for people's democratic power in the country, an armistice was concluded with the USSR, the USA and Britain and war was declared on fascist Germany. On April 4, 1945, the territory of Hungary was completely liberated by Soviet troops.

Bulgaria. The weakest link in the fascist bloc was Bulgaria. At the beginning of the Second World War it declared its neutrality. But the Bulgarian ruling circles increasingly tended towards an alliance with Germany. On March 1, 1941, Bulgaria joined the fascist bloc. German troops entered its territory. But the sympathy of the Bulgarian people for the Soviet Union was so strong that the Bulgarian government did not dare to join Germany in the war against the USSR.

After the fascist states attacked the Soviet Union a mass anti-fascist liberation struggle evolved in Bulgaria whose organiser and inspirer was the Bulgarian Workers' Party. On June 24, 1941, the Bulgarian Communists appealed to the people to start an armed struggle against the German invaders and their myrmidons. The central military commission set up by the Party directed all the Party's military operations. At the end of June 1941, the first partisan detachment emerged near the town of Razlog. Soon, similar detachments appeared in other areas of the country. From mid-1942 the Communists set about founding a Fatherland Front. On July 17, 1942, its programme, worked out by the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Workers' Party abroad on the initiative of Georgi Dimitrov, was published. It contained the following goals: the liberation of the country from Hitler's yoke and the monarchic fascist dictatorship, Bulgaria's entry into the anti-fascist coalition and the establishment of people's power in the country. Committees of the Fatherland Front began to emerge in many places in Bulgaria.

The victories of the Red Army inspired the patriots to step up their struggle against fascism. In March and April 1943, the partisan detachments were united into a Popular Liberation Rebel Army headed by the General Staff. Twelve military operational zones were set up in Bulgaria. All in all there were 11 partisan brigades and 37 detachments operating in the country. Together with the local combat groups they numbered more than 30,500 people in their ranks. In August 1943, the Fatherland Front had finally taken shape which included representatives of the Bulgarian Workers' Party and the left wing of the Social-Democratic Party and also non-party people. The setting up of the Fatherland Front was a great achievement in uniting all the anti-fascist forces in the country.

In the summer of 1944 when the Red Army troops were approaching the frontiers of Bulgaria, its monarchic fascist government began secret negotiations with representatives of Britain and the USA on an armistice. But on September 5, 1944, the Soviet Union declared war on Bulgaria and its armies crossed the Bulgarian frontier. The population of Bulgaria joyfully welcomed the Soviet troops as their liberators. Throughout the country the working masses and other patriotic forces became more vigorous in their protest against the monarchic fascist authorities. On the night of September 8, 1944, a general armed uprising began in Sofia, as a result of which power was taken over by the working class in the person of the government of the Fatherland Front. This government included four Communists and twelve representatives of the other members of the Fatherland Front. It immediately set about carrying out extensive democratic transformations in all spheres of life. On October 28, 1944, it signed an armistice with the USSR, Great Britain, and the USA in Moscow. The Bulgarian people made a contribution to the defeat of the fascist bloc.

Thus, in spite of the tremendous difficulties, the Communists and other progressive forces of the working class and some other strata of the population in the countries of the fascist bloc waged a struggle against fascism and against war. By their courageous effort they helped to defeat the fascist states in the war and laid the foundations for social and democratic transformations.

4. The Resistance of the Peoples in the Occupied Countries of Europe to the Fascist Invaders

In the initial period of the war fascist domination spread almost throughout Europe. By the summer of 1941 Albania, Austria, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, Greece, Holland, Luxembourg, Norway, Poland, and Yugoslavia were all under the yoke of the fascist invaders. A mass anti-fascist liberation struggle developed in the enslaved countries. The working class and the communist parties headed the democratic, national forces. The Resistance Movement in these countries was characterised by the use of various forms of struggle, up to and including uprisings and guerrilla

warfare. Broad strata of the population, such as the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, and the petty and middle bourgeoisie, were involved in the struggle.

France. The French government headed by Daladier, which had declared war on Germany, was in no hurry to start active hostilities and before May 10, 1940, had only conducted a few limited military operations. The ruling circles in France still hoped to spearhead fascist aggression against the Soviet Union. At the same time, the popular masses were prepared to wage a nation-wide war against fascist Germany. The French Communist Party urged all the patriotic forces to unite in the struggle against Nazism. It announced its readiness to commit all its resources to the country's defence against the fascist aggressors. On September 2, 1939, the Communist deputies in parliament voted in favour of war credits. The Communist Party put forward the slogan "Enemy Number One Is the Nazi Regime".

However, the ruling circles in France were preparing to surrender. Instead of organising a rebuff to the enemy they began to run the country on pro-fascist lines and started an anti-communist campaign. On September 26, 1939, a decree was issued on disbanding the Communist Party. Its leaders went underground. Soon the Communist deputies were arrested. In a short period the number of Communists arrested had reached 8,000. Other progressive organisations were also subjected to repressions. Six hundred and twenty trade union organisations were disbanded and hundreds of other public organisations were banned.

Becoming head of government on March 21, 1940, Paul Reynaud continued to pursue an anti-Soviet and anti-communist policy. During Germany's offensive on France which began on May 10, 1940, Reynaud's government displayed its complete inability to organise a rebuff to the enemy. On June 6, the Communist Party came out with the proposal that a nation-wide war against the German aggressors should be started. It demanded that the people should be armed to defend Paris. But the ruling clique disregarded the Communists' proposal. On June 14, Paris was surrendered to the Germans without any resistance. Two days later Reynaud resigned. The new government was headed by Marshal Petain, who was notorious for his sym-

pathies towards fascism. On June 22, France accepted the terms of surrender imposed upon it by the Germans. Owing to defeat in the war, France had two-thirds of its territory occupied by Germany. On the remainder a reactionary regime was set up which depended on German fascism. Petain became head of the puppet "French state" with its capital in Vichy. Petain's perfidious policy evoked the fury and indignation of the broad strata of the patriotically-minded population of France.

In these circumstances, the French Communist Party appealed to the working class of France to join in the Resistance Movement to the fascist invaders. On July 10, 1940, the leaders of the Communist Party, Maurice Thorez and Jacques Duclos, addressed a manifesto to the French people in the name of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party. This manifesto outlined ways of setting up a united front of all the country's patriotic forces and contained an appeal to organise a resistance movement to restore France's independence and reorganise the country on a democratic basis. The Communists set up underground people's committees and organised anti-fascist demonstrations, strikes, and sabotage. At the end of 1940 the Communists set about forming armed groups to struggle against the invaders. In May 1941, the Communist Party made an appeal to all patriots to create a National Front.

At the same time, part of the French bourgeoisie in London organised a movement called Free France (La France Libre) which was headed by General Charles de Gaulle. On June 18, 1940, de Gaulle appealed to all the French living in Britain and the French colonies to unite to struggle against Hitler's Germany. On August 7, 1940, de Gaulle obtained Churchill's consent to form voluntary French armed forces in Britain. In France itself de Gaulle's supporters also began to set up their own organisations.

At the beginning of July 1941 a National Front was formed in France on the initiative of the Communist Party. The Front included the Communists, the Socialists, the Christian-Democrats, the Radical Socialists, and representatives of some other petty-bourgeois and bourgeois parties. The Front set itself the task of expelling the fascist invaders from French territory, of punishing the enemy and its myrmidons, of restoring the rights of the people and of ensuring democratic elections to the government. The

setting up of the Front imparted a mass scale to the anti-fascist movement.

At the same time, the armed struggle of the Franc tireurs (free marksmen) and the partisans headed by the Communists evolved. By the summer of 1944 the detachments of Franc tireurs and partisans numbered 250,000 people. The armed detachments of the French patriots blew up bridges and arms factories, derailed trains and killed invaders and traitors. The fascist authorities resorted to extremely savage terror against the patriots. Tens of thousands of them, mainly Communists, were arrested and imprisoned in concentration camps. Many were executed, including eight members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

In November 1942, an agreement on joint actions was signed between the Communist Party and de Gaulle's supporters. In May 1943, a National Council of Resistance was set up which, besides de Gaulle's supporters, included Communists and other members of the Resistance Movement. A considerable step forward was thereby made in uniting all the French anti-Hitler forces. On June 3, 1943, a French Committee of Liberation was formed in Algeria (headed by de Gaulle and Henri Giraud) which became the provisional government of France.

Once the unity of the anti-fascist forces had been consolidated, it was possible to set about preparing an armed rebellion to completely expell the invaders from the country. On April 15, 1943, the Main Directives for the preparation of a national uprising were published in the communist newspaper *L'Humanite.* At the beginning of 1944, all the militant organisations of French patriots who were members of the Resistance merged to form a single army, the French Forces of the Interior (Forces Fran^aises de 1'Interieur) with a total of 500,000 men. Its chief of staff was the Communist General Jouenville. On April 3, 1944, two representatives of the Communist Party (Francois Billoux and Fernand Grenier) became members of the provisional government of France headed by de Gaulle.

In the summer of 1944 armed uprisings began in France which embraced 40 of the country's departments. Almost half of the occupied territory of France was liberated by the forces of the rebel patriots. The Resistance fighters helped the Anglo-American troops to land and gain a foot-

ing in Normandy, and with their own forces they liberated Marseilles, Lyons, Toulouse, Clermont-Ferrand, and other cities. On August 19, 1944, the working class headed by the Communist Party started an anti-fascist armed uprising in Paris. This uprising ended in the liberation of Paris on August 25. On that same day, one of the leaders of the uprising, the Communist Colonel Raul Tanguy, together with de Gaulle's General Jean Leclerc who had arrived in Paris by that time, accepted the surrender from the German commandant. Soon the whole of the Provisional Government headed by de Gaulle arrived in Paris. On the demand of the Communist Party and the working class, de Gaulle's government nationalised La Banque de France and a number of big enterprises. On December 10, 1944, a French-Soviet agreement was concluded on an alliance and mutual assistance. Backed by the USSR, France was able to restore its position as a big sovereign power. The French people, above all, the working class and its Communist Party, played an important part in the anti-fascist struggle.

Yugoslavia. The working masses in Yugoslavia, headed by the Communist Party, protested against the pro-fascist home and foreign policy of the government. Anti-fascist demonstrations by workers and students took place in the country and there was an increasing number of strikes. In October 1940 the Communist Party held its Fifth Conference, at which it set the task of creating a united popular front to prevent Yugoslavia from becoming a fascist country, against its rapprochement with Germany and promoting the development of Soviet-Yugoslavian cooperation for peace and democracy. Josip Broz Tito was elected General Secretary of the Party. The Conference was of great significance for preparing a mass anti-fascist struggle in Yugoslavia. Under the pressure exerted by the mass movement Yugoslavia established diplomatic relations with the USSR in June 1940.

However, in the face of the growing fascist aggression the ruling circles in Yugoslavia took a defeatist stand. On March 25, 1941, they signed an agreement on the country's affiliation with the Tripartite Pact of fascist powers. This act caused an outburst of popular indignation in the country. On March 26 and 27 there were mass demonstrations and protests throughout Yugoslavia, which undermined the

positions of the pro-fascist government. In these circumstances, a group of officers headed by General Dushan Simovitch carried out a coup d'état and formed a new government. On April 5, this government signed a treaty of friendship and non-aggression with the Soviet Union. But Hitler's Germany had already made preparations for its attack on Yugoslavia. On April 6, the troops of Germany and its allies began military operations against Yugoslavia. In 12 days, they had occupied the country and established a fascist occupation regime in it. Yugoslavia was broken up into the puppet states of Croatia and Serbia. Some of its lands were handed over to Germany, Italy, Hungary and Bulgaria. The foreign invaders plundered Yugoslavia's resources and suppressed the anti-fascist movement.

The émigré circles j)f the Yugoslav bourgeoisie set up armed detachments, Cetniks (četa means detachment in Serbian), on the territory of Yugoslavia. The fietniks, headed by Colonel Draža Michajlović bided their time with regard to the fascist invaders but actively fought against the popular anti-fascist forces. Subsequently, Michajlović came to a secret agreement with the invaders on joint struggle against the partisan movement. The Communist Party was the true organiser and leader of the anti-fascist popular liberation struggle. Soon after the country was occupied, the Communist Party formed a military committee under its Central Committee and set up militant underground anti-fascist groups. After Germany attacked the USSR, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia launched an armed struggle under the leadership of the General Staff of the Popular Liberation Partisan Detachments headed by Josip Broz Tito. On July 7, 1941, an armed uprising began in Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia, Herzegovina and Macedonia. In the autumn of 1941 there were as many as 70,000 partisans in Yugoslavia. The partisans liberated a number of areas in the country and even proclaimed USice republic in the town of Užice. The first bodies of people's power were formed here. But the offensive by the fascist troops, started at the end of September 1941 against the liberated regions, forced the partisans to retreat.

The successes of the Red Army encouraged the partisan movement to become more active in Yugoslavia. In November 1942, the formation of a People's Liberation Army be-

gan there from individual military units. In the town of Bihać on the territory freed by the partisans the first session of the Anti-Fascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia was held from November 26 to 27, 1942. The session elected the executive committee from representatives of all the anti-fascist organisations and groups. On November 29, 1943, the second session of the Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia started which laid the foundation for the birth of the new Yugoslav state. At the session, the first government of people's Yugoslavia was formed, the National Committee of Liberation of Yugoslavia headed by Josip Broz Tito. The session condemned the activity of the émigré government. So, the anti-fascist liberation struggle of the Yugoslav people developed into a genuine people's revolution.

During the war the Soviet Union helped the Yugoslav partisans not only by its offensive operations but also by direct supplies of arms, munitions, and materiel. At the end of September 1944 Soviet troops entered Yugoslavia and soon met up with units of the People's Liberation Army of Yugoslavia. In November 1944, an agreement was reached between the leaders of people's power and the émigré government on setting up a united Yugoslav government, which was formed by Josip Broz Tito on March 7, 1945. On April 11, 1945, a Soviet-Yugoslav treaty on friendship, mutual assistance and post-war cooperation was signed in Moscow. On May 15, 1945, the liberation of Yugoslavia was completed. The heroic struggle of the Yugoslav people was an important contribution to the great anti-fascist struggle of peoples.

Poland. Having occupied the greater part of Polish territory, the German fascists set about plundering the country. A considerable part of Poland was included in the German fascist Reich. Some of the lands round Krakow were delineated to form the special "governor-generalship". The Polish people did not give in to Hitler's oppression and rose against the invaders. A decisive part in this struggle was played by the working class and Communists. From March 1940 anti-fascist groups began to emerge in Warsaw and other towns and cities in Poland.

Poland's bourgeois-landowner émigré government headed by Wladyslaw Sikorski (which was based in France and then

in Britain) at first declared a state of war with the USSR. However, soon after Germany's attack on the USSR this government saw for itself that in pursuing such a blatantly hostile policy with regard to the Soviet Union it was aligning itself with the supporters of the fascist bloc. Therefore, it decided to sign a Soviet-Polish agreement on mutual assistance and support in the war against fascist Germany. The Soviet Government agreed to the formation in the USSR of a Polish army headed by General Wladyslaw Anders. But in spite of these positive steps, the émigré circles of Poland continued to pursue an anti-Soviet policy.

After the Soviet-German war began, the struggle of Polish patriots became considerably more active. In September 1941, the left-wing Socialists set up their own organisation, The Polish Socialists. In January 1942, the Marxist-Leninist party was restored deep underground under the name of the Polish Workers' Party. In its policy statement the Polish Workers' Party urged the people to start an armed struggle for their national and social liberation. In May 1942, the first detachments of the Gwardia Ludowa set up by the Communists began armed struggle to liberate their country from the invaders.

At the same time, the Armia Krajowa (Polish Home Army), which had been set up by bourgeois circles in Poland, was waging a struggle not so much against the invaders as against the Communists and other democrats.

The defeat of the Nazi troops at the fronts made it possible for the Polish patriots to step up their armed struggle. In April 1943 a rebellion flared up in the Warsaw ghetto. For two months the Nazis could not quash the rebellion. In the spring of 1943 the 1st Polish Division named after Thaddeus Kosciusko began to be formed in the USSR. In the autumn of 1943 it had already gone into battle against the fascist troops.

By that time, the Polish émigré government had completely discredited itself by its anti-Soviet policy. On April 25, 1943, the Soviet Government broke off diplomatic relations with it. On November 1, 1944, representatives of the Polish Workers' Party, the left-wing Socialists and other democratic organisations signed a manifesto on setting up the Krajowa Rada Narodowa (the National Council of the Country) as the representative organ of the people. On July 21, 1944, the Krajowa Rada Narodowa took a decision

on setting up the Polish Committee of National Liberation as the executive body of the workers' and peasants' revolutionary power. On July 22, the Committee published a manifesto in which it outlined a programme for revolutionary-democratic transformations. As Poland was freed by the Soviet troops this programme was gradually put into effect.

At the concluding stage of the war the emigré circles made every effort to preserve their positions in the country. On March 15, 1944, in counterposition to the Krajowa Rada Narodowa they set up their own body, the Rada Jednosci Narodowoj (the Council of Popular Unity). On August 1, 1944, representatives of the Polish bourgeois émigrés, pursuing their venturesome goals, began an uprising in Warsaw. This uprising was not adequately prepared and the date for the beginning of the uprising had not been agreed upon with the Soviet command. In spite of the anti-popular, anti-democratic designs of the leaders of the uprising, news that it had begun caused a stir among the inhabitants of Warsaw. The Communists and other patriots actively joined in the struggle. Soviet aircraft delivered arms, munitions, foodstuffs and materiel to the Warsaw insurgents. Meanwhile, the fascists sent huge forces against them. The reactionary leaders of the uprising surrendered. The Nazis dealt with the insurgent people extremely savagely. During the uprising nearly 200,000 people perished. Warsaw was almost completely destroyed. After the defeat of the uprising, many Polish patriots became convinced of the anti-popular, venturesome nature of the policy of the bourgeois emigré government.

In these circumstances, the prestige of the Polish Committee of National Liberation, which was transformed into the Provisional Government of Poland, on December 31, 1944, grew even more. The Soviet Union offered all-out support to this government. On April 21, 1945, a treaty was concluded between the USSR and Poland on friendship, mutual assistance and post-war cooperation. It considerably fortified the international position of the new Poland and its Provisional Government. At the beginning of May 1945 the entire territory of Poland was liberated from the invaders. In June 1945, the Provisional Government and the representatives of the emigré circles agreed to set up a Government of National Unity. This move was designed to stabilise the situation in the new Poland.

Czechoslovakia. After the seizure of Czechoslovakia in March 1939 Germany created on its territory the "protectorate of Czechia and Moravia" and the "independent" Slovak state. In response to their national enslavement the Czechoslovak people began to fight against the Nazi German enslavers. In the initial stage the liberation struggle in Czechoslovakia took the form of strikes, demonstrations, and acts of sabotage. The struggle was headed by the working class and its Communist Party.

The big Czechoslovak bourgeoisie and landowners started cooperating with the Germans. However, part of the bourgeoisie took a hostile stand with regard to Germany and set up its own centre abroad, first in France and then in Britain. In July 1940 it formed its government and State Council whose chairman was Eduard Beneš, in London. Soon after Germany attacked the USSR a Soviet-Czechoslovak agreement was signed (on July 18, 1941) on mutual aid and support in the war against Germany. On the basis of this agreement a Czechoslovak military unit commanded by Ludwik Svoboda was formed in the USSR. In the spring of 1942 the first guerrilla detachments emerged in Czechoslovakia. The actions of the Slovak partisans were particularly militant. In order to boost their part in the anti-fascist struggle in the country, on May 27, 1942, the bourgeois émigré circles organised the assassination of Hitler's Governor in Czechoslovakia, Reinhard Heydrich. The German invaders made mass arrests and executions of patriots after this act of terror. On June 10, 1942, they annihilated all the male population of the settlement of Lidice because, they alleged, there were paratroopers hidden there. Among those arrested there were members of the underground leadership of the Communist Party as well.

After the Soviet troops had gained major victories, the émigré government of Czechoslovakia went about strengthening relations with the USSR. On December 12, 1943, a treaty of friendship, mutual assistance, and post-war cooperation between the USSR and Czechoslovakia was signed in Moscow. The development of friendly Soviet-Czechoslovak relations facilitated the consolidation of the unity of all the anti-fascist forces in Czechoslovakia. The bourgeois opposition circles were forced to come to an agreement with the Communist Party on the most vital questions concerning the liberation struggle and the post-war

reconstruction of the state.

In this period the partisan movement became more active. In August 1944, the partisans controlled whole areas in eastern and central Slovakia. Soldiers and officers from the army of the puppet "Slovak state" refused to support the fascist regime. Then the Germans decided to send their own troops into Slovakia. In response to this, on August 29, 1944, an armed national uprising started in Slovakia, in which anti-fascist units of the Slovak army and partisans took part. The rebellion lasted for two months and caused the Nazis great losses. Even after the rebellion had been suppressed, the partisans continued their struggle.

As the Soviet troops freed Czechoslovak territory power there gradually passed into the hands of the national committees which set about implementing democratic reforms. In March 1945, representatives of the bourgeois emigration and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia signed an agreement in Moscow on setting up a National Front of Czechs and Slovaks. The government of the National Front was formed headed by Zdenek Fierlinger and consisted of representatives of the Communist, Social-Democratic, National-Socialist, People's parties and the Slovak National Council. On April 5 in the town of Kosice the programme of the National Front government was made known which envisaged deep-going democratic transformations.

Thus, in the course of the anti-fascist struggle in the country a national-democratic revolution evolved. At the concluding stage of the war the partisan movement became especially active in Czechia and Moravia. On May 5, 1945, a revolutionary liberation rebellion flared up in Prague, to the aid of which Soviet tank formations were urgently sent from Germany. On May 9, the uprising was victorious. The independence and freedom of Czechoslovakia was restored.

Albania. After the occupation of Albania in April 1939 Italy strove not only to subordinate that country's economy to itself but also to involve the Albanian people in the war against Greece. But the Albanians rose in struggle against the Italian invaders. On November 8, 1941, the Communist Party was founded in Albania under whose leadership a mass partisan movement developed. In March 1942 national liberation councils were set up in the liberated regions and took upon themselves the functions of people's power.

On September 16, 1942, at a conference of participants in the anti-fascist struggle the Anti-Fascist National Liberation Front of Albania was formed. The Soviet Union actively supported the struggle of the Albanian patriots. In the declaration of the Soviet Government "On the Independence of Albania" (December 1942) it was stated that it was the right of the Albanian people themselves to decide questions as to what state system should be set up in their country.

In March 1943 at the first conference of the Communist Party a decision was taken to set up a regular army. In July 1943, the partisan detachments were reorganised into the National Liberation Army which established control over a considerable part of the country's territory. After Italy's surrender, German fascist troops marched into Albania. However, the defeat of the German troops on the Soviet front did not allow the Nazis to keep a large number of troops in the occupied territories. Moreover, the threat of the German fascist troops in Greece and Albania being encircled forced Hitler's command to withdraw its troops from the south of the Balkans. By the spring of 1944 the Albanian patriots controlled a considerable part of the country. On May 24, 1944, in the town of Permetz the first Anti-Fascist National Liberation Congress was convened at which the Anti-Fascist National Liberation Committee was formed. On October 20, 1944, this committee was transformed into the Provisional Democratic Government of Albania. In November 1944, the entire territory of Albania was cleared of German troops. The Albanian people was able to restore its independence and begin a popular revolution thanks to the defeat of the fascist states by the Soviet Union and its Allies.

Greece. The Resistance Movement acquired a wide scale in Greece as well. Having proclaimed a policy of neutrality at the beginning of the war, the Greek government began to fortify its northern frontiers in case of aggression on the part of Italy. Italy did indeed begin military operations against Greece on October 28, 1940. The Italian invaders met with active resistance from the Greek people and in November 1940 they were driven out of Greek territory.

But on April 6, 1941, the troops of Hitler Germany invaded Greece and by June 2 they had occupied the whole

country. The King and government of Greece fled the country and settled in Egypt. But the Greek people rose in armed struggle for the freedom and independence of their country.

The vanguard force in the anti-fascist liberation struggle was the working class headed by the Communist Party. On September 27, 1941, the National Liberation Front emerged which consisted of representatives of the Communist, Agrarian, and Socialist parties, the Union of People's Democrats, the trade unions and organisations of youth and office workers. The establishment of the National Liberation Front gave mighty impetus to the liberation anti-fascist struggle in Greece. In December 1941, the leaders of the front took a decision to set up the National Popular Liberation Army (E.L.A.S.). The operations of this army resulted in the liberation of a number of areas of Greece from the invaders and the setting up of the first bodies of people's democratic power there. On March 10, 1944, the National Liberation Front and other organisations founded the Political Committee of National Liberation which began to fulfil the functions of the Provisional Democratic Government. In April 1944, this committee held elections to the National Assembly of Greece. At the session of the National Assembly in May 1944 a decree was adopted on the principles of the country's state system and of the handing over of power in the country to the people. Thus the foundations of a people's democratic state were laid in Greece.

In October 1944 the fascist invaders were driven out of Greece. The emigre government returned to the country and British troops arrived. On December 1, 1944, the order was given for the National Popular Liberation Army to be disbanded. In protest against this, the representatives of the National Liberation Front left the government and organised a 500,000-strong demonstration in Athens. Armed clashes began between the democratic and reactionary forces. On December 5, 1944, British troops began repressive actions against the National Popular Liberation Army. A month later this army left Athens. The troops of the National Popular Liberation Army were soon disbanded. Having eliminated the democratic armed forces, the Greek authorities refused to promise any democratic transformations in the country.

Austria. By the beginning of the Second World War Austria formed a province of Germany. The country's industry and agriculture were turned to the needs of Hitler's war machine. Austria supplied considerable reserves of men for the German fascist army. Opposition to the fascist regime had been abolished in the country. Tens of thousands of democratically-minded Austrians, especially Communists, were sent to concentration camps and many were physically annihilated. One thousand four hundred Communists died at the hands of the Nazis.

In spite of this, an anti-fascist movement did come into being in Austria. The Communist Party played a most active part in it. Partisan groups emerged in a number of places. The participation of other forces in the struggle was negligible. Austria was liberated from fascism mainly by the efforts of the Red Army which entered its territory on March 30, 1945.

The Netherlands. At the beginning of the Second World War the government of the Netherlands occupied a neutral position. But this did not save the country from being captured by the German fascists. On May 10-14, 1940, the Netherlands were occupied by German troops. Hitler's agents were placed in power backed by the fascist party headed by Anton Mussert. Queen Wilhelmina and her government emigrated to Great Britain.

Immediately after the countryhad been occupied, the Communist Party and the other anti-fascist forces began to struggle against the fascist invaders. Military groups were created in different areas of the country to carry out acts of sabotage and punish traitors. Under the leadership of the Communists anti-Hitler strikes were organised. The struggle was particularly stepped up after Germany attacked the USSR. The German fascist authorities began committing acts of savage terror. In 1943, the fascists managed to arrest the majority of the outlawed leaders of the Communist Party, and this led to a weakening of the Resistance Movement. In September 1944, the internal armed forces of the Resistance were set up which were subordinated to the émigré´ government and the Allied command. The armed groups of Communists formed part of these forces. In mid-September 1944, the Allied forces entered the Netherlands. On May 4, 1945, the German fascist troops in the country surrendered.

Belgium. On May 10, 1940, the German fascist invasion of Belgium began which was a neutral country. On May 28 it surrendered. King Leopold III remained in the country and began to collaborate with the Nazis. During the occupation of Belgium the fascist organisations there became more active. The fascists occupied important posts in the state apparatus and in the local bodies of power. The Walloon Legion which was sent to the Soviet-German front, was formed from them. Industry, finance, agriculture, and manpower resources in Belgium were all put at the service of Germany.

The Communist Party which was outlawed on May 10, 1940, became the organiser of the struggle against fascism. The Communists set about organising strikes and sabotage and set up a partisan army numbering 50,000 people. In November 1941, on the initiative of the Communist Party a Front of Independence emerged which united representatives of the various strata of the population. Groups of Soviet partisans operated successfully in Belgium. At the beginning of 1944 they united into the "For the Motherland" brigade. When they entered Belgium the Anglo-American troops received serious help from the members of the Resistance Movement. On September 3, 1944, the detachments of the Resistance began an uprising in Antwerp. By the beginning of February 1945 Belgium was cleared of the invaders. On September 20, 1944, the Belgian parliament elected as regent of the kingdom the brother of Leopold III, Prince Charles. Two Communists were members of the government formed. But the bourgeois parties whose representatives comprised the majority in the government did not support the proposals of the Communist Party to restore the economy, to renovate and democratise the country.

Norway. When the Second World War began Norway declared itself neutral, but on April 9, 1940, the German fascist troops entered Norwegian territory. On June 10 the Norwegian command signed the act of surrender. The Norwegian King Haakon VII and the government of Johan Nygaardsvold emigrated to London and announced that they would continue the struggle against Germany. Then the Germans convened a special session of the Norwegian Storting and on September 10, 1940, compelled the deputies to

vote for the abdication of the King and the resignation of the émigré government. All the political parties, except the fascist party headed by Vidkun Quisling were disbanded. On February 1, 1942, Quisling formed the "national" government which became the mainstay of the German invaders in the country.

The patriotic forces in the country did not give in to the German invaders. Outlawed, the Communists set up resistance groups in the towns and cities and organised strikes and sabotage at enterprises. In northern Norway they got together small partisan detachments and carried out military operations against the invaders. The partisan detachments in northern Norway helped the Red Army when it entered the country in October 1944. However, owing to the ruthless terror exercised by the Nazis the Communists and their organisations were seriously bled white.

During the war the part of the Norwegian bourgeoisie which was opposed to the invaders set up their own organisations which bided their time. In the autumn of 1943 all the bourgeois groups merged to form the Front of the Motherland. On May 7, 1945, the German troops in Norway surrendered. In this situation, the bourgeois military organisation "Milorg" occupied all the important strategic points in the country, ensuring the preservation of the capitalist system in Norway.

Denmark. On April 9, 1940, the neutrality of Denmark which had been declared before the war was violated by Germany. The Danish government did not put up any resistance to the invaders and appealed to the people of their country to behave accordingly. All the bourgeois parties and the Social-Democratic Party accepted the occupation as an inevitable evil. After Germany attacked the USSR, the ruling circles in Denmark broke off diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, joined the Anti-Comintem Pact and even sent volunteers to fight against the USSR. Only the Communist Party began the struggle against the fascist invaders and in the winter of 1940-1941 set up the first illegal group. From the autumn of 1941 armed groups of Communists began to emerge. In February 1942, they united into a single organisation called the Communists-partisans. The members of the Resistance Movement carried out acts of sabotage and subversion. In

August 1943 anti-Hitler protests occurred in a number of places in Denmark which turned into spontaneous uprisings of town dwellers.

Striving to prevent the development of the rebel movement, the invaders declared a state of emergency in the country on August 29, 1943, and put an end to the activity of the Danish government. But this only boosted the Resistance Movement. At the beginning of September 1943, its members set up their own control centre, the Council of Freedom, consisting of six people among whom there was one Communist. The general strike and uprising in Copenhagen at the end of June 1944 was a major event in the Resistance Movement. On May 5, 1945, the German troops in Denmark surrendered and the war period came to an end for the country.

5. The Neutral Countries of Europe

Sweden. At the beginning of the Second World War Sweden declared itself neutral but did, nevertheless, carry out partial mobilisation.

In the first half of the war Swedish neutrality was of an obviously pro-German nature. Sweden rendered great material and military-economic aid to Germany's ally, Finland, in the form of deliveries of foodstuffs, clothing, strategic materials, money and also a batallion of Swedish volunteers which fought on the Hanko peninsula and on the Leningrad front. After the war took a different turn, Sweden made attempts to restore ties with Britain and the USA. In August 1943, Sweden annulled the agreement on transit with Germany and in September signed a trade agreement with Britain and the USA. But. right up until September 1944 Sweden continued to trade with Germany. This situation provided Germany with the opportunity to exploit Sweden's economic resources.

The political situation in the country was marked by the increasing activity of reactionary elements, and the onslaught on the rights of the Communists. But reaction was unable to stifle the voice of the Communist Party. At the elections in the country in 1942 and 1944 the Communists increased their number of representatives in the elected bodies, and the Social-Democrats, who, headed the government, lost

part of the votes. This reflected the dissatisfaction of the workers with the home and foreign policy of Sweden's government.

Switzerland. Switzerland declared itself neutral right before the war. At the same time, the Swiss authorities carried out a series of measures restricting the constitutional rights of the country's population. On November 27, 1940, the activity of the Communist Party and its printed organs were banned. In accordance with emergency laws, freedom of assembly, demonstrations and other democratic rights were cancelled.

In the international arena Switzerland manoeuvred between the two warring groupings. For a long time, the ruling circles in the country tended towards a pro-German policy. Swiss firms delivered arms, ammunition, vehicles, and other industrial goods to Germany. Germany obtained electricity, and loans of more than 1,000 million francs from Switzerland and used Swiss railways to transport troops and materiel to Italy and vice versa.

The intelligence services of Germany, Italy, the USA and Britain functioned on the territory of Switzerland. When the war ended, fascist war criminals obtained refuge there.

The government of Switzerland began to forge closer ties with the countries of the anti-fascist coalition. In October 1944 it applied to the USSR with a proposal to restore diplomatic relations. However, taking into account Switzerland's pro-Hitler orientation in that period, the Soviet government rejected this proposal. Diplomatic relations between the USSR and Switzerland were only restored in 1946, after the Swiss government had acknowledged the erroneousness of its former policy and had also satisfied the Soviet demand to repatriate from Switzerland Soviet citizens who had fled from fascist captivity. The war brought large incomes to the Swiss capitalists and increased the concentration and centralisation of the economy.

6. The Countries of Asia and Africa

During the Second World War the national liberation movement was given fresh impetus in Asia and Af-

rica. The working class, the peasantry, the national bourgeoisie and all the patriotic strata of the population joined in the liberation struggle. The peoples of China, Indochina, Burma, Malaya, and Indonesia fought energetically against the Japanese invaders. The national liberation movement became more vigorous in India and the countries of the Arab world. The peoples of Africa were also awakened to struggle. The communist parties pursued the most consistent course in the national liberation movement, and their influence grew considerably. During the war communist parties emerged in Burma, Iran, and Ceylon. The national liberation struggle undermined the domination of the imperialists in the dependent countries and further aggravated the crisis of the colonial system.

The Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union against fascist Germany and its allies radically changed the international situation and opened up prospects for crushing the reactionary militarist regimes in the states of the fascist bloc, including Japan.

Japan. Preparing for a large-scale war, the ruling circles of Japan established a militarist-fascist regime in the country and eliminated the vestiges of bourgeois democracy. All the political parties and trade unions were outlawed. The reactionary bourgeois-landowner circles united into the Imperial Rule Assistance Association. At enterprises and institutions "societies for serving the homeland through production" were set up into which more than 5,000,000 workers were drawn. The exploitation of the working people drastically increased. The working day at enterprises was as much as fourteen hours. Economic life in the country was completely subordinated to war needs.

Any manifestation of opposition within the country was severely suppressed. The workers' movement was actually liquidated, and strikes were regarded as a crime against the state. Thousands of representatives of the workers and progressive organisations were imprisoned. In May 1942, the Political Association to Aid the Throne was set up which consisted of the majority of deputies from Parliament, and the upper crust of the bourgeois parties which had been dissolved in 1940. This was done to demonstrate the "unity" of the Japanese nation in conducting military ventures.

In the summer of 1942 Japan's advance on the fronts of war was halted. The USA and Britain became increasingly involved in military operations in the Pacific. This was particularly facilitated by the victory of the armed forces of the Soviet Union in the clash with the German fascist troops. The national liberation movement of peoples against the Japanese invaders also became more active. The growing difficulties at the fronts caused the internal political situation in Japan to worsen. In September 1943 and February 1944 Hideki Tojo twice reorganised his government but in July 1944 he resigned. The government of General Kumaki Koiso was formed which consisted of representatives of the main political parties that had earlier been disbanded. But there was no tendency towards liberal changes in the country at all. Japan strove in every possible way to prolong the war and force the USA and Britain to sign peace with honour.

After the USSR had denounced the Pact on Neutrality in April 1945, owing to Japan's systematic violation of it, the Koiso government resigned and was replaced by the Cabinet of Admiral Suzuki who did not, however, make any substantial changes in the country's policy. When after the defeat of fascist Germany the governments of the powers warring with Japan demanded the latter's unconditional surrender, the Japanese government rejected this demand. The barbaric American atomic bomb attacks on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, which did not ensue from any kind of military necessity, did not hasten the end of the war to any decisive extent. After the armed forces of the Soviet Union, which had entered the war against Japan on August 9, 1945, defeated the Japanese Kwan tung Army in Manchuria, Japan was forced to cease military operations and sign the act of unconditional surrender on September 2, 1945.

Mongolia. By 1940, socialist forms of economy had already been created and developed in People's Mongolia, a working class had taken shape and quite a few achievements had been gained in economic and cultural construction. The Tenth Congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party in March 1940 summed up the results of non-capitalist development in the country and set the task of liquidating the vestiges of feudalism and preparing the

material base for laying the foundations of a socialist system. Mongolia moved from the democratic to the socialist stage of revolution.

In June 1940 the Eighth Great People's Khural adopted the new Constitution of the Mongohan People's Republic. The Constitution states: "The Mongolian People's Republic is an independent state of working people (arat cattle breeders, workers, and intelligentsia) who have done away with imperialist and feudal oppression and have provided a non-capitalist path of development for the country for the future transition to socialism."

The Second World War delayed the construction of the material base of socialism in the Mongolian People's Republic. The country's entire economy was reorganised on military lines for the purpose of helping the USSR in the Great Patriotic War. On June 22, 1941, the leading organs in the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and the Mongohan People's Repubhc adopted a declaration on complete support for the Soviet Union in its struggle against the fascist aggressors. During the war the Mongolian working people collected and sent to the aid fund of the Red Army 53,500,000 tugriks, built the "Revolutionary Mongolia" tank column and the "Mongohan Arat" air squadron; it delivered to the USSR 445,000 horses, including more than 30,000 as a gift. In 1943, a Mongolian delegation headed by Marshal Choibalsan visited the Soviet-German front to hand over the tank column to the Soviet Army. Trainloads of gifts for the Soviet warriors were dispatched from Mongolia five times.

At the concluding stage of the war, on August 10, 1945, the Mongohan People's Repubhc declared war on Japan and sent an 80,000-strong Mongolian army to take part in the hostilities. The Soviet soldiers and Mongohan troops defeated the Japanese Kwantung Army. Thus, the Mongolian People's Repubhc made its contribution to the defeat of the fascist aggressors.

China. When the Second World War broke out in Europe, the Chinese people had been putting up resistance to the Japanese aggressor for the third year running. The ruling circles of Japan saw the main danger to their expansionist plans with regard to China in the Chinese people's armies against which they sent considerable forces. At the same

time, they wished to induce the Kuomintang circles to collaborate with them. At the end of January 1940 the Japanese proposed that their puppets in North and East China should set up a central government of the Chinese Republic with Nanking as its focal point. On March 30, the setting up of this government was announced with Wang Jingwei at its head. Eight months later Japan signed a declaration with Manzhou Guo and the so-called Chinese Republic on "mutual respect" for sovereignty and territorial integrity. At the same time a treaty was signed between them according to which Japan retained its troops in the captured territories of China and established freedom of entrepreneurial activity for the Japanese. This meant that these territories became a Japanese colony.

Besides, Japan sent more than half of its troops in China against the liberated regions. The Chinese people's armies (the 8th and the New 4th) headed by the Communists, with a total number of up to 500,000 men, put great effort into halting the aggressor's offensive. The territory of the areas liberated by the people's armies included 150 district centres in North, Central and South China by the end of 1940. Some 100 million people lived on the liberated territory. However, as a result of the onslaught undertaken by the Japanese at the end of January 1941, some of the liberated territories were lost with a total population of up to 50 million.

The Kuomintang government headed by Chiang Kai-shek, which had refused to collaborate openly with the Japanese, essentially helped them in the struggle against the liberated areas. The Kuomintang troops attacked the liberated areas and dealt blows at units of the people's armies.

In 1941-1942, the territory of the liberated areas diminished. In July 1943, the 600,000-strong Kuomintang Army launched an offensive on the Shanxi-Gansu-Ningxia region. At the same time, Chiang Kai-shek's government pursued a policy of passive resistance with regard to the Japanese. The Japanese dealt a series of telling blows at the Kuomintang troops in 1944.

In those difficult days for China the Soviet Union rendered great help to the Chinese people. Beginning with 1937, fighting China received aircraft, tanks, artillery, ammunition and means of transport, fuel and other materials as well as the necessary credits from the USSR. Soviet

military advisers and volunteer pilots helped China in its struggle against the foreign enemy from 1937 onwards. The tremendous aid rendered by the first socialist country inspired in the Chinese people a belief in their own forces and helped them in fighting the war against Japan. In 1941-1945, the Soviet men and women at the fronts of the Great Patriotic War were also forging victory for the Chinese people.

The radical turning point in the Second World War achieved mainly thanks to the efforts of the Soviet Union eased the lot of the Chinese people and allowed its patriotic forces to step up their struggle against the Japanese.

The defeat of the Japanese Kwantung Army by the Soviet troops allowed the people's armies to liberate more areas. The Soviet Union supplied the people's armies of China with weapons taken from the Japanese in Manchuria. Thus, the foundations were laid for a people's revolution in China.

Indochina. From the beginning of the Second World War the liberation movement of the peoples of Indochina became ever more vigorous. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indochina pursued a course in 1939 aimed at developing an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution and setting up a Democratic Republic of Indochina. In 1940, after France's surrender, when the Japanese occupation of Indochina began, the popular masses twice rose in an uprising. But both times the colonialists suppressed the rebellion. Experience in struggle dictated the need to unite all the anti-imperialist forces. On May 19, 1941, thanks to the efforts of the Communists, the League of Independent Vietnam (Vietminh League) was set up, in which representatives of the workers, peasants, and national bourgeoisie and patriotic landowners were united under the leadership of the Communist Party.

During the Second World War the armed liberation struggle in Indochina also expanded. The Vietnamese patriots formed a revolutionary army and freed a considerable part of North Vietnam, creating a Liberated Area. The Vietminh put forward a programme for setting up a democratic republic, and made preparations for a nation-wide uprising in the country. The defeat of the armies of imperialist Japan by the Soviet armed forces was of decisive

help to the peoples of Indochina as well. On August 13, 1945, the Communist Party of Indochina adopted a decision on an armed uprising, which began on August 19. On September 2, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam was proclaimed in Hanoi and a government headed by Ho Chi Minh was formed. A people's anti-imperialist national liberation revolution was carried out in Vietnam.

Korea. The anti-Japanese struggle intensified in Korea as well. The Society for Revival of the Homeland, set up in 1936 on the territory of North-East China, organised guerrilla detachments on the territory of North Korea. They carried out small military operations, and did political work among the population. The workers in the towns organised strikes, set up underground committees to prepare for an armed uprising and arranged explosions and fires on military and other important sites. Riots also swept the peasantry. In 1941, there were almost five thousand rent conflicts. In 1942-1945, there was popular unrest in Korea which undermined the position of the Japanese invaders. The defeat of the forces of Japanese militarism in Korea in 1945, in which a decisive part was played by the Soviet Union, finally put an end to Japanese colonial domination in Korea.

India. The national liberation struggle had its own peculiarities in India. The various strata of the Indian population took different attitudes to the war. The leaders of the Indian National Congress party did not wish to render aid to Britain in the war as the British were India's oppressors. On September 14, 1939, in a special resolution the National Congress announced that it would only support Britain in the war if the latter would immediately set up a government in India responsible to the institution of representatives of the nation formed by elections and would promise to grant India independence after the war. The British government rejected this proposal. But in view of the growing anti-British movement the Vice-Roy of India announced on January 10, 1940, that Great Britain was prepared to grant India the status of a dominion after the war. The national forces in India were not satisfied with this and in October 1940, on the appeal of Mohandas Gandhi, began a campaign of civil disobedience. The colonial authorities responded to

this with severe repressions. Twenty-five to thirty thousand members of the National Congress, including all its leaders, were arrested.

The Moslem League put forward a demand that India should be divided into two states, Pakistan and Hindustan. This served as an impediment to setting up a single front of the Indian National Congress and the League. The Communist Party of India fought to turn the war into a popular national liberation war, for the Indian people to join in the struggle against fascism and Japanese militarism. In 1942, the Communist Party of India was made legal. The Communists insistently tried to achieve the unity of all the national forces into a single front to create a national government of independent India.

Indonesia. The national liberation struggle enveloped Indonesia as well. The Japanese invaders were able to occupy Indonesia fairly rapidly and easily, for the Dutch colonial troops were demoralised, and the democratic organisations, including the Communist Party, were weakened by the repressions meted out by the Dutch authorities. However, the Indonesian people were not prepared to put up with Japanese oppression. Back in 1942 the activity of the organisation, the Anti-Fascist Popular Movement, and other organisations became more vigorous. The struggle of the workers' and student organisations became increasingly energetic. One of these, the Young Generation,held a conference in Bandung in May 1945, which urged the popular masses to struggle for the country's independence. Japan's defeat in the war caused all the progressive forces to rise in a resolute struggle. On August 15, 1945, the fighters for independence proposed that the leader of the pre-war National Party, Ahmed Sukarno, should declare Indonesia's independence. Thus, the national-democratic anti-imperialist August Revolution began in Indonesia.

Philippines. The Japanese invaders in the Philippines met with decisive resistance on the part of the national forces. The country's Communist Party headed the anti-Japanese struggle. In February 1942, on its initiative the National Anti-Japan United Front emerged which rallied representatives of the workers, peasants, students and believers. The guerrilla detachments under the leadership of the Na-

tional Front united into the People's Anti-Japan Army. The People's Army dealt telling blows at the Japanese invaders. In the areas liberated by it people's committees were set up which carried out democratic reforms. In October 1944 US troops landed in the Philippines. One of their first acts was to arrest the leaders of the People's Army. The American ruling circles counted on restoring their domination in the Philippines. However, the popular masses protested against American violence and demanded that an independent democratic Republic of the Philippines should be proclaimed. American imperialism had to retreat. The independent Republic of the Philippines was proclaimed.

Burma. The Japanese invaders made various manoeuvres to retain the territories conquered by them. Thus in Burma they assisted in setting up the Burma Independence Army headed by Aung San, hoping to use it in their own interests. However, the popular masses in the country did not wish to be an obedient tool for the invaders. In 1944, Aung San headed the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League which included the Communist Party, the trade unions, the peasant and other national organisations. On the appeal of the League in March 1945 an anti-Japanese uprising began in Burma which helped the British to drive the Japanese out of Burma. The Burmese patriots not only fought against J apanese oppression but against the British yoke as well.

An anti-japan army of the peoples of Malaya headed by the Communists was formed from individual guerrilla detachments. It consisted of Malayans, Chinese and Indians. By 1945 this army had liberated a number of towns and cities.

The Countries of the Arab World. In the countries of the Arab world (some of which were the arena of military operations during the Second World War) the patriotic forces took an active part in the anti-fascist and anti-imperialist movements.

During the war the territory of Egypt, its army and material resources were used by Britain for carrying out military operations against the German and Italian troops in Libya. The pro-fascist elements in Egypt intended to carry out a coup d'état and kept up contacts with Germany. In February 1942, on the demand of the British, King

Faruk of Egypt included in his government the Wafdists headed by Mustafa el Nahas, who waged the struggle against the pro-fascist elements. The Wafdists collaborated with Britain when the fascist troops invaded Egypt. Closer to the end of the war they began to demand complete independence for the country more insistently and that the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936 should be revised. In view of this on October 8, 1944, the Wafdist government was replaced by a coalition government headed by the leader of the Saad, Ahmed Maher Pasha.

In Syria which was a colony of France the dictatorial power of the French military was established in August 1930. After France's surrender Syria was under the control of the Vichy administration. In these circumstances the national liberation movement in Syria became more vigorous. Clashes began with the French troops. On July 8, 1941, British troops and Free France detachments entered Syria. On September 27, 1941, General Georges Catroux who commanded the Free France units announced that Syria was granted independence and sovereignty. In the early days, however, the situation in Syria hardly changed at all. It was only in 1943 that the democratic forces in the country succeeded in restoring the constitutional regime and held elections at which the National Patriotic Alliance won. Shukri el-Quwatli was elected the country's president. From January 1, 1944, main administrative functions in Syria were handed over to the Syrian government. Syria established diplomatic relations with the USSR and in February 1945 declared war on Germany and Japan.

In Lebanon the situation was approximately the same as in Syria. On November 26, 1941, General Catroux announced that Lebanon had been granted independence. However, the British authorities intended to turn Lebanon into their colony. In November 1943 a conflict occurred in Lebanon between the national forces and the occupation authorities owing to the refusal of the Lebanese government to recognise Lebanon to be a mandated country. As the liberation movement gathered in strength, the French authorities had to make concessions. November 22, 1943, was Independence Day for Lebanon. In 1944 diplomatic relations were established between Lebanon and the USSR. On February 6, 1945, Lebanon announced a state of war with Germany and Japan.

Iraq, which was under the domination of British imperialism, broke off diplomatic relations with Germany right from the very beginning of the Second World War. At the same time, the reactionary government of Nuri Said stepped up its persecution of people opposing British domination. But the growth of the opposition to British rule resulted, on April 1, 1940, in the formation of a coalition government headed by the opposition leader Gilani, with Nuri Said holding the post of Minister of Foreign Affairs. The new government did not stay in power for long, however. On February 1, 1941 a pro-British government headed by General Taha al-Hashimi was formed which began to suppress the opposition. In response to this the opposition raised the troops loyal to it and on April 1, 1941, seized Bagdad; two days later it announced the establishment of its power throughout the country. However, the British troops and the detachments of Iraqi reaction put down this uprising by the end of May 1941. From that time on right up to 1947 Iraq was occupied by British troops. Reaction in the country gained in strength. The rights of the House of Deputies were greatly restricted. The difficult condition of the working people forced them to protest against the national and foreign exploiters. Besides the protests of the workers and peasants, unrest flared up among the Kurds (a people living in Iraq and in some neighbouring countries).

The government of Nuri Said which was in power from October 9, 1941, ruthlessly suppressed the class and national struggle within the country. It did not take an active part in the fight against the fascist powers. However, in January 1943, Iraq officially declared war on Germany and Italy and in August 1944 it exchanged diplomatic missions with the USSR.

After France's defeat at the first stage of the Second World War, Algeria was under the control of the puppet Vichy government and its resources were used by the bloc of fascist states. However, the patriotic anti-fascist forces in the country protested against their new lords. In November 1942 Anglo-American troops entered Algeria, while in the second half of 1943 power there was taken over by De Gaulle's administration. At this time, the national forces became more active in the struggle to gain the status of an autonomous republic for Algeria. But De Gaulle was opposed to this demand. The anti-colonial uprising in Algeria

in May 1945 was cruelly quelled by the French troops.

Tunisia which initially found itself under the administration of the Vichy government was occupied by the Italian and German troops in November 1942. The patriotic forces, first and foremost the Communists, began an active struggle against the invaders. In May 1943 the fascist troops were driven out of Tunisia and De Gaulle's administration established its control there.

Morocco (its Atlantic seaboard) was the arena of military operations in 1942-1943. In this period a Communist Party was formed in the country (1943) and the Istiqlal Party (December 1943-January 1944), which championed the country's independence. In January 1944 the leaders of the Istiqlal Party published a manifesto on the independence of Morocco.

On the whole, the liberation movement became more active in the Arab countries of North Africa during the war under the impact of the victories attained by the Soviet Union and the other anti-fascist forces.

The Countries of Tropical and South Africa. Tropical and South Africa were not affected by the military operations. But during the war the colonial powers, primarily Britain, increased the exports of raw materials and foodstuffs from the countries of Africa. Concurrently, the fascist bloc strove to further its penetration into the African countries. The United States of America also pursued this aim. The American monopolies stepped up their penetration into a number of countries in Africa, in particular, the Belgian Congo. During the war the USA sent contingents of troops to Congo. Britain sent its troops into the Italian colonies and also into part of the territory of Ethiopia.

The demand for strategic raw materials for the warring states accelerated the development of a number of branches of the economy in the African states. The output of non-ferrous metals, and the extraction of chrome, manganese and copper ore, diamonds and so forth increased. Branches of the manufacturing industry also developed rapidly. In agriculture the production of foodcrops and livestock breeding was expanded. The colonial authorities obtained the raw materials and foodstuffs from the African countries for a song, dooming the broad working masses to hunger and poverty. During the war many thousands

of Africans died of hunger.

The development of the economy, especially industry, led to the growth of the working class, swelled the urban population and undermined the feudal and semi-feudal systems. A national bourgeoisie was formed. Some of the Africans were either in the army or were deported as manpower to Europe. There were more than one million Africans in the armies of the countries of the anti-fascist coalition. Hundreds of thousands were engaged in various types of work. All this helped to awaken class consciousness in the African population.

During the war there were more and more protests by the workers, peasants and national bourgeoisie in Africa. There were strikes in Kenya, Tanganyika, and Uganda. In a number of countries (Gold Coast, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Kenya), trade unions came into being. The economic struggle gradually began to turn into a political one spearheaded against the domination of the colonialists. The colonial authorities ruthlessly suppressed the workers' protests. They carried out sanguinary reprisals against the strikers in Northern Rhodesia and the Belgian Congo. Simultaneously, the foreign imperialists were also forced to make some concessions. Trade union rights were acknowledged in Kenya, British West Africa, and French West Africa. However, the colonialists rejected in every possible way the demands by the patriotic forces that the independence of the African countries should be recognised. At best, they promised to carry out constitutional reforms in them, having created bodies of local self-government. Nevertheless, the participation of the African peoples in the efforts of the anti-fascist powers in the war helped to further incite Africa to struggle for its freedom and independence.

7. The Countries of Latin America

During the Second World War the struggle of the imperialist powers for influence in Latin America became ever more fierce. Germany managed to turn the Latin American countries into its sphere of influence. The Italian and Japanese imperialists wished to gain a share, too. For Britain the main task consisted in preserving its existing positions in this region. The United States decided to take advantage

of the situation to establish its own exclusive domination throughout the Western Hemisphere.

The USA set the task of setting up a regional association of American states under its aegis. For this purpose meetings of their foreign ministers were convened regularly. The first meeting took place in September-October 1939 in Panama, where the General Declaration on the Neutrality of the American Republics and the Panama Declaration were adopted. The second meeting was held in July 1940 in Havana where the Havana Declaration was adopted. This declaration proclaimed the right of the American states to occupy the possessions of European countries in the Western Hemisphere should the threat arise of their being seized by another, non-American, state.

When it entered the Second World War, the USA tried to involve in it the Latin American states, too. In December 1941, the countries of the West Indies and Central America declared war on the fascist bloc. In subsequent years Mexico, Brazil, Bolivia, Colombia, and other countries of Latin America declared war on the Axis powers. It was not until the beginning of 1945 that Chile and Argentina declared war on the fascist states.

The USA took advantage of the war to squeeze its competitors, Germany, Japan and Italy, out of Latin America and to seriously jostle Britain. The American imperialists increased their capital investments in the countries of Latin America, expanded trade with them and obtained strategic raw materials and foodstuffs from them and enhanced their political and ideological influence there. In February 1945 an Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace was convened in Mexico. At this conference the USA managed to get the Clayton Plan approved which was aimed at the complete subordination of the economies of the Latin American countries to its own interests. At that same time the Act of Chapultepec was adopted which in the guise of demagogic slogans on the solidarity of the American peoples, their right to sovereignty and so forth opened up the way for the United States to set up a military-political bloc of the American countries.

However, the anti-imperialist processes in Latin America also became more marked during the war. The curtailment of imports of industrial goods helped the national industries to develop. On the other hand, the growth in deliveries of

goods to the warring countries led to the accumulation of gold and currency reserves. In a number of countries new industries began to develop, including heavy industry. The working class swelled, the communist parties and trade unions gained in strength, and the national bourgeoisie formed. On this basis, the anti-imperialist movement became more active. In a number of countries the dictatorial regimes were abolished (Ecuador, Guatemala, Salvador). The progressive forces started a movement of solidarity with the Soviet Union, and money, medicaments, and foodstuffs were collected for the Soviet people and its army. Trade, cultural and political contacts began to be forged between the Latin American countries and the USSR. During the war Cuba, Mexico, Uruguay, Colombia, Costa-Rica, Chile, Venezuela, Guatemala, Brazil, and other countries established diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. The expanding relations with the Soviet Union consolidated the positions of the anti-imperialist forces in the Latin American states.

Mexico. At the beginning of the Second World War in Mexico the Lazaro Cárdenas government was in office which pursued a progressive home and foreign policy. On September 4, 1939, it declared Mexico's neutrality in the war.

During the war US influence in Mexico intensified. In March 1941, an agreement on cooperation in the struggle against the fascist powers was signed by the two countries. In December 1941, Mexico broke off diplomatic relations with the fascist states and on May 22, 1942, it declared a state of war with the Axis countries. A Mexican air squadron fought in the battles in the Pacific as part of the US airforce. In November 1942, diplomatic relations were restored between Mexico and the Soviet Union, which undoubtedly helped to activate the anti-fascist struggle of the Mexican people.

Argentina. Argentina declared its neutrality in the war on September 4, 1939. This stand taken by the ruling classes of Argentina was calculated to obtain big profits from trade with both the warring groupings. When the Soviet Union and then the United States entered the war, the democratic public demanded ever more insistently that Argentina

should join the coalition of anti-fascist powers and declare war on the Axis powers. In August 1941, the General Confederation of Working People of Argentina staged a strike of solidarity with the USSR and its allies. The trade unions allocated resources in aid to the Soviet people. The Tenth Congress of the Communist Party of Argentina (November 1941) advanced the task of achieving national anti-fascist unity. The participants in the congress demanded that Argentina should join the anti-fascist coalition.

On June 4, 1943, a "group of united officers", who represented the reactionary nationalistic army circles, carried out a military coup. Many thousands of fighters for democracy were thrown into prisons and concentration camps. However, owing to the radical turning point in the Second World War, a new president came to power in 1944, and there was some change in the country's foreign policy. On January 26, 1944, Argentina broke off diplomatic relations with Germany and Japan.

The country's new leaders asserted control over a number of foreign companies, expropriated some American companies and implemented incentive measures to develop national industry. The agrarian question began to be solved in part, and reforms were carried out in the social sphere. The vigorous protests of the working class compelled the government to partially restore constitutional rights. The Communist Party came out from underground. On March 25, 1945, the government of Argentina declared war on Germany and Japan. Later that year, Argentina attended the United Nations Conference in San Francisco.

Brazil. On the eve of the war the government of the dictator Vargas was in power in Brazil. On September 2, 1939, he announced the country's neutrality, also reckoning on obtaining profits from trade with both the warring groupings. From mid-1941, Brazil was drawn into a military alliance with the USA. Back in January 1941, it had broken off diplomatic relations with the fascist states, and on August 22 of that year it declared war on Germany and Italy.

During the war the USA managed to conclude a number of military and economic agreements with Brazil, under which American military bases were set up on the territory of Brazil and US troops stationed there. Brazil did, more-

over, regularly supply the USA with strategic raw materials. As Brazil's economy developed, increasing American capital investments were made in it.

Within the country the Vargas government made partial concessions to the working people in the economic sphere, but simultaneously suppressed the democratic movement. In spite of this, the movement of anti-fascist solidarity with the Soviet Union expanded in Brazil. From 1943 protests against the dictatorial regime established by Vargas became more and more vigorous. In February 1945, under the pressure exerted by the democratic movement, Vargas renounced his dictatorial rights and promised to reinstate elected bodies in the country. In April 1945, an amnesty was announced for political prisoners. At that time, the government of Brazil established diplomatic relations'with the USSR. In May 1945, the activity of political parties was permitted. The Communist Party came out from underground and resumed its activities. In the conditions created by the defeat of international fascism and the upsurge in the democratic liberation movement, the Brazilian people managed to get bourgeois-democratic freedoms restored in the country.

Chile. At the beginning of the Second World War, the Popular Front government was in power in Chile whose goal was to fight for national independence. American imperialism and Chilean reaction strove to abolish this government and re-establish the power of the latifundistas and industrialists, who were linked with foreign capital. The reactionary forces put great effort into preventing the Popular Front's programme from being implemented and into splitting the front itself and tried to get the Communist Party excluded from it. These actions undermined the unity of the Popular Front, and at the beginning of 1941 it ceased to exist.

Germany's attack on the USSR caused the anti-fascist movement in the country to be activated and promoted the struggle to establish diplomatic relations between Chile and the USSR, to renounce the policy of neutrality, and to join the anti-fascist coalition. In November 1941, presidential elections were held in Chile, in the course of which the progressive forces formed the Democratic Alliance (Communists, Socialists, Democrats, Radicals, trade unions)

and succeeded in getting their candidate, Juan Antonio Rios, elected. In 1943, the Rios government, underpressure from the democratic circles, broke off relations with the fascist powers. On December 11, 1944, diplomatic relations were established between Chile and the USSR. At the beginning of April 1945, the Chilean government declared war on Japan.

Cuba. From the beginning of the Second World War the struggle between the forces of reaction and democracy in Cuba became ever more acute. Under pressure from the working masses, on July 5, 1940, the new Constitution of the Cuban Republic was adopted in which basic bourgeois-democratic freedoms were proclaimed. The Constitution proclaimed the social rights of the workers (the right to strike, to organise trade unions, an eight-hour working day). The government was forced to promise an agrarian reform.

In December 1941, Cuba declared war on the fascist states. Its resources were placed at the service of the USA. A movement of solidarity with the USSR evolved in Cuba and committees on aid to the Soviet people and the other peoples fighting against fascism were set up. On October 14, 1942, diplomatic relations were established between Cuba and the USSR. The Cuban Communists (from 1944 to 1961 the Communist Party was called the People's Socialist Party of Cuba) steadfastly defended the interests of the working people and supported the demands of the working masses that the country should help the powers in the anti-fascist coalition. They supported the progressive measures taken by Cuba's governments and fought against the reactionary elements, who were trying to push these governments to the right. Thanks to the activity of the Communists, important democratic rights and reforms were achieved and the way was prepared for the Cuban people's subsequent struggle.

The Outcome of the Second World War

The Second World War, which lasted six years, ended in the victory of the anti-fascist coalition. Sixty-one states, in which 80 per cent of the world's population lived, participated in the war. Military operations were carried out on the territories of 40 states. During the war an army of 110 million people was mobilised. More than three million of the civilian population took part in the armed anti-fascist struggle. More than 50 million people were killed, 12 million annihilated in fascist concentration camps, and 95 million were left invalids. The military spending of the states that fought in the war came to 1,117,000 million dollars.

The main burden of the war was shouldered by the Soviet Union, whose part was decisive in defeating the fascist aggressors. During the war the Soviet troops destroyed, took prisoner or put completely out of operation 507 German divisions and 100 divisions of Germany's European allies. More than ten million enemy men and officers were killed, taken prisoner or wounded on the Soviet-German front. On the other fronts, in the battles with the Anglo-American forces, Germany lost only 150 divisions and approximately 1,900,000 men and officers.

Its own losses are also evidence of the decisive contribution made by the Soviet people. The USSR lost over 20 million people in the war. Soviet society and the country's economy suffered tremendous damage owing to the destruc-

tion. The sums spent for military purposes, the value of the dislocated and destroyed wealth and the losses of income from industry and agriculture amounted to two trillion 569,000 million roubles. The losses sustained by the other powers were immeasurably less. Thus, throughout the war only 405,000 US citizens and 375,000 Britons were killed.

Bourgeois authors affirm that the war was allegedly won owing to the economic potential of the USA and Great Britain and the fact that they sent supplies to the Soviet Union. Munition production in the USA and Britain did, indeed, reach tremendous volumes. But the bulk of it was not used in military operations, and munition supplies to the Soviet Union were negligible. The war was won by the Soviet Union mainly using arms produced by Soviet working people. Thus, throughout the war the Allies supplied the Soviet state with 9,000 pieces of ordnance, 18,000 aircraft, and 10,000 tanks, while in the Soviet Union throughout that period 489,000 pieces of ordnance, 112,000 aircraft, and more than 102,000 tanks were produced. The deliveries of provisions to the USSR from the USA and Canada were undoubtedly of positive significance, but the task of supplying the Red Army and the whole country with foodstuffs was in the main also solved by the efforts of the Soviet people itself. At the same time, the war and labour effort of the Soviet people allowed the USA and Britain to avoid all the horrors, disasters, destruction and deaths that fascist aggression brought with it. The victory in the war was the world-historic service that the Soviet Union did for mankind.

In the fierce fight with fascism the Soviet people defended the freedom and independence of its Motherland and consolidated its economic, political and military might. The war proved the superiority of the USSR's social and state system, and confirmed the vitality and force of Marxist-Leninist ideology.

In defeating the fascist hordes, the Soviet people and its army rendered tremendous assistance to the peoples of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary, Austria, Denmark, Norway and other countries in driving out the German fascist invaders and restoring independence to their countries. In general, as a result of the victory of the USSR and its Allies, 25 countries in Eu-

rope, Asia, and Africa were liberated from complete or partial occupation by the fascist aggressors.

The Soviet Union's victory helped to eliminate the fascist systems established in Europe by the invaders. With Soviet help the peoples of Germany, Italy, and Japan were liberated from fascist and militaristic tyranny.

The struggle against fascism was already being waged by progressive forces throughout the world from the 1920s onwards, and, moreover, the most active and the most consistent fighters against fascism were invariably the Communists. This struggle was a fight against fascist aggression and reaction and culminated in the victory in 1945. The vital task of the world communist movement, that of rebuffing fascism, had been accomplished.

The Second World War led to the further deepening of the general crisis of capitalism. It not only relatively weakened the positions of capitalism in the world, but also resulted in an essential change in the balance of forces between the capitalist countries. The share of British, French, Dutch and Belgian imperialism in the economy of the capitalist world has diminished. At the same time, the American monopoly corporations made huge profits during the war, and US imperialism has seized the commanding heights not only in many spheres of the economy, but also in the political life of capitalist countries.

A new stage in the development of the world socialist revolution began during the war. The liberation, anti-fascist struggle in Czechoslovakia, Poland, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania, and Albania grew into people's and socialist revolutions and caused these countries to break away from the capitalist system.

During the war the crisis of imperialism's colonial system became more acute, and a mighty upsurge of the national liberation movement began. Conditions emerged for the victory of the people's revolution in China, Korea, and Vietnam, and for India, Indonesia, Burma, and other colonial countries to gain their independence.

The war caused the main contradiction of capitalism, the contradiction between labour and capital, to be aggravated. The anti-fascist struggle helped towards better organisation and greater awareness of the working class in the capitalist countries. The influence of the communist parties had increased considerably. Before the Second World War

(1935) there were 61 communist parties with 4,202,000 members; at the end of the war there were already 75 communist parties with a membership of more than 20 million. The world communist movement had been enriched by new historical experience, especially experience in the armed struggle with the forces of reaction, militarism and aggression. The communist parties were successfully mastering the art of directing the revolutionary struggle.

Thus, the general result of the world-historic victory of the USSR and the anti-fascist coalition in the Second World War was the weakening of the forces of capitalism, reaction and war and the consolidation of the forces championing socialism, democracy and peace. A qualitatively new balance of forces has taken shape in the world which has opened up unprecedentedly favourable prospects before the revolutionary anti-imperialist movement.

Chronological Table of Events (1917-1945)

1917

7-8 November	The Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia, the beginning of a new era in the history of mankind.
8 November	Decree of the Second Congress of Soviets on Peace.
3 December	Address of the Council of People's Commissars of the RSFSR "To All Working Moslems in Russia and the East".

1918

January	The general political strike in the industrial centres of Austria-Hungary.
J anuary- F ebruary	Strike by workers in the industrial centres in Germany.
5-6 January	Formation of the International Socialist Party in Argentina (from December 1920 the Communist Party of Argentina).
8 January	In his appeal to Congress, US President Wilson put forward terms for post-war peace settlement (Wilson's 14 Points).
28 January-4-5 May	Workers' revolution in Finland.
1 February	Rebellion by the sailors of the Austro-Hungarian navy in the bay of Kotor (Katarro).
F ebruary-March	Founding of the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies in Oslo, Stavanger, and Bergen (Norway)
3 March	Signing of the Brest-Litovsk Peace Treaty between Soviet Russia and Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey.
	The start of Japanese intervention in the

	Soviet Far East.
May	Mexican Regional Workers' Confederation formed.
August	The "rice mutinies" in Japan.
29 August	The Formation of the Communist Party of Finland.
September	The Vladai soldiers' rebellion in Bulgaria.
7 October	The All-German Conference of Spartacists together with the Bremen left Radicals.
25 October	The founding of the Hungarian National Council.
28 October	Proclamation of the Czechoslovak Republic.
29 October	Declaration of the People's Veche of Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs on the separation of the South Slav lands from Austria-Hungary.
30 October	The revolution in Austria.
30 October	Turkey's surrender and the conclusion of the Mudros Peace Treaty.
30-31 October	The bourgeois-democratic revolution in Hungary.
3 November	The sailors' rebellion in Kiel. The beginning of the November Revolution in Germany.
3 November	The formation of the Communist Party of Austria.
9 November	The overthrow of the monarchy in Germany.
11 November	The signing of an armistice agreement between the countries of the Entente and Germany.
12 November	Austria proclaimed a republic.
16 November	Hungary proclaimed a republic.
20 November	The formation of the Communist Party of Hungary.
November	Poland proclaimed a republic.
November	The foundation of the Socialist Workers' Party of Greece (from November 24th the Communist Party of Greece).
November	The setting up of Soviets of Workers' Deputies in Lublin, Lodz, Warsaw, and other towns and cities in Poland.
November	The general strike in Rio de Janeiro.
1 December	Proclamation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, Slovenes in Belgrade.
16 December	The formation of the Communist Party of Poland.
16-21 December	The All-German Congress of Soldiers' and Workers' Soviets.
30 December, 1918-1 January, 1919	Inaugural Congress of the Communist

	Party of Germany.
December	Mass revolutionary protests by the workers in Romania.
1918-1919	Peasant revolts in a number of regions of Nigeria.
1918-1920	The national liberation struggle in Syria against the French invaders.

1919

Beginning of January	Meeting of representatives of a number of Communist Parties and groups in Moscow. Adoption of Lenin's proposals on convening the Inaugural Congress of the Third International.
10 January-beginning of February	The Soviet Republic in Bremen.
15 January	The villainous murder of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg.
18 January-28 June	The Paris Peace Conference.
27 January	The general strike of the workers of Clydeside in Scotland.
January	The strike of stevedores in New York.
January	The peasant uprising in the north of Bessarabia.
February	Emir Amanulla came to power in Afghanistan.
6 February	The opening of the National (Inaugural) Assembly in Weimar.
6 February	The general strike in Seattle (USA).
28 February	Afghanistan proclaimed an independent state.
February	The setting up of the social-reformist Berne International.
February - March	The general strike in Catalonia.
1 March	The beginning of the national liberation uprising in Korea.
2-6 March	The Inaugural Congress of the Third Communist International in Moscow.
9 March	The beginning of the national liberation uprising in Egypt.
21 March	Ilie formation of the Socialist Party of Hungary.
21 March	The victory of the proletarian revolution in Hungary. The proclamation of the Hungarian Soviet Republic.
27 March	Recognition by Soviet Russia of the sovereignty of the Afghan state.
10 April	The formation of the Communist Party of the Netherlands. The Communist Party of the Netherlands joins the Comintern.

12 April	The massacre in Amritsar in India.
13 April-1 May	The Bavarian Soviet Republic.
20-23 April	The foundation of the Socialist Workers' Party of Yugoslavia (Communists).
April	The uprising of the sailors of the French squadron on the Black Sea, who refused to fight against Soviet Russia.
April	Adoption of the decree on an eight-hour working day in France.
April-May	The uprising in the Punjab. The beginning of the revolutionary upsurge in India.
27 May	The formation of the Communist Party of Bulgaria.
3 May-3 June	The war of independence against the British imperialists in Afghanistan.
4 May	The beginning of the mass anti-imperialist and anti-feudal protests in China under the impact of the Great October Socialist Revolution (4th of May Movement).
May	Guerrilla warfare started against the invaders in Western Anatolia (Turkey). The beginning of the national liberation revolution in Turkey.
May-July	The wave of strikes led by the Communist Party in Bulgaria.
14 June	The First Congress of Soviets in the Hungarian Soviet Republic. The adoption of the Constitution.
16 June-5 July	The Slovak Soviet Republic.
28 June	The signing of the Versailles Peace Treaty with Germany.
20-21 July	The general political strike of proletarian solidarity with the working class of Soviet Russia and Soviet Hungary in the Serbo-Croatian-Slovene state.
28 July	The setting up of the Amsterdam International of trade unions.
1 August	The fall of the Hungarian Soviet Repulbic.
31 August-1 September	The formation of the Communist Party of America.
10 September	The signing of the St. Germain Peace Treaty with Austria.
September	The setting up of the National Committee "Hands off Russia''.
September	The founding of the Communist Party of Mexico.
September-October	The general strike of the British railwaymen.
September-December	The strike by the workers in the steel industry in the USA.
9 November	The setting up of the Left Socialist Party in Denmark (from November 1920—the communist Party of Denmark).

27 November	The signing of the Neuilly Peace Treaty with Bulgaria.
December	The founding of the Ceylon National Congress party.
December	The anti-French uprising in Northern Lebanon.
December	The unification of the supporters of the Communist International into the Marxist lewitsa in Czechoslovakia.
December	The Left Social-Democratic Party of Sweden joined the Comintern (from 1921, the Communist Party of Sweden).
1919-1922	The Graeco-Turkish war.

1920

January	The formation of the General Council of Burmese Associations (GCBA).
January	The "University boycott" in Burma.
9-15 January	The general strike in Buenos Aires ("Sanguinary Week").
21-31 January	The National Congress in Lushnje (Albania).
March	The institution of the National Congress of West Africa.
1 March	Horthy proclaimed regent. The establishment of a fascist dictatorship of the landowners and capitalists in Hungary.
13-17 March	The Kapp putsch in Germany.
April	The popular uprising in Iranian Azerbaijan.
April	The placing of Syria and Lebanon under French mandate.
15 April	The founding of the Communist Party of Spain.
April	The general strike in Turin and Piedmont (Italy).
April	The general strike of railwaymen in the Serbo-Croatian-Slovene state.
May	The general strike by railwaymen in France.
May	The founding of the Socialist Workers' Party of Finland.
23 May	The formation of the Communist Party of Indonesia.
June	The uprising in Gilan (Northern Iran) started.
June	Communist Party of Turkey formed.
June-July	The armed strugle of the Albanian people to drive the Italian invaders out of VI ora.

June 3	The establishment of diplomatic relations between the RSFSR and Turkey.
June 4	The signing of the Peace Treaty of Trianon with Hungary.
June 22	The First Congress of the Communist Party of Iran.
June	Lenin's book *"Left"-wing Communism—an Infantile Disorder* came out.
June	The Second Congress of the Socialist Workers' Party of Yugoslavia (Communists) founded in 1919. Renamed the Communist Party of Yugoslavia.
July 19-August 7	The Second Congress of the Communist International.
July 31-August 1	Inaugural Congress of the Communist Party of Great Britain.
August 10	The signing of the Sèvres Peace Treaty.
August 19	The general political strike in Czechoslovakia.
August	The protest of the British working class against preparations for an anti-Soviet war. The setting up of Councils of Action.
August-September	The seizure of factories and plants in Italy by the metalworkers.
Autumn	The visit of Mongolian revolutionaries to the Soviet Union with a request for Soviet help in the struggle against intervention.
September	The peasant uprising in Croatia and Slovenia.
October 1	The adoption of Austria's Constitution.
October 20	The general strike in Romania.
October 30	The founding of the All-India Trade Congress.
October	The signing of the peace treaty between Finland and the RSFSR.
November	The organisation in Chicago of the Trade Union Educational League.
November	The strike movement of the miners in Slovenia, Bosnia, and Herzegovina.
December	The general political strike in Czechoslovakia.
December 25-30	The Congress of the Socialist Party in Tours. The founding of the French Communist Party.
December	The unification congress of the Communist Party of Germany and the revolutionary wing of the Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany. The founding of the United Communist Party of Germany.
1920-1921	The coming into being of the first communist study groups in India.

1921

January	The founding of the Society of the Unification of Sudanese Tribes.
January	The founding of the East African Association of Natives in Kenya.
January 21	The split in the Italian Socialist Party. The Communist Party of Italy founded.
February	The general strike of railwaymen and industrial workers in Poland.
February	The founding in Vienna of the centrist 2 V2 International.
February 26	The signing of the Soviet-Iranian Treaty.
February 28	The signing of the treaty between the RSFSR and Afghanistan.
March	The First Congress of the Mongolian People's Party.
March	Ilie people's revolution in Mongolia began.
March 16	The Soviet-Turkish Treaty of Friendship and Fraternity concluded.
March 16	The signing of the Anglo-Soviet Trade Agreement.
March 17	The Constitution of the Polish Republic adopted.
March 18	The signing of the Riga Peace Treaty between Soviet Russia and Poland.
Spring	The "People's Daredevils" movement against the onslaught of fascism in Italy.
April 15	"Black Friday" in Britain.
May 14-16	The Inaugural Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.
May	The founding of the Communist Party of Romania.
June 22-July 12	The Third Congress of the Communist International.
June 28	The adoption of the Vidovdan Constitution of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (from 1929 the Kingdom of Yugoslavia).
July	The First Congress of the Communist Party of China.
July 3-19	The First Congress of revolutionary trade unions. The founding of the Profintern (Trade Union International).
July 11	Victory day for the people's revolution in Mongolia.
September	The founding of the Communist Party of Belgium.
September	The founding of the Independent Rif Republic (in northern Morocco).
October	The uprising in Khorasan (northern Iran).
October 30	The unification congress of the Communist organisations of Czechoslovakia.

November 5	The agreement on the establishment of friendly relations between the RSFSR and Mongolia.
November 12, 1921-February 6, 1922	The Washington conference on naval armaments limitation and Far East questions.
December 26	Treaty on granting Southern Ireland the rights of a dominion.
December	The founding of the Workers' Party of America.

1922

January	The founding in Japan of the "League against the intervention in Russia''.
January	Britain obtains a mandate for Tanganyika.
January	The founding of the Communist Party of Chile and its membership of the Comintern.
February 6	The setting up of the Communist Party of Egypt.
February 28	British protectorate over Egypt abolished. Egypt declared an "independent kingdom".
March 25	The founding of the Communist Party of Brazil.
April 2-5	The Berlin Conference of the three Internationals.
April 1 O-May 19	The Genoa Conference.
April 16	The signing of the Rapallo Treaty between Soviet Russia and Germany.
June 15-July 20	The Hague Conference on the post-war financial problems among peoples.
June	The railwaymen's strike in the USA.
July 15	The founding of the Communist Party of Japan.
August 1	The general anti-fascist strike in Italy.
October 11	The signing of the armistice in Mudania. Turkey's victory in the national liberation war.
October 25	The liberation of Vladivostok by the Red Army. The end of the Japanese intervention in the Soviet Far East.
October 28-29	The fascist march on Rome. Mussolini's appointment as Prime Minister of Italy.
November 5-December 5	The Fourth Congress of the Communist International.
December 30	The founding of the USSR.
December	The formation of the Unitary Confederation of Labour in France.

1922-1924	The setting up of communist groups in Syria.

1923

January	The adoption of the first Constitution of Afghanistan.
January 11	The occupation of the Ruhr (Rhine province) by French and Belgian troops.
February	The general strike on the Peking-Hankow railway.
May	The general strike in Barcelona (Spain).
May	The unification of the Berne and 21/2 (Vienna) Internationals and the formation of the so-called Socialist Workers' International.
June 9	The fascist coup by A. Tsankov in Bulgaria.
July 24	The signing of the peace treaty between Greece and Turkey in Lausanne.
August 12-14	The general strike of working people in Germany. The fall of the Kuno government.
August	The general strike in Greece.
September 13	The establishment of the military-monarchic dictatorship of Primo de Rivera in Spain.
September 28-29	The anti-fascist uprising in Bulgaria.
September	The Fifth Pan-American Conference in Santiago (Chile).
October 10	The setting up of workers' governments in Saxony and Thuringia.
October 23-25	The Hamburg armed uprising.
October 29	Turkey proclaimed a republic.
November 5-8	The armed uprising in Krakow.
November	The founding of the Communist Party of Norway.

1924

January	The trial of the Indian Communists in Kanpur.
January	The founding of the Workers' Party in the Philippines.
January	The First Congress of the Kuomintang attended by Communists. The shaping of a united national revolutionary front in China.
January	The formation of the first Wafdist government in Egypt.

February 2	The establishment of diplomatic relations between the USSR and Great Britain.
February-March	The establishment of diplomatic relations between the USSR and Italy, Norway, Austria, Greece, and Sweden.
March	Greece proclaimed a republic.
May 31	The establishment of diplomatic relations between the USSR and China.
June 10	The assassination by the fascists of the socialist deputy, Giacomo Matteotti, in Italy.
June 10	The victory of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Albania.
June 17-July 8	The Fifth Congress of the Communist International.
June 18	The establishment of diplomatic relations between the USSR and Denmark.
June-July 1926	The government of the "left bloc" in France.
July 16-August 16	The London Conference. The Dawes Plan adopted.
July	The uprising of the military units in the town of São Paulo in Brazil.
August 4	The establisment of diplomatic relations between the USSR and Mexico.
September 15-18	The peasant uprising in Tatarbunary (Bessarabia).
October	The quashing of the counter-revolutionary mutiny in Kwang-chow (Canton).
October 28	The establishment of diplomatic relations between the USSR and France.
October 1924-February 1927	The campaign of the Prestes column (Brazil).
November	The First Great People's Khural. The proclamation of the Mongolian People's Republic.

1925

January	The formation of the Central Association of the Kikuyu in Kenya.
January	The organisation of the first Workers' and Peasants' Party in Bengal.
January 20	The establishment of diplomatic relations between the USSR and Japan.
March 12	The death of Sun Yat-sen.
April	The founding of the Communist Party of Korea.
April 1925-October 1926	The war waged by France against the Rif Republic in Morocco.

May 30	Anti-imperialist demonstration fired upon by Anglo-American police, which caused an upsurge in the revolutionary movement throughout China ("30th of May Movement").
June	The setting up of the Revolutionary fellowship of Vietnam youth.
July 31	"Red Friday" in Britain.
July	The founding of the Communist Party of Cuba.
July-October	The suppression of the national liberation movement in Syria by French imperialism.
October 5-16	The Locarno Conference.
October 12	The general political strike of protest in France against the colonial wars in Morocco and Syria.
October-December	The deposition of the Qajars dynasty in Iran and the establishment of the Pahlavi dynasty.
1925-1927	The national liberation uprising in Syria against the French imperialists.

1926

January	The founding of the Federation of Labour and the Communist Youth League in Malaya.
April 24	The signing of the Treaty of Friendship and Neutrality between the USSR and Germany.
May 4-November 30	The general strike by miners in Great Britain.
May 12-13	The coup d'etat by reactionary brass hats in Poland. The establishment of Pilsudski's dictatorship.
July 9	The beginning of the Northern Campaign of the National-Revolutionary Army in China.
October-November	Special laws passed by Mussolini's government. The Communist Party of Italy outlawed. Antonio Gramsci arrested.
1926-1927	The uprising on Java and Sumatra.

1927

January	The founding of the Workers' and Peasants' Party in Bombay.
February	The establishment of the reactionary dictatorial regime of Carlos Ibanez in Chile.
March 21-22	The uprising of the Shanghai workers and

	the liberation of Shanghai from the militarists.
May 27	Diplomatic relations between the USSR and Britain broken.
June 7	The assassination of the USSR ambassador, P. L. Voikov, in Warsaw.
July 15-16	Anti-fascist protests by workers in Vienna.
August 1	Nanchang uprising (the day the People's Liberation Army of China came into being).
August 23	Sacco and Vanzetti executed.
Autumn	Revolutionary uprisings in South and Central China.
December 11-14	Uprising under the leadership of the Communist Party of China in Kwang-chow (Canton commune).
1927-1928	US intervention in Nicaragua.
1927-1929	Peasant uprising in the states of Michoacán, Sinaloa, Sonora, Chiapas, and México city in Mexico.

1928

January	The formation of the People's Party in Siam.
January-February	The Sixth Pan-American Conference in Havana (Cuba).
March	Mass arrests of Communists in Japan.
April-October	The general strike by Bombay textile workers.
May	The capitulation regime abolished by the Iranian government.
June 4	Conviction of 37 leading figures in the Communist Party of Italy by a special fascist tribunal.
June-July	The general strike in Greece.
July 17-September 1	The Sixth Congress of the Communist International.
August 27	The signing of the Paris Treaty (the Briand-Kellogg Pact).
September 1	The institution of the monarchy in Albania.
September	The general strike by workers of the textile industry in Lodz (Poland).
November	The beginning of the reactionary uprising in Afghanistan which led to the fall of the Young Afghan government.
November 1	The Soviet-Yemen treaty of friendship and trade concluded.
December	The First All-India Conference of the workers' and peasants' parties of India.

1929

January	The peasant uprising in Uganda.
January 6	The monarchic-fascist coup in Yugoslavia.
February	The agreement between Italy's fascist government and the Vatican.
March 1929-January 1933	The trial of Indian revolutionaries in Meerut.
May 1	The formation of a trade union centre, the Union of Proletarians, in the Philippines.
May	The strike at the enterprises of the Anglo-Iranian oil company in Iran.
May 1	Demonstration of workers fired on the orders of the right social-democratic government in Berlin. The Alliance of Red Front-Line Soldiers outlawed.
October	Nadir shah proclaimed King of Afghanistan.
October 3	The resumption of diplomatic relations between the USSR and Britain.
December	The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes renamed the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.
1929-1933	The world economic crisis.

1930

January	The formation of the Communist Party of Syria and Lebanon.
January	The fall of the military-monarchic dictatorship of Primo de Rivera.
F ebruary	The Communist Party of Vietnam founded (from the end of 1930, the Communist Party of Indochina).
February	The anti-French uprising of Vietnamese soldiers of the Yenbai garrison (North Vietnam).
March 6	Mass demonstrations by the unemployed in the USA.
April	The beginning of the civil disobedience campaign in India.
May 17	The Briand memorandum on Pan-Europe.
July	The armed struggle in Cairo, Alexandria, Port Said and Suez against the reactionary government.
September	The peasant uprising headed by the Communist Party in the provinces of Nge-anh and Ha-tinh (Vietnam).
September 6	The establishment of a terrorist dictatorship of General Uriburu in Argentina.
October	The Vargas government came to power in Brazil.

October	The Constitution of 1923 abolished ana a new reactionary Constitution issued in Egypt.
October-November	Big anti-imperialist demonstrations in Korea.
November 7	The Communist Party of the Philippines founded.
December	Mass strikes in the cities of the Basque Country, Asturias and Catalonia.
December	The introduction of the Young Plan.
December	The setting up of the General Confederation of Labour in Argentina.
December	The Communist Party founded in Colombia.
1930-1931	The repulsion of the three Kuomintang campaigns by the Red Army of China.
1930-1931	The setting up of a political society of "takins" in Burma.
1930-1932	The armed uprising of the people of Burma against British rule.

1931

March	The boycott of foreign concessionist companies in Syria and Lebanon.
April 14	Spain declared a republic.
May	A workers' demonstration quelled in a sanguinary manner in Adalen (northern Sweden).
June	Communist Party of Malaya founded.
July	The foundation of the Red Congress of Trade Unions in India.
August 23	The general strike in Chile.
September 15-17	Riots by sailors in the navy in Invergordon (Scotland).
September 18	Japan's invasion of the north-eastern provinces of China.
September	The uprising on the warships in the port of Coquimbo (Chile).
December	The first communist group formed in Korgë (Albania).

1932

January-March	Shanghai defended from the Japanese invaders.
January 21	The signing of the non-aggression treaty between the USSR and Finland.
January 28	The appeal of the Communist Party of Germany to form a united workers' front.
February 2	The Disarmament Conference in Geneva started.

February	The fascist mutiny in Finland.
March	The miners' strike in Czechoslovakia.
May	The fascist putsch in Japan.
June	The national "hunger march" on Washington by unemployed veterans of the First World War.
June 16-July 9	The Conference on Reparations in Lausanne.
June	The coup d'état in Siam (Thailand) and the introduction of a constitution.
June	The setting up of Soviets (Councils) of Workers'Deputies in Santiago and Temuco (Chile).
June-August	The general strike of miners, metalworkers, and other workers in Belgium.
July 12	The anti-fascist congress of the united front in Berlin, convened by the Communist Party of Germany.
July 25	The signing of the non-aggression treaty between the USSR and Poland.
October	Iraq officially declared an independent state.
November 29	The non-aggression treaty signed between the USSR and France.
	The Ottawa Imperial Economic Conference.
December	The textile workers' strike in Twente (Netherlands).

1933

January	The setting up of the provisional Central Committee of the Communist Party of India; the latter joined the Comintern.
J anuary- F ebruary	The mass strike movement in Romania. The armed battles of the workers from the Grivija workshops.
January 30	A fascist dictatorship established in Germany.
February 27	The nazis set fire to the Reichstag building.
February	The uprising of the Indonesian and Dutch sailors on the battleship *The Seven Provinces.*
March 27	Japan left the League of Nations.
March	The establishment of the fascist dictatorship of Dolphus in Austria.
July 3	The signing of the London Convention on the definition of an aggressor between the USSR, Afghanistan, Estonia, Latvia, Iran, Poland, Romania, and Turkey.
July 15	The conclusion of the treaty of the four

	powers: Germany, Italy, France, and Britain (the Pact of the Four).
August	The overthrowing of the bloodthirsty dictatorship of General Machado in Cuba.
September 21-December 23	The provocative fascist trial in Leipzig regarding the setting fire to the Reichstag.
October 19	Germany left the League of Nations.
November 16	The establishment of diplomatic relations between the USSR and the USA.
December	The declaration of the USA's "good neighbour" policy.
1933-1945	Presidency of Franklin Roosevelt.

1934

January	The Iraqi Communist Party founded.
January	The All-India strike of textile workers.
January	The Algerian Communist Party founded.
February 4	The establishment of diplomatic relations between the USSR and Hungary.
February 6	The attempt at a fascist putsch in Paris.
February 9	The setting up of the Balkan Entente (Greece, Romania, Turkey, Yugoslavia).
February 12	The nation-wide anti-fascist strike in France.
February	The armed battles of the Austrian Schutzbund in Linz, Vienna, and other towns.
March	The New Destour Party organised in Tunisia.
April-May	The general strike of workers in Malaya.
May 1	The adoption of a fascist constitution in Austria.
May 9	The general strike in San Francisco.
May 19	The military-fascist coup in Bulgaria.
June 9	The establishment of diplomatic relations between the USSR and Czechoslovakia.
June 9	Diplomatic relations established between the USSR and Romania.
June 30	"The night of the long knives"—the Nazi reprisals against the leaders of the Sturm detachments.
July 23	Diplomatic relations established between the USSR and Bulgaria.
July 27	The signing of the pact on unity of action between the French Communist Party and the Socialist Party of France.
August 17	The signing of the pact on unity of action between the Communist and the Socialist parties of Italy.

September 4	The counter-revolutionary coup d'etat staged by Fulgencio Batista in Cuba.
September 18	The USSR entered the League of Nations.
September	The agreement on unity of action between the Communist and the Socialist parties of Spain.
September	The strike by the textile workers in the USA.
October	The general strike in Spain. The armed uprising in Asturias.
1934-1940	Cardenas, President of Mexico.
1934-1935	The trial of the leader of the Communist Party of Finland, T. Antikainen.

1935

January	The Lanka Sama Samaja party (the Socialist Party of Ceylon) formed.
March 16	The decree on the introduction of conscription in Germany.
March	The formation of the National Liberation Alliance in Brazil.
March	Germany's refusal to honour the military articles in the Treaty of Versailles.
May 2	The signing of an agreement of mutual assistance between the USSR and France.
May 16	The signing of the treaty of mutual assistance between the USSR and Czechoslovakia.
June 18	The Anglo-German naval agreement.
July 12	Diplomatic relations established between Belgium and the USSR.
July 14	The formation of the anti-fascist Popular Front completed in France.
July 25-August 20	The Seventh Congress of the Communist International.
August 1	The appeal of the Communist Party of China to set up a united anti-Japanese national front.
August 31	The USA passed a law on neutrality.
Autumn	The Communist Party of Yugoslavia put forward a programme for an anti-fascist Popular Front.
October 1935-May 1936	The Italo-Ethiopian war. Italy seized Ethiopia.
November	Armed uprisings in the towns of Natal and Rio de Janeiro (Brazil).
November	The establishment of a monarchic-fascist dictatorship in Bulgaria.
December 9	The Laval-Hoare agreement.

December	The beginning of the "9th December" patriotic movement in China. The working out of tactic by the Communist Party of China for a united anti-Japanese national front.
December	The formation of the Confederation of Labour in Chile.

1936

January-March	The general strike in Syria.
February 16	The Popular Front won the elections, and the left republican government came to power in Spain.
February 26	The fascist putsch in Japan.
March 7	Nazi Germany violated the Locarno treaties and occupied the demilitarised zone on the Rhine.
March 12	The signing of the protocol on mutual assistance between the USSR and Mongolia.
March	The general strike by textile workers in Lodz.
April	The All-India Peasant Alliance organised.
April-May	The Popular Front won the parliamentary elections in France.
May	The Wafdists won the elections to parliament and Nahas-Pasha's government was formed in Egypt.
May 13	The general strike in Greece.
June	The general strike by miners in Belgium.
June-July	The conference in Montreux on the revision of the straits' regime.
July 11	The Austro-German agreement concluded.
July 18	General Franco's military-fascist mutiny in Spain.
July 1936-March 1939	The national-revolutionary war of the Spanish people against the fascist mutineers and the Italian and German interventionists.
November 25	The Anti-Comintem Pact between Germany and Japan.
November	The Popular Front of struggle against reaction set up under the leadership of the Communist Party of Argentina.
December	The uprising against Chiang Kai-shek in Sian.

1937

March 12	The signing of the treaty of mutual assistance between the USSR and the Mon-

golian People's Republic.

April 1 — Burma separated from India and became an individual colony.

April — The nation-wide protest strike against the new Constitution of India.

April 27 — Antonio Gramsci, the leader of the Italian Communist Party, died after ten years in prison.

June — Law passed on the nationalisation of the railways belonging to foreign companies in Mexico.

July 7 — Japan's invasion of Northern China.

September — The agreement between the Communist Party of China and the Kuomintang on cooperation in the struggle against Japanese aggression.

August 21 — The signing of the Soviet-Chinese non-aggression pact.

November 3-24 — Ilie Brussels Conference of the nine powers.

November — The establishment of the Vargas dictatorship in Brasil.

November 20 — The general strike by working people in Tunisia in support of the demand for independence.

December — Italy left the League of Nations.

1938

January — The anti-imperialist movement in Burma ("the 1938 revolution").

January-May — The strike by miners in the Saar and Ruhr areas, and also by metalworkers and shipbuilders in Berlin, Hamburg, and other towns and cities in Germany.

February 10 — The establishment of a monarchic-fascist dictatorship in Romania.

March 11 — The seizure of Austria by Hitler Germany.

March 18 — Decree adopted on the nationalisation of the petroleum industry in Mexico.

April 16 — Anglo-Italian agreement concluded.

May 1 — Mass anti-fascist protests in Czechoslovakia.

July 29-August 11 — The battles at Lake Khasan.

September 13 — The fascist putsch by the Henlein supporters in Czechoslovakia.

September 29-30 — The Munich complot. The Anglo-German declaration of non-aggression.

September — The formation of the Confederation of Working People of Latin America.

October — The Popular Front won the elections and set up the Popular Front government in Chile.

October — The occupation of part of Czechoslovakia by Germany.

November 7	The Bombay strike in protest against the bill on industrial disputes.
December 6	The signing of the Franco-German declaration on non-aggression.
1938-1939	The Bulgarian Communist Party united with the Workers' Party. The Bulgarian Workers' Party founded.
December	Power seized by a military grouping in Siam (Thailand).

1939

January	Hungary joined the anti-Soviet Anti-Comintem Pact.
January	The Confederation of Working People of Cuba founded.
January	The All-Burma Peasants' Organisation founded.
February 2	Diplomatic relations between Hungary and the USSR broken off.
March 15	Germany seized Czechoslovakia.
March 22	Germany captured Klaipeda (Lithuania).
March	The Trans-Carpathian Ukraine seized by Hungary.
April 7	Italy seized Albania.
May 11	The Japanese aggressors attacked the Mongolian People's Republic in the Khalkhin-Gol area.
May 15	The Communist Party of Burma founded.
May 22	The signing of the Steel Pact, a military and political alliance between Italy and Germany.
May	Denmark signed a non-aggression pact with Germany.
July 2	The Anglo-Japanese Agreement on China.
August 12-20	Negotiations between Britain and France and the USSR in Moscow broken off.
August 23	The Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact signed.
August	The Japanese militarists defeated on the banks of the river Khalkhin-Gol.
September 1	Germany attacked Poland. The Second World War began.
September 1939-May 1940	The "phoney war".
November 30, 1939-March 12, 1940	The Soviet-Finnish War.

1940

April 9	Germany's invasion of Denmark and Norway.
May 10	Germany invaded Belgium, Holland, Lu-

	xembourg, and France.
June 10	Italy declared war on Britain and France.
June 22	France surrendered.
September 27	The signing of the Tripartite Pact by Germany, Italy, and Japan.
October 28	Italy attacked Greece.
November	Hungary, Romania, and Slovakia joined the Tripartite Pact.

1941

March 1	Bulgaria joined the Tripartite Pact.
April	Germany occupied Yugoslavia and Greece.
June 22	Germany attacked the USSR. The Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union started.
August 14	The signing of the Atlantic Charter.
September 24	The USSR joined the Atlantic Charter.
September 30, 1941-April 20, 1942	The battle of Moscow.
November 8	The Communist Party of Albania was founded.
December 7	Japan attacked the USA. The war in the Pacific began.
December 11	Germany and Italy declared war on the USA.

1942

January 1	The signing of the United Nations Declaration.
January 5	The Polish Workers' Party was founded.
May 26	The Soviet-British Treaty of Alliance in the War Against Hitlerite Germany and Her Associates in Europe and of Collaboration and Mutual Assistance Thereafter signed.
June 11	The signing of the Soviet-American Agreement for Mutual Aid Pursuant to the Lend-Lease Act.
July 17, 1942-February 1943	The battle of Stalingrad.

1943

May	The Italian and German troops in North Africa surrendered.
May 15	The decision of the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International to disband the Communist International.

July 5-August 23	The battle of Kursk.
September 3-8	Italy surrendered.
September 19-30	The Conference of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, the USA, and Great Britain in Moscow.
November 28-December 21	The Teheran Conference of Heads of Government of the USSR, the USA, and Great Britain.

1944

June 6	The Allied forces landed in France. A second front was opened in Europe.
July 21	The Polish National Liberation Committee set up.
August 1-October 2	The Warsaw uprising.
August 19-25	The armed uprising in Paris.
August 23	The anti-fascist uprising in Romania. The overthrowing of the military-fascist dictatorship.
August 29-October 28	The Slovak national uprising.
September 3-7	The armed uprising in Antwerp.
September 4	Finland withdrew from the war.
September 9	The people's uprising was victorious in Sofia.
September 12	The armistice agreement signed between Romania and the countries of the anti-fascist coalition.
September 19	The USSR and Britain signed the armistice agreement with Finland.
October 20	The people's uprising in Guatemala. The reactionary dictatorship overthrown.
October 28	Bulgaria signed the armistice agreement with the countries of the anti-fascist coalition.
October	The Democratic Alliance of the People of Finland was founded.
November 29	The German fascist troops were driven out of Albania.
December 10	The Treaty of Alliance and Mutual Assistance signed between the USSR and France.

1945

January 20	The signing of the armistice agreement between Hungary and the countries of the anti-fascist coalition.

February 4-12	The Crimea (Yalta) Conference of heads of government of the USSR, the USA, and Great Britain.
February	The World Trade Union Conference in London.
March 6	A democratic government came to power in Romania.
April 4	Hungary completely liberated by the Soviet Army.
April 11	The signing of the Soviet-Yugoslavian Treaty of Friendship, Mutual Assistance, and Post-war Cooperation.
April 21	The Soviet-Polish Agreement of Friendship and Mutual Assistance signed.
April 25-June 26	The Conference of the United Nations in San Francisco.
April 29	The German troops surrendered in northern Italy.
May 2	Berlin taken by Soviet troops.
May 5-9	The people's uprising in Prague.
May 8	The unconditional surrender of Nazi Germany signed in Berlin.
May 9	The Day of Victory over Nazi Germany.
May 15	The liberation of Yugoslavia completed.
June 5	The Labourites won the parliamentary elections in Britain.
June 26	The UN Charter signed at the San Francisco Conference.
July 17-August 2	The Potsdam Conference of heads of government of the USSR, the USA, and Great Britain.
August 8	The Soviet Union declared war on Japan.
September 2	Japan signed the act of unconditional surrender. The Second World War ended.

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